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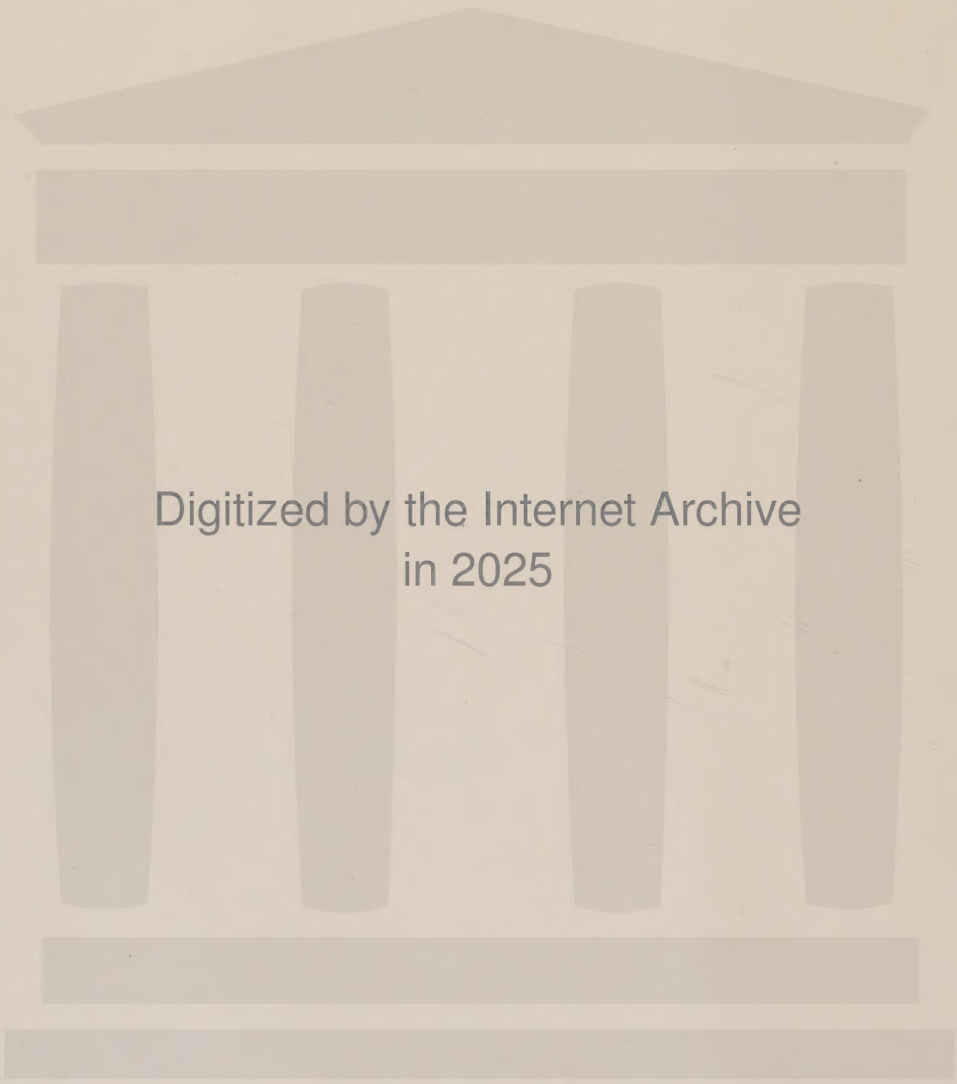
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HISTORY

OF

MICHIGAN

BY

CHARLES MOORE

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I

CHICAGO
THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY
1915

To the Memory of

ALICE WILLIAMS MERRIAM MOORE:

Ever loyal to the hills and coasts of her native Massachusetts, she also came to love and keenly to enjoy the region of the Great Lakes.

PREFACE

The story of Michigan from the earliest times to the present day is told in these pages. There are gaps in the narration. Also some portions receive too extended consideration in proportion to the space bestowed on other topics of equal or perhaps greater importance. Again the authority for many statements is either inadequately stated or is omitted altogether. Every canon dear to the heart of the historical scholar of today has been either broken or ignored. In short, there is no fault herein that the author does not recognize and acknowledge.

And yet this history of Michigan represents many months, and sometimes many years, of research on special subjects—joyous months or years. One such experience involved a morning spent with the kindly Francis Parkman; weeks of reading his precious manuscripts in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Harvard Library; four years of searching in the Library of Congress for a clew to the personality of Henry Gladwin; correspondence with no fewer than four branches of the Gladwin family in England; a rich reward in portraits and manuscripts, and a sheaf of friendships becoming more precious with the years. It is not without deep sympathy that the record is here made of that gentle Oxford scholar, an architect of rare attainments, who so worthily bore the Gladwin name and courage into the great conflict now being waged for human liberty, and who in October, 1914, made the great sacrifice before Calais.

So this book has come to be the gathering together of separate but related studies pursued during many years of a life reasonably active in other directions. Some of the chapters were written during hours snatched from daily newspaper work, for publishers who failed in business after accepting the manuscript; others have been printed wholly or partly in magazines or as monographs, and in their present form represent the results of criticism. The second chapter on the folk-lore of the Indians was prepared in collaboration with one whose hand has stopped writing.

Papers, both published and in manuscript, prepared by many persons have been drawn on freely; but never intentionally without acknowledgment. And to the specific acknowledgments should be added some appreciation of the great body of historical material gathered and made accessible by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and by Mr. Clarence M. Burton. Indeed, for a number of years the two names were synonymous. It is a pleasure to reflect that the largest gift, even when counted in terms of money, ever made to a Michigan municipality is represented by the historical library presented to the City of Detroit by Mr. Burton.

From what is here written it will be seen that this book has been largely a growth. I am sure that some readers—probably the small minority who turn back to a preface—will read between the lines the tale of happy hours spent and of pleasant friendships made during the years of preparation.

CHARLES MOORE.

Detroit, July, 1915.

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History of Michigan

CHAPTER I

THE MOUND BUILDERS, THE GARDEN BEDS, AND THE ANCIENT MINERS

The Indians were the first inhabitants of the territory now included within the State of Michigan. They fished its waters, gathered berries and hunted game in its forests, tilled its prairies and worked its mines of copper. During uncounted generations, probably for thousands of years, the red men possessed the land. Whence they came and through what changes they passed are being revealed gradually by the archæologist and the ethnologist; but probably some questions of interest and importance will always remain beyond settlement.

It is now believed that all the Indians who ever dwelt on the Western Continent belong to a single race separate from all other races of the world. In bodily structure, in language, and in their political system the Indians of North and South America reveal a common origin. Before the coming of the whites they never progressed beyond the stone age, save in Peru, where they attained some knowledge of the use of metals. They were acquainted with iron only in its meteoric state. In their pottery, weaving, and tanning of skins there was uniformity throughout the continent, although some tribes were more advanced than others. The palaces of Peru were largely the imaginations of historians; the pueblos of New Mexico are not essentially different from the long bark-houses for twenty families built by the Iroquois.

The Indian social organization and mode of government was a military democracy based on communism. No Indians ever held a title to land in fee simple. Their methods of reckoning blood-relationship through the mother are at once so characteristic, so complicated and so uniform that they could not have arisen from accident.

From this fact and other kindred facts it is inferred that the ancestors of the American Indian were also the ancestors of the Asiatic nations speaking the Dravidian language, as do the Tamils of India;[1] and that the separation from the common stock took place before Aryan civilization spread over India and Europe. The exodus from Asia took place by way of Behring Strait and the Aleutian Islands; although it is not beyond probability that some may have been driven to our western coasts by the same ocean currents that within the past century have carried hither forty-one Japanese wrecks, no fewer than twenty-nine of which had living crews.

At the mouth of the Columbia River the Indians found their American paradise, from which region they were forced in swarms by the increase in population. Mainly, they followed up the rivers because of the fish, and especially the abundant salmon. The forests furnished game, the kamash was used for flour, there was edible moss on the pine trees, and the country afforded nuts and berries in profusion.

One path was up the Columbia and Fraser to the headwaters of either the Saskatchewan or the Missouri, whence they spread to the region of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. Another and broader trail led by the south fork of the Columbia or the Snake River to the south, ending only at Patagonia. Four great divisions appeared. First the Algonquins, who made their way north to the Great Lakes, then pressed south into the Mississippi Valley and finally reached Tennessee and the Atlantic seaboard as far south as the Carolinas; next the Sioux or Dakotah, including the Winnebagoes, Mandans and Iroquois, who reached the Mississippi River by way of the Platte River; third, the Pawnees, who spread along the Arkansas; and, fourthly, the Shoshones, who, also starting along the Platte, penetrated to Texas and Lower California.

It was the village Indians of New Mexico and Arizona who developed Indian corn, beans, squash, potatoes, tobacco and cotton, those great staples in the life of the red men. The village Indians made mounds for the burial of their dead, for defense, or to express religious ideas. Gradually their structures, like the products of the fields, worked north; but their builders, whether from climatic reasons or because of unequal strife with their more formidable foes from the far North, retired from the combat, and the whole north-

[1] The number of people speaking the Dravidian languages in 1901 was over fifty-seven millions.

ern portion of the country came to be a region devastated by continual Indian wars.

The date of the first coming of the Indians was at least as early as the oldest monuments of Egypt or Babylonia; and it is not improbable that the passage was made at the time of the glacial epoch. Geologists have found that the Horseshoe Fall at Niagara was at the mouth of the river about the time of the building of the Great Pyramids; at the whirlpool when Israel was entering Egypt, and two-thirds of the way down to the rapids at the birth of Christ.[2]

In the days of tradition, the Indian nation known as the Lenni Lenape dwelt in the region called Shinaki, the land of the fir-trees, north of Lake Superior. From this country they set out on their migrations to the southeast, and after some years of wandering they encountered the tribes possessing the region of the Great Lakes. These eastern tribes were the Talligewi (or Alligewi); they were remarkably tall and stout; they had many towns in a fertile country; they built fortifications consisting of walls of earth faced with a deep ditch; and they buried their dead in flat mounds.[3]

When the Lenape reached the region between Lake Huron and Lake Erie they sent messengers to the Alligewi, asking permission to settle in their neighborhood. This request was refused; but they were promised an unmolested passage through the country to regions further south. When the Lenape began to cross the St. Clair and Detroit rivers, the Alligewi became alarmed at the thousands who were pouring into their country. So they made a furious attack upon those who had crossed over, and threatened all with destruction. Entirely unprepared for such treachery, the Lenape retired to hold a council of war. At this juncture the Mengiwe, or Hurons,

[2] The origin, development and dispersion of the Indians as above stated has not been accepted by scientists generally. For example, it is not generally admitted that one can go back beyond the close of the glacial period, say ten thousand years; and conservative students hesitate to accept evidence of a greater antiquity. The theories outlined are those which offer a plausible explanation. See Encyclopedia Britannica article on "Indians, North American," and "Handbook of American Indians," article on "Archaeology." See also "The Origin and Antiquity of Man," by G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin, 1912; and "Records of the Past," Vols. V and VII, Washington, 1906 and 1908.

[3] Heckewelder conjectures that one of these fortifications was located on Lake Ste. Claire, near the mouth of the Clinton River. When he visited it in 1776, the land was owned by Mr. Tucker. Another series of fortifications was east of Sandusky, six or eight miles from Lake Erie.

joined forces with the Lenape, on condition that the land, when conquered, should be divided between the two nations.

For a hundred years or more the struggle continued. Great battles were fought. The slain Alligewi by hundreds were buried in mounds near their intrenchments. The fighting was done mainly by the Lenape, the Hurons drawing back when attacks on the intrenchments were made. No quarter was given on either side; and at last the Alligewi, finding their nation threatened with destruction, fled to the south never to return. Then to the Hurons fell the region of the Great Lakes, while the Lenape took possession of the lands further south, finally reaching the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and Chesapeake Bay.

The term Alligewi is preserved in the name Allegheny, while the alternative term Talligewi is identified with the Cherokees, who have a tradition that originally they dwelt in the Ohio region and built the mounds found there.

Until very recently the theory has prevailed among American archæologists that the builders of the mounds in the region between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River were a people of a higher culture than the Indians whom the white discoverers found there. The belief was that the Mound Builders, as they were called, were overrun by incoming hordes of Indians and finally the race became extinct, leaving the mounds as their only memorial. Possibly the Mexicans and the Gulf Indians were survivals of this older race. Investigations of the mounds themselves have shown these theories to be erroneous. The articles found in the earliest mounds indicate that their builders were no further advanced in civilization than the tribes whom the whites found in possession of the land; and the opinion of archæologists now is that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of the Indians known to history. Many of the mounds were built one or two centuries before the appearance of white men, as it proved by the trees which have grown from them; but there is no conclusive evidence of the great antiquity of the mounds themselves or of unusual culture on the part of their builders.[4]

[4] The author recalls a meeting of the Washington Anthropological Society at which the late Frank Hamilton Cushing, of the American Bureau of Ethnology, vigorously maintained the thesis that the Mound Builders were the immediate ancestors of the Indians, and by way of illustration he deftly made stone arrow-heads, filling the room with pieces of flying stone. His theories were warmly combatted by a number of the professors of the Smithsonian Institution; and while the weight of argument seemed with Cushing, the weight of numbers was certainly against him. The meeting was subse-

Probably the most ancient of the Ohio mounds were built by the Cherokees during the period when they were known as Talligewi; and later the Shawanees constructed stone graves, mounds and other works connected therewith. The comparatively few mounds in Michigan probably had more recent origin. In Ogemaw County, near the Rifle River Bridge, on the state road leading from West Branch to Lake Huron, are five "Indian forts," as they are popularly called. One of these forts, situated about a mile north of the bridge, is nearly circular in form, with a circumference of about one thousand feet, and a diameter of 280 feet north and south and 310 feet east and west. It has five openings or gates, there is a wall from one to three feet in height, and a ditch from three to four feet deep. The forts resemble closely those built by the Iroquois in the State of New York; and it is quite possible that the fortifications which Heckewelder found on the Clinton River [5] near Mount Clemens may have been erected by the Iroquois during their long struggle with the Hurons.[6] Near Bellaire, in Antrim County, there are two small mounds with walls four feet high and a diameter of about twenty feet. When examined each mound was found to contain a single skeleton in a sitting posture, the feet extended. Near by were a number of holes, probably old caches. So too the sand dunes on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan were used as burial places.[7]

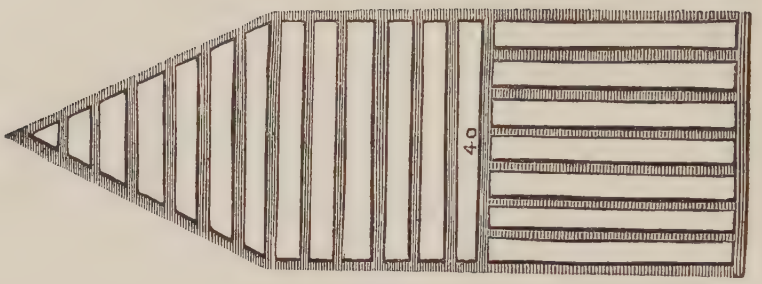
The French traders and missionaries, who were the first white men to explore the Lake Superior region, found no mounds or earthworks; but there are in the Upper Peninsula unmistakable evidences of the work of prehistoric Indians, familiarly known as "The Ancient Miners." Scattered over the Lower Peninsula were small mounds. Near Climax, St. Joseph County, was an excavated ring inclosing

quent to the publication by Cyrus Thomas of "The Problem of the Ohio Mounds" and "The Circular, Square, and Octagonal Earthworks of Ohio," both of which monographs were published by the Bureau of Ethnology in 1889. See also Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, edited by F. W. Hodge, 1912, article on "Mound Builders."

[5] The Clinton River was formerly called the Huron, the latter name being used until after the Revolution. The present name is used, so as to avoid confusion with the Huron River, which empties into Lake Erie, near the mouth of the Detroit.

[6] The site of these works has been under cultivation for half a century. It consisted of a nearly circular embankment four or five feet high, with diameters of 350 and 400 feet respectively. There were three gateways, and a wide ditch on the outside. Numerous burial mounds were near by, each containing a single skeleton. See Bela Hubbard's Memorials of Half a Century, 1887, p. 203.

[7] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1894, pp. 516-519.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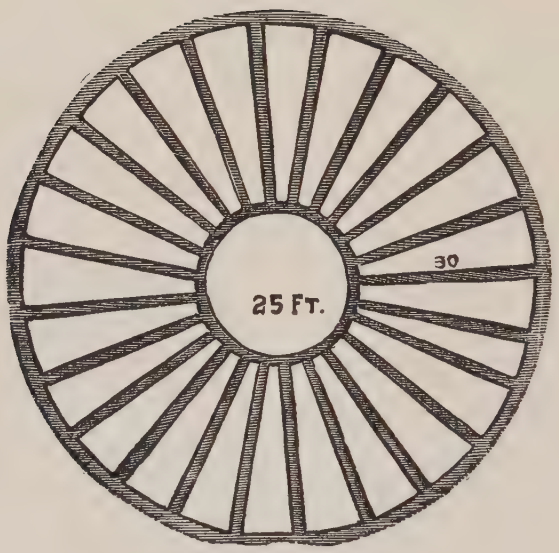
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an acre and a half, which, when discovered, was overgrown with forest trees. On the banks of the Grand River, three miles south of Grand Rapids, there was as late as 1874 a group of mounds the largest of which had a diameter of 100 feet and a height of 15 feet; close by were two regular, conical mounds of nearly equal size, and around them was a cluster of seventeen smaller mounds varying from eight to two feet in height. The larger mounds contained no skeletons; the smaller ones contained one skeleton each, together with copper axes and needles, arrow and spear heads, marine shells, pipes and pots. On the prairie near White Pigeon was a large mound said to contain the remains of a Pottawatomie chief, who, tradition said was buried there a century before the coming of the whites; and the members of the tribe came by thousands each year to pay tributes of respect to his grave, until the remnant of that powerful nation was removed to Kansas in 1841.[8]

Bela Hubbard relates that when he came to Detroit in 1835, many evidences existed of aboriginal occupation. It was hardly possible to dig a cellar or level a hillock without throwing out some memorial of the red races. Mingled with the half-decayed bones were pipes and other utensils of stone, broken pottery, ornaments of silver and copper, wampum-beads of curious workmanship, the arrow and tomahawk of the savage, and the figured cross of the missionary. To unearth a human skeleton was a common occurrence. Skeletons were thrown out by spade or plow, and sometimes were seen protruding from the soil, where the action of the waves had broken into the land.[9]

The map published by the Bureau of Ethnology shows many groups of mounds scattered throughout the Lower Peninsula south of a line running west from Saginaw Bay; also along the Lake Huron shore to Alpena. There is an extensive group near Grand Traverse Bay; and small groups on Keeweenaw Point, on Isle Royale, and at Ontonagon. None of the Michigan mounds, however, raise peculiar questions of ethnology or history.

The early settlers in Michigan found near the St. Joseph and Kalamazoo rivers in Cass, St. Joseph, Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties the outlines of extensive gardens covering from twenty to a hundred acres. Such gardens seem to have been confined to the region now embraced in the states of Michigan and Wisconsin. In our state they appeared in various fanciful shapes, but always the

[8] Bela Hubbard, Memorials of Half a Century, p. 208.

[9] Ibid., p. 220. As to the great Indian population of the Saginaw Valley, see Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXXIX.

designs showed order and symmetry. From the Indians the settlers could learn nothing concerning the beds, which were totally different from the remains of the Indian cornfields that represent the rude, uncivilized and indolent nature of those red men known to the whites. Indian agriculture, as observed by the early settlers, consisted of little more than dropping a seed into the earth and then allowing nature to raise the crop.[10]

The garden-beds, on the contrary, are elaborate and extensive; and the trees growing over them set their origin back at least two centuries. The problem of their origin has received little attention from ethnologists; and today it belongs among the questions reserved for investigation and discussion.[11] Unfortunately the gardens have disappeared from the face of the earth, and it is to be feared that no more attention will be paid to them by scientists.

In 1748, Verandrier found in Southwestern Michigan "large tracts of land free from wood, many of which are everywhere covered with furrows, as if they had formerly been ploughed and sown;" and in 1827 Schoolcraft declared that "the garden-beds, and not the mounds, form the most prominent, and by far the most striking and characteristic antiquarian monuments of this district of country."

The beds occupied the most fertile of the prairie land and burr oak plains. They consisted of raised patches of ground separated by sunken paths and were generally arranged in plats or blocks of parallel beds, varying in dimensions from five to sixteen feet in width, in length from twelve to more than one hundred feet, and in height from six to eighteen inches. The evidence seems conclusive that they were laid out and fashioned with a skill, order and symmetry which distinguished them from the ordinary works of agriculture; and they included certain features belonging to no recognized system of agricultural art.

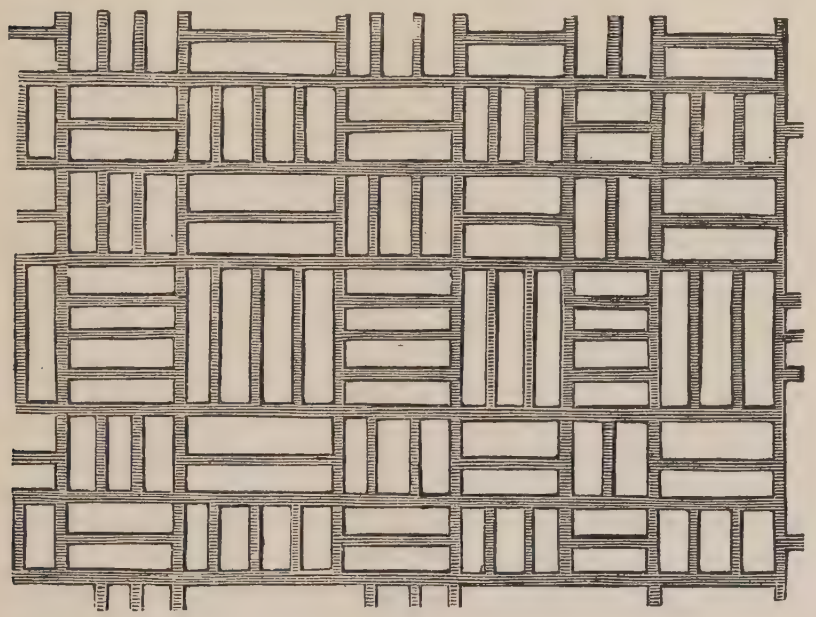
Bela Hubbard divides the garden-beds into eight classes according to their various shapes, and gives diagrams of each class. Mr. Hubbard quotes Henry Little and E. Laken Brown to the effect that in 1831 garden-beds were very numerous on the plains where the City of Kalamazoo now stands. On the farm of J. T. Cobb, in section 7, Town of Schoolcraft, beds were numerous so late as 1860. One of the most elaborate of all the beds was found at Kalamazoo and was platted by Mr. Little and A. T. Prouty of Kalamazoo. It consisted of a circle, with a diameter of fifty feet, and in general

[10] Michigan Gazetteer, 1838, pp. 173-7.

[11] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1894, p. 550.

form represented a hub with twenty-four spokes, each about twenty-five feet in length.

In discussing the origin of these garden-beds, Mr. Hubbard says, "Were these vegetable gardens? To answer this question, we must proceed according to the doctrine of probabilities. All opinions seem to agree that these relics denote some form of cultivation, and that they are different from those left by the field culture of any known



From Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. II

ANCIENT GARDEN BEDS, WESTERN MICHIGAN

tribes of Indians. Nor do we find any similar remains in connection with the works of the Mound Builders. . . . These extensive indications of ancient culture necessarily imply a settled and populous community. We are led therefore to look for other evidences of the number and character of the people who made them. But here an extraordinary fact presents itself: such evidences are almost wanting! The testimony of nearly everyone whom I have consulted—men who were among the first among the white race to break up the sod that for ages had consecrated these old garden-lands—agrees in the fact that almost none of the usual aboriginal relics were found; no pottery, no spear and arrow-heads; no imple-

ments of stone; not even the omnipresent pipe. Tumuli or burial mounds of the red man are not uncommon, though not numerous in Western Michigan, but have no recognized association with the garden race." [12]

In Wisconsin the garden-beds are found superposed on the animal mounds, which form the especial feature of the ethnology of that state. This shows that the people who built them had predecessors. The date of the abandonment of the garden-beds of Michigan may be fixed approximately by the fact that in 1837 Schoolcraft cut from above one such bed a tree that had been growing since 1502.

In 1885, when Mr. Hubbard visited for the last time the region of the garden-beds, he discovered near the Town of Schoolcraft four or five beds that could be traced distinctly for from ten to fifteen feet; the remainder of their lengths, perhaps twenty feet, had been obliterated by cultivation. From Prairie Ronde, from the plains of St. Joseph and from Kalamazoo County all traces of the old beds had disappeared. In vain some of the farmers undertook to protect the relics of the past. Time, the white grub, swine and cattle all united in the work of destruction; and the secret of the garden-beds of Michigan appears to have perished with the people who laid them out.

Before the discovery of America, copper taken from the deposits of the Lake Superior region had come into general use among the Indians north of Mexico. The copper used by the Indians consisted largely of float pieces found among the debris deposited over a large area south of the lakes by the sheets of glacial ice that swept from the north across the fully exposed surface of the copper-bearing rocks of the Upper Peninsula. The Indians knew nothing of iron except in its meteoric form or in ores; smelting was an unknown art; and while some of the more advanced tribes used silver and gold, copper was the universal metal.

On Isle Royale and on the Keeweenaw Peninsula the Indians found copper in masses and bits distributed in more or less compact bodies of eruptive rock; and the mining operations consisted in re-

[12] "Memorials of Half a Century," by Bela Hubbard, 1887. Mr. Hubbard came to Michigan in 1835 and settled in Springwells, now a part of Detroit. His book, to which frequent references are made in these pages, is one of the choicest works of literature ever produced in Michigan. He writes as a lover of nature and an investigator of both the usual and the unusual; he had a fine curiosity and abundant leisure; and often he shows the soul of a poet.

moving the superficial earth and debris and in breaking up the rock with stone sledges and by applying heat in order to free the masses of metal from the rock. Generally the excavations were not deep, being merely pits; but at times tunneling was resorted to. In McCargole's Cave, on Isle Royale, nearly a square mile of surface had been worked over, and over a large part of the area are pits connecting one with another.

Not all of the copper used by the Indians was taken by them from the Lake Superior region. During the glacial age the copper-bearing rocks of this section were swept by the under surfaces of the great ice-sheets, and thus many masses and bits of the metal were carried southward over Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota and even farther south. There is evidence, however, that the Upper Peninsula was the summer resort of thousands of red miners, who made annual pilgrimages to its deposits of copper, and not infrequently deposited their surplus takings in caches, to be taken down the lake at a more propitious time. Not only were the various native tribes thus supplied with the metal from the lake region, but probably there was traffic with Mexico, where metallurgic art was in an advanced stage, and where the red metal was in great demand.[13]

While there are hundreds of mines of shallow dimensions, four of the workings of the Ancient Miners may be classed as remarkable. The first was at the opening of the Winthrop mine,[14] where a large deposit of pulverulent green-carbonate of copper was found. This deposit doubtless represented a cache; the green carbonate being due to the decomposition of nuggets derived from that extensive chain of pits known to the explorers of the Northwest, Hartford, Mandan Bluff and Iron City mines as "ancient diggings." The drift of sand covering the surface of the transverse veins of Keeweenaw Point to the south of the bluff of greenstone was too heavy to allow the Indian miners to work them.[15]

[13] Handbook of Am. Indians (1912) p. 343; 864. See Handbook also for bibliography. S. L. Smith's article on "Ancient and Modern Copper Mining in the Lake Superior Region," Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXIX, is an excellent summary written by a man who himself was among the early modern miners.

[14] Sec. 26, T. 58, R. 31.

[15] See "Calumet Conglomerate; an exploration and discovery made by Edwin J. Hulbert, 1854-1864; a series of letters originally published in the Ontonagon *Miner* in the year 1893." This is a most remarkable pamphlet. It contains a minute account of the discovery of the Calumet and Hecla Mine, but so scattered and often incoherent are the references, that they must be pieced together like a puzzle. There is also a list of the early

The second great work of the Ancient Miners was discovered near the Ontonagon River. During the winter of 1847-48 Mr. Samuel O. Knapp, the agent of the Minnesota Mine,[16] observed on the present location of that mine a curious depression in the soil, caused, as he conjectured, by the disintegration of a vein. Following up these indications, he came upon a cavern, the home of several porcupines. On clearing out the rubbish, he found many stone hammers; and at a depth of eighteen feet, he came upon a mass of native copper ten feet long, three feet wide, and nearly two feet thick.[17] Its weight was more than six tons. This mass was found resting upon billets of oak supported by sleepers of the same wood. There were three courses of billets and two courses of sleepers. The wood had lost all its consistency, so that a knife blade penetrated it as easily as if it had been peat; but the earth packed about the copper gave that a firm support. By means of the cobwork the miners had raised the mass about five feet, or something less than one-quarter of the way to the mouth of the pit. The marks of fire used to detach the copper from the rock showed that the early miners were acquainted with a process used with effect by their successors. This fragment had been pounded until every projection was broken off and then had been left, when and for what reason are still unknown. From similar pits on the same location came ten cart-loads of ancient hammers, one of which weighed 39½ pounds and was fitted with two grooves for a double handle. There were also found a copper gad, a copper chisel with a socket in which were the remains of a copper handle, and fragments of wooden bailing-bowls. At the Mesnard Mine, in 1862, was found an 18-ton bowlder that the "Ancient Miners" had moved forty-eight feet from its original bed.

miners of Lake Superior and much collateral information. Whenever Mr. Hulbert strays beyond the limits of things within his own knowledge, he is grossly inaccurate; but nevertheless he gives the traditions of the country and points the way to much that is of interest. The pamphlet is his vindication, and as such it should be read in connection with the "Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz," 1913. We shall have occasion to refer to Mr. Hulbert's pamphlet in later chapters.

[16] Sec. 12, T. 50, R. 39; location No. 98 of U. S. permits to mine for metals and minerals.

[17] Foster & Whitney's Report. House Ex. Doc. 69, 31st Congress, 1st Ses., p. 159. A cut and a full description of this find is given by Colonel Whittlesey in his article on Ancient Copper Mining in Lake Superior Region, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, XIII. See also MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 76, 1904. Hulbert says that the discoverer of this mass was Albert Hughes.

Less than two miles from the rich outcrop of the Minnesota lode, was discovered the celebrated mass of copper now preserved in the National Museum at Washington.

During the seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries and the French explorers, penetrating the wilderness about Lake Superior, found among the most treasured possessions of the Indians pieces of copper weighing from ten to twenty pounds. Often these fragments of copper were regarded as household gods, which from an indefinite past had been transmitted from generation to generation. Tradition also told of large masses of copper situated at several points along the shores of the great lake, whose shifting sands often covered up the bowlders for years at a time, thus causing the superstitious savages to declare that their offended deities had disappeared for a season.[18]

In 1667 a piece of copper weighing a hundred pounds was brought to Father Dablon. "The savages," he reports,[19] "do not all agree as to the place whence this copper was derived. Some say it came from where the [Ontonagon] river begins; others say close to the lake; and others from the forks and along the eastern bank." Whether the Dablon fragment was a float piece of copper, or whether it was a portion broken from the great rock, it is impossible to say. The reference of the Jesuit father, however, makes it evident that at the time when he wrote, the Indians were familiar with the copper region along the Ontonagon, on the west bank of the west fork of which river the great bowlder lay when discovered by white men.

So far as authentic records go, the first white man to visit the Ontonagon bowlder was Alexander Henry, an English adventurer, and he saw it to his cost. In 1819 Gen. Lewis Cass made the first explorations of the Lake Superior region that were undertaken by this Government. His party ascended the Ontonagon River for thirty miles to visit the mass of copper whose existence, says Cass, had long been known. "Common report," he writes to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, "has greatly magnified the quantity, though enough remains, even after a rigid examination, to render it a mineralogical curiosity. Instead of being a mass of pure copper, it is rather copper embedded in a hard rock, and the weight probably does not exceed five tons, of which the rock is much the larger part. It was impossible to procure any specimens, for such was its hardness

[18] Journal du Voyage du Père Claude Allouez, Relation de la Nouvelle France, en l'Année 1667. Sagard, p. 589. Voyages of Pierre Esprit Radisson, Third Voyage.

[19] Relation of 1670.

From a drawing by H. R. Schoolcraft

THE ONTONAGON COPPER BOWLDER

that our chisels broke like glass. I intend to send some Indians in the spring to procure the necessary specimens. As I understand the nature of the substance, we can now furnish them with such tools as will effect the object. I shall, on their return, send you such specimens as you may wish to retain for the Government or to distribute as cabinet specimens to the various literary institutions of the country." [20]

Henry R. Schoolcraft, a member of the Cass expedition, says that the bowlder was found on the edge of the river, directly opposite an island and at the foot of a lofty clay bluff, the face of which appears at a former time to have slipped into the river, carrying with it detached blocks and rounded masses of granite, hornblende, and other rock, and with them the mass of copper in question. "Henry, who visited it in 1776, estimates its weight at five tons; but, after examining it with scrupulous attention, I do not think the weight of metallic copper in the rock exceeds 2,200 pounds. The quantity may, however, have been much diminished since its first discovery, and the marks of chisels and axes upon it, with the broken tools lying around, prove that portions have been cut off and carried away." [21]

The party sent by Cass cut about thirty cords of wood, which they placed about the bowlder, and then set fire to the pile. When the copper was well heated, they dashed water upon it, but the only result was to detach pieces of quartz rock adhering to the native copper. The party, having become disheartened, left the country, having moved the rock four or five feet from the bank of the river; nor did the Barbeau party, who went from Sault Ste. Marie two years later, have any better success. It so happened, however, that Joseph Spencer, a member of the Cass expedition, told the story of the copper rock to Julius Eldred, a hardware merchant of Detroit; and for sixteen years this enterprising man schemed and planned how he might succeed where others had failed.[22] Mr. Eldred's object in transporting it to the lower lakes was to exhibit it for money in the various cities of the East. It was a curiosity. As Senator Woodbridge said, it was "a splendid specimen of the mineral wealth of the 'Far West.' "

In 1841 Eldred arranged with Samuel Ashman, of Sault Ste.

[20] Smith, W. L. G. Life and Times of Lewis Cass. New York, 1856, p. 133. Cass never saw the rock, as he himself says in Senate Report 260, 28th Congress, 1st session.

[21] Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States, etc. Albany, 1821, pp. 175-178.

[22] John Jones, Jr., in the New York Weekly *Herald*, October 28, 1843.

From Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895

THE ONTONAGON COPPER BOWLDER IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM.

Marie, to act as his interpreter in the purchase of the copper rock from the Chippewa Indians, on whose land it was situated. Obtaining a trade license from Mr. Ord, the Government agent, the two men set out for the mouth of the Ontonagon, where they met the chiefs and concluded the purchase for $150, of which sum $45 was paid in cash at the time, and the remainder was paid in goods two years later. The party then proceeded about twenty-six miles up the river, climbed the high hill which intervened between the main stream and that point on the fork where the rock was situated, and raised it on skids. More than this they could not do; nor did they have greater success the following summer. In 1843 Eldred started from Detroit with wheels and castings for a portable railway and car; and to protect his property rights, he secured from Gen. Walter Cunningham, the United States mineral agent, a permit to occupy for mining purposes the section of land on which the bowlder stood. Arriving at the rock, Eldred was surprised and chagrined to find it in possession of a party of Wisconsin miners under the direction of Colonel Hammond, who had located the land under a permit made directly by the Secretary of War to Turner and Snyder, and by their agent transferred to Hammond. The only thing to do was to buy the rock again, and this Eldred did, paying for it $1,365.

It took a week for the party of twenty-one persons to get the rock up the 50-foot hill near the river; then they cut timbers and made a stout wooden railway track, placed the rock on the car, and moved it with capstan and chains as houses are moved. For four miles and a half, over hills 600 feet high, through valleys and deep ravines; through thick forests where the path had to be cut; through tangled underbrush, the home of pestiferous mosquitos, this railway was laid and the copper bowlder was transported; and when at last the rock was lowered to the main stream, nature smiled on the labors of the workmen by sending a freshet to carry their heavily laden boat over the lower rapids and down to the lake.[23]

While arranging transportation to Sault Ste. Marie, Eldred was confronted by an order from the Secretary of War to General Cun-

[23] Jones' letter in New York *Herald*. I have carefully examined the statements made by Mr. Alfred Meads in the Ontonagon *Miner* of June 22, 1895, assigning to James Kirk Paul, the founder of the Town of Ontonagon, the credit of bringing down the rock. Undoubtedly Captain Paul was in the party, but the proof is conclusive that all work was done under the direction of Mr. Eldred. The story of James K. Paul taking out the rock appears in Hulbert's "Calumet Conglomerate." The Hulbert statement represents the local tradition and is substantially incorrect.

ningham directing him to seize the copper rock for transportation to Washington. "The persons claiming the rock have no right to it," says Secretary Porter, "but justice and equity would require that they be amply compensated for the trouble and expense of its removal from its position on the Ontonagon to the lake; and for this purpose General C. will examine into their accounts and allow them the costs, compensating them fully and fairly therefor, the sum, however, not to exceed $700. . . . If they set up a claim for the ownership of the article itself, that is not admitted or recognized, and their redress, if they have any, will be an application to Congress." [24]

The sum mentioned by the Secretary being manifestly too small to compensate Mr. Eldred "fully and fairly," General Cunningham allowed the latter to transport the rock to Detroit, and promised that if the curiosity was ordered to Washington, Eldred should be placed in charge of it. On October 11, 1843, the bowlder was landed in Detroit [25] and placed on exhibition; and among those who embraced the opportunity to visit it was Henry R. Schoolcraft, who renewed an acquaintance with the copper monarch, formed twenty-three years before.[26] After less than a month of uninterrupted possession, United States District Attorney George C. Bates informed Mr. Eldred that the revenue cutter Erie was waiting at Detroit to receive the rock for transportation to the capital; and on November 9th the bowlder started on its long journey,[27] by way of Buffalo, the Erie Canal, and New York City, to Georgetown, District of Columbia. Mr. Eldred accompanied it as far as New York, and met it at Georgetown with a dray, by which it was hauled to the quartermaster's bureau of the War Department and deposited in the yard, where it remained until some time subsequent to 1855,[28] when it was removed to the Smithsonian Institution.

Mr. Eldred now appealed to Congress for redress; and William Woodbridge, of Michigan, chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, made an exhaustive report on the subject. By an act approved January 26, 1847, the Secretary of War was authorized "to allow and settle upon just and equitable terms the accounts of

[24] War Department MSS. Letters Cunningham to Porter, August 28, 1843; Maynadier to Porter, September 27, 1843, and Porter's indorsement.

[25] Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan, calendar of dates.

[26] Schoolcraft. The American Indians, Rochester, 1851.

[27] Treasury Department MSS. Letters from Secretary Spencer to Captain Knapp, September 29, 1843; Knapp to Spencer, November 11, 1843; Captain Heintzelman's receipt, November 11, 1843.

[28] Roberts' Sketches of Detroit, 1855.

Julius Eldred and sons for their time [29] and expenses in purchasing and removing the mass of native copper commonly called the copper rock." The sum thus paid was $5,664.98.

A fourth work of the Ancient Miners, a cache located near the southeast corner of section 14, town 56 north of range 33 west, was discovered by Edwin J. Hulbert, in 1865. In form it was a circular bowl-shaped depression with a diameter of about seventy feet. Above it was an enormous hemlock tree, and a black birch which, on being cut, showed nearly two hundred wood rings. Under the mold in this pit about twenty tons of green carbonate of copper was found; and that it was a cache is proved by the fact that no implements for extracting copper were found therein. The chief interest in this pit lies in the fact, as will appear later, that it was located directly over the vein of the Calumet and Hecla copper mine, for many years the largest copper producer in the world.[30]

The conclusion of the whole matter would seem to be that the Mound Builders were Indians, who were grouped in villages, who cultivated extensive tracts of land sometimes arranged in elaborate gardens; who threw up earthworks for defense against their enemies, and located their fortifications at strategic points near protecting streams; who mined copper in the Lake Superior region during the summer months, and cached their surplus stock when winter overtook them; and who were much superior to the wandering tribes which occupied the country at the time of its discovery by the whites. This solution, while it robs the Mound Builders of the element of mystery, leaves unsolved many of the most interesting questions as to their origin, the successive stages of their development, and the causes which led to their disappearance from their ancient haunts.

[29] In Senate Report 260, 28th Congress, 1st Ses., Mr. Eldred relates his trials and final success. The existence of the report was developed from the communications which were kindly furnished me by Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, when chief of the Record and Pension Division of the War Department; Capt. C. T. Shoemaker, chief of the Revenue-Cutter Service, and Hon. T. Strobo Farrow, Auditor of the Treasury for the War Department. The story of the Ontonagon Bowlder is to be found in the publications of the Smithsonian Institution, National Report for 1895, where I have discussed the evidence leading to the above conclusions. Almost every statement has been challenged, but there is contemporary documentary proof for each one.

[30] "Calumet Conglomerate," p. 39.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN FOLK-LORE ATTACHING TO MICHIGAN LOCALITIES

There are among the nations of the earth races which never outgrow their infancy. Old in years, or as men count time, they are, but the imminent belief in things supernatural, the credulity, the simplicity—each an attribute of youth and ignorance—are at once their inheritance and their legacy. Such a people were the Indian tribes of North America, and in at least one half-enchanted locality they have left most manifest traces; traces so almost tangible that on a summer afternoon or an autumn evening the eager imagination deludes the attentive ear with hearing a moccasined footfall in the pine-needled paths of Mackinac Island or a guttural whisper by the leaping rapids of the Sault Ste. Marie. The country of the Great Lakes is the region best beloved of the Indian and the home of his Manitous; spots from which neither subtle French, determined English, nor triumphing American could drive him, save in the last extremity. And if, as Boston Bay colonial legends tell, the shade of the last British governor stands wringing his hands in impotent discomfiture on the anniversary of the night when British power died in New England, how much more does the still errant fancy people cliff and beach and forest with copper-colored shades departing in anguish inexpressible. There are summer days on Lake Superior when one readily dreams oneself into the charm of a region unexcelled in its own way; the afternoon-country of purpling water and misty headland; the morning-land, fresh and splendid with sweep of wind and rush of water over vast, wide spaces of miles; where sea and mountain are wedded, and the air, like the potent tonic it is, even in memory goes to one's head!

Where the blues of Lake Huron melt into the purple-greens of Lake Michigan in the waters of the Straits, lies the Island of Mackinac. Indian and *voyageur, coureur de bois* and black-robed fathers of the Society of Jesus have made sanctuary there; and it has borne the standards of three great peoples: the Lily, the Lion, and the Eagle. Approaching it from the south one sees first the

beach and behind it the steep slopes covered still with pine and hemlock. Sheer heights of rock rise from the water; heights arched over like the gateway of a giant or towering in steep crags and stairways. Indian folk-lore is well set here, and the Indians called it Michilimackinac,—the Island of the Great Turtle. They believed that the Manitou in the shape of an immense turtle rose from the depths of the water and made the land after his own image. He was called Manabosho and was a most variable deity, half-evil and half-good, but wholly powerful.

Another fable repeated by Father Allouez of the Society of Jesus in one of his letters, says that this island was the home and native place of Michabous, "the maker of a new world" as the name signifies, and the creator of all the earth.[1] He was also called Ouisaketchak, the Great Hare, and in this spot he loved best to live, hunting and fishing, in freedom and idleness. One day after long fishing he threw himself down upon his bed of pine-boughs and began to watch a spider industriously spreading her web. The Manitou at once conceived a thought. "Shall an insect catch its prey, and Ouisaketchak fish for naught?" So the ingenious god forthwith made a fish net on the plan of the spider's web, to the great good of all Indian tribes succeeding.

The most wonderful natural formation of the island is a giant arch of rocks of which it is told that when the Manitou had called into existence the island and given it over to the spirits of air and water with the proviso that it was to be the abode of peace and rest he determined that there only the children of earth should worship him and for their entrance planned the great arched gateway. Near it was to be his wigwam, and to the spot came the tallest hemlocks offering themselves for tent-poles, balsam-firs strewed themselves for scented carpets, and the birch-tree unsheathed her creamy sheets of bark and covered the tent. Here year by year came the canoes across the lake, to be drawn up upon the pebbly beach while their occupants entered through the great gateway, laden with the skins of bear and beaver, which they laid before the wigwam of their unseen divinity and received his blessing in added strength, vigor and skill in hunting. And when after many years the Manitou departed never to return, the wigwam was turned to stone and remains a great cone unto this day.

[1] Letter from Father Allouez, Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations," Vol. LIV, p. 198. The name is also written Manabozho, Manabush, Michabou, Minabosho, Missibizi and Nanibozhu. He was the Algonquin deity Great Hare.

Later the island was the home of giant fairies who lived in the caves of the rocks and built the great stair called by their name. They rode through the waters on the backs of the great sturgeon, and danced nightly on the wide plateau where the fort was afterwards built and now stands. But one night the revel outlasted the darkness, and with the first sun-ray rang out upon that stillness the morning gun from La Salle's ship the Griffin (1679); first ship to enter the lakes. Shrieks and execrations broke from the belated Ruckwudjinunies and they vanished into their caves never to emerge again.

The legend of Osseo and the Evening Star, told by Longfellow, is located on Mackinac Island, and the totem of the tribe to which Osseo belonged was a turtle.

Twenty-five miles of water across the Straits brings one to the stately St. Mary's River. Never had explorers grander highway than that travelled by Jogues and Raymbault, Menard and Radisson and Groseilliers to reach the long sought Big Sea water—the Lake Superior. But long centuries before the eager Frenchmen, came Manabosho the mighty Manitou, hastening up the river. As with the speed of wind and wave he came rushing against the steady current, he tripped over an embankment of earth, which in his fury he tore away until nothing remained. Hurrying on he came to another similar obstacle, but this in the excitement of the beaver-chase he only tore and trampled into huge fragments and went on, leaving the pieces lying there with the waters boiling around them as they do to this day—forming the Neebish Rapids.

On the Candian bank of the river stand the low chain of Laurentian hills over which the loving feet of the geologist have passed and repassed, treading reverently, they tell us, the oldest land in the world. Around gracious curves, turning and winding among green islands, one beauty after another opens to charmed eyes until far ahead the tossing foam shows where the sharp-toothed rocks torment with cruel fangs the noble current—the Sault Ste. Marie.

On a hill not far from the rapids there stood for many years until 1822 a tree known as the Manitou's tree. It was a mountain-ash of great size, and it first made itself known as the home of a deity by a sound like the beating of an Indian war-drum, which came from it on still and cloudless summer days. No Indian passed the spot without depositing an offering of green twigs or leaves, and when the upper part of the tree decayed the stump was still venerated, until at last a road was cut over the spot, and the then immense mound of offerings was scattered and destroyed. The Indians

living there at the time acquiesced in the proceeding with all an Indian's belief in fatalism:—the Manitou had departed: it was to be, and the whites were simply the instruments of Fate.

The story of Mashqua-sha-kwong is a good example of the Indian fashion of accounting for the existence of tangible things by a mysterious origin, and heard without the beautiful accompaniment—the constant call and murmur of water which breaks one's speech by day and one's dreams by night—it is this: Mashqua-sha-kwong went a-hunting daily, but returning one night he found his two lonely

From the collection of J. B. Steere

THE ST. MARY'S RIVER AND FALLS

little sons lamenting their mother's absence, as they told him they did every day. Going out slyly he saw after some search his squaw in apparently loving talk with another brave, and in rage he killed both man and woman with a single blow. He dragged the bodies to his lodge and buried them in a hole dug under the fireplace. He told his sons that he must go away lest he should be killed for the deed he had done and they must further his escape, to the sky. He gave to the eldest boy a little bird which he was to cook for his young brother at the fire kindled over the place where their unworthy mother was buried; and he added a small leather bag, an owl, a beaver's tooth, a bone and a dry coal. "When I am gone," he said, "those who will come will ask for me and for your mother. Tell

them I am hunting and that you care for your brother by cooking his food. This will satisfy them for the time and when they go, escape. Carry your brother on your back in the leather bag, and every night when you make your journey's camp place the coal on the ground and a fire will be given you. Farewell."

No sooner was Mashquashakwong gone than a man entered the lodge, then another and another until ten came in all. All happened as their father had said, and when the boy said that his mother had gone for wood the men went to look outside for her, while the children escaped. But finding no one the men returned, and going to the fireplace saw the untasted bird. Suspicious, they dug where the fresh earth showed under the ashes, and found the bodies. Full of wrath at the death of their kinsfolk they followed the trail of Mashquashakwong whom they suspected, and travelling speedily they overtook him, but he passed into a hollow tree, climbed up it and so into the sky, his home, but even there his pursuers followed him. But the spirit of the mother, loosed from the body by being unburied, followed her children and at noontide as the boys rested they heard the roll of thunder from above, where their father fought his enemies. At night they camped, laid the coal upon the ground and a blazing fire sprang up. Every night, as they journeyed south this happened and there would fall from the sky a raccoon or rabbit which they dressed, cooked and ate. But the mother-spirit still angrily pursued, and from above the father's voice was heard encouraging them to flee faster. At last, when almost overtaken, "Throw away the owl," cried the voice, and at once there grew up a great forest of thorns behind them, which the spirit could hardly penetrate, while the boys fled on. The next day the spirit still pursued, but as its body had been torn away by thorns nothing was left but the head. With threats to kill them this head still followed on. "Cast behind you the beaver tooth," called the father's voice; and this is why the country to the north of St. Marys River is filled to this time with marshes and lakes where dwell the beaver. On went pursued and pursuers, and as the children cast behind them the tooth it became the ridge of hills we see on the north shore of these straits. At the straits by the rapids, the children met their father, who had been killed by his enemies and now appeared in the form of a red-headed woodpecker. "Here my children," said he, "here comes your grandfather who will carry you safely over the rapids." They looked and saw an Oshuggay, or large bird, which took them over, perched on his back. On the other side walked a stately crane, who took them under his protection. Meanwhile the furious spirit-mother had

crossed the marsh and surmounted the hills, and now with false stories and tears begged the Oshuggay to carry her over also. But the Oshuggay knew her to be a wicked woman, yet because of weariness at her pleadings he promised to carry her over if she would get upon the hollow of his neck and not touch his head. This she promised, but he felt her in curiosity touch his head, and instantly he dashed her to pieces on the rocks. The small fish instantly ate the fragments of her skull and became large whitefish—the king of lake fish. "This fish," said the Oshuggay, "shall be abundant for all time and feed forever the Indian and his descendants." As for the boys, they grew and flourished; one became an oshuggay and another a crane, and to them came a revelation of a divine Manitou who preached love and peace. But by and by the Oshuggays and Cranes quarreled, and the Cranes went south and became the Shawnee tribe.

An old Chippewa chief at the Sault told this legend in 1810. There was once a man who came from nowhere; he had no father or mother, and he wandered about the earth he knew not where. By and by he threw himself down to sleep and awoke to hear a tiny voice calling him. He found that it came from a little creature, smaller than a field mouse. "My son," it said, "take me up and bind me to your body, and never let me be apart from you. So only shall good befall." He put the little creature in a belt which he tied about his body and went on his way. Presently he came to a village. Now there were in this village lodges on either side of a roadway, but on one side the lodges were empty, but the others were full of people. These people were kindly though curious. The king's son, the Mudjekewis, made a friend of him, and the king gave him his daughter to wife. These people (who seem not all human) passed their time in sports and play. At last they asked him to join the ice test. He was to lie naked with them upon the ice and each was to see how long he could endure the test. But on disrobing our wanderer kept on the magic belt. At first his companions jeered at him, saying, "He will soon give up," but finally they became quiet. In the morning they were frozen stiff, but he felt a warmth from the belt. He took up the bodies of the young men who had perished, but they became dead buffalo calves in his hands. As he reached the village two living men came into the deserted lodge in place of the dead half-human ones, and the people were sorry, but the good Mudjekewis rejoiced.

The next test was that of speed. As he ran he saw that his competitor was a bear and not a man. He strained every nerve, and reached the winning-post first. As the bear came up, the good Mud-

jekewis killed him with his club, and then turned to those who stood by and who had wished his death and began to fell them one by one. As they dropped they turned into animals of all sorts, and more living ones appeared in the deserted lodges—a sort of backward metempsychosis. Still the villagers grumbled. They thought the frost-test not fair, and he promised to repeat it. But in throwing off his clothes he undid the charmed belt and fell asleep. In the morning he was frozen stiff. Then the villagers rejoiced and tore the body limb from limb, and divided it up to be eaten, for they were cannibals. But the Mudjekewis mourned, and his sister, the wanderer's wife, would not be comforted. As she wept in the night she heard a cry. She searched and found in her dead husband's belt the tiny hairless mouse. The little creature would shake itself and increase in size. So it alternately shook itself and grew until it was as large as a good sized dog, when it ran off. To and fro it went, searching for its dead master's bones, and toiling to bring them together. At last all were found save one heel bone and this had been sent to the place where the two sisters were staying. One petted the pretty dog, but the other was surly and kept gnawing the bone. Springing at her the dog seized it, and laid the recovered bone with the others. Then he gave a long howl and the bones came close together. Another howl and they knit in one. Still one more howl brought the sinews and another the flesh.[2] Then the wanderer arose and stretching himself as from sleep exclaimed, "Hy kow! I shall be too late for the trial."

"Ah," said the dog, "you chose to disobey me! Now I will show you what I am." He shook himself as before and with every shake grew more enormous in size until he was taller than the tallest trees. His legs were thick with clumsy feet, great teeth sprang from his mouth and a long snout from his head. There was no hair upon his body save a tuft at the end of his tail. "Here," he said, "I give you my gift. Animals, not men, shall be men's food henceforth. Animals shall not prey on man, but man on them. Thus shall it be forever." One would like to know what became of the supernatural prehistoric beast, but the tale vouchsafes no further information.

Above the Sault the river finds peace again until the waters of Lake Superior broaden in sight. Here also are traces of Michaboris or Manabosho. The Pottawatomies told their children that the beavers had made the Great Lake and that once when the Mani-

[2] Suggestion here is of the Norse tale of Baldur, parts of whose body were searched for by Freya.

tou chased a beaver, he crossed with one single step a bay eight leagues wide, probably White Fish Bay. From such a pursuer what could the beavers do but flee in a body to another lake, and thence by devious rivers and streams to Hudson's Bay, with intent to journey thence to still more distant countries. But the water was bitter (salt) and the beavers losing heart separated and spread themselves out among all the lakes and rivers of this country. "And this," naively remarks the good priest in his *Relation,* "is why there are no beavers in France."

Skirting the south shore of Lake Superior we come to the Pictured Rocks; those marvelous cliffs rising from the water in some places to the height of 250 feet. Upon the face of the rocks mineral exudations have laid bands and blotches of contrasting and vivid color that with no strong effort of the imaginative eye show strange landscapes and weird figures, which truly must have told their own stories to the superstitious savage. And as the waters of the lake have slowly lowered their level during successive centuries, they have carved and gnawed in the soft sandstone arches and caverns through which the lowest whisper of wave or wind, or the flutter of bird-wings echoes like the mutter of thunder. These honeycombed rocks stretch along the shore, inaccessible for miles, and woe betide the boat caught here even in the transient fury of a summer tempest; for its sure fate is to be dashed in pieces. To see these rocks, in the light of a hazy August afternoon, with forest fires sending up the smoke of their incantations all about the nearer lakeshore, while one's boat lies idly on the glassy water, is to see in them what the vanished braves saw: the fitting home of the mightiest gods. Here lived, as the Indian believed, they who were masters of human life; whom no man could see or approach, save through a vision vouchsafed in sleep. When a hunter was about to set forth on an expedition he would eat nothing for four or five days, that sleeping in this weakened state he might see in his dreams a deity favorable to the chase and by him perchance be given a sight of stag or bear foretelling the game he should be so fortunate as to secure. When the men were at the chase the little children were made to fast and sleep that they in turn might be given the inner sight and tell how fathers and brothers fared.

A legend of the Outagamies, noticeable because of its likeness to Christian belief, relates that the great-grandfather of the Indian race came from the sky and told to his descendants the glory of one Great Spirit by whom all lesser gods were created. He told them also that he should at his death return into the sky to live forever, and that

his body would also disappear, which last was verified when friends went to seek it after burial and could not find it. Father Allouez, repeating this incident, adds in conclusion that "God was pleased to make use of these fables to the present salvation of their savage souls."

Not so morally or spiritually useful, however, is the quite pagan tale of Wa-wabezoin, which is the legend of a household divided against itself. Once on these rocky headlands lived an old woman and her son, her son's wife, their child, and a little orphaned boy whom they were bringing up. Every evening when the son came from hunting he would bring to his wife dainties—a moose's lip or a bear's kidney. These with truly feminine power of exasperation she would cook very crisp so that her teeth in eating them might make a sound to be heard to the envy of others. Finally the mother-in-law had no more patience—were there no dainties for her? So one day she told her daughter-in-law to leave her little son with the boy and come out with her. On the shore of the lake where rocks overhung the water was a tree with a swing which she had made. She fastened a piece of leather about her own body and began with evident satisfaction to swing, going over the precipice at every impetus. Then the daughter was allowed her turn, but when the swing was in full play the old woman cut the cords, and the daughter dropped into the lake.

Then this wicked creature went home, put on her daughter's clothing and counterfeited her cares and duties. The child cried, missing the usual nourishment, and when the hunter came home, he gave the coveted morsels to his supposed wife, and though he missed his mother said nothing. Still the baby cried and the orphan boy became suspicious. He told the man his fears, and the man painted his face black and placed his spear upside down in the earth, praying the Great Spirit to send thunder and rain that his wife's body might rise to the surface of the water. Now when the wife was cast into the lake she was drawn under by a water-tiger, who took her to his lodge, and whenever she left it he fastened about her body his long tail by which he made her return to him. One day when the boy and the motherless baby played on the lake shore, the former saw a gull flying toward him. It touched the beach and became a woman in whom he recognized the lost wife. She had a glittering belt about her body which was the tail of the water-tiger, and taking her child in her arms she nursed him and spoke lovingly to him. Then she said to the boy, "When he cries bring him here again that I may nurse him." So the boy told these things to the father,

and again they were all upon the shore. Soon the gull with the long shiny chain came once more and took her human form. Then the father stepped forth from his hiding place and boldly struck with his spear at the shiny links of the chain. Then was the wife free and they joyously returned to their lodge. But when the old woman saw them come, she flew out of the lodge in shape as a bird and was never seen again.[3]

The stray lumps and nuggets of pure copper which had been carried by some means from unknown deposits into the lake and were now and then seen through the clear water as they lay upon the bottom, many feet below were wondered at and worshipped by the Indians as pertaining to the Manitou. These pieces were in many cases reverently preserved, wrapped in cloths, for several generations. Le Mercier tells [4] of a copper boulder which projected above the waters from the lake and which afterwards disappeared, having been covered by sand or broken away. At this the Indians feared, believing that the divinity had chosen to withdraw his favor from them in displeasure. Yet behind this there lies a still dimmer past. Before the coming of the red men whose descendants we know, there lived other Indians none of whose myths have come down to us. Nothing has been spoken or recorded to tell us of the likeness or life of those who worked the great copper-mines successfully centuries before the white men came. The savages whom the French found lived and died in ignorance that such deposits existed. That they did exist we know by the revealings of these latter years: that there were those who worked them we know by the tools of stone, the wedges, hammers, and baskets. In the days of the Mound Builders these prehistoric men placed great boulders of copper upon skids raised high in successive tiers from the floor of the mines; they were buried deep when found at last beneath the silt and debris of many years. They it was who cached lumps of copper where no other copper can be found for miles around, and oddly enough in one instance hid their hoard just above where years later was found underground the richest vein of copper ever discovered: directly over the deep sunk wealth of what is now the Calumet and Hecla mine.

What flat pieces of copper the red men found scattered up and down Keweenaw Point and along the Ontonagon River they cher-

[3] The analogy of this tale to that of the Fersaben Merman at once suggests itself, and in both instances it is mother love which brings back the wife. There are many fairy tales in the German which turn on the motif of the changed form of the captive.

[4] "Relation" of 1667.

ished and worshipped, some faint strange sense perhaps telling them of the alien and rich mineral which men of our own time have tacitly admired. Stone images were also objects of worship. Galinée, when, with Dollier in 1670, he was the first to voyage up the Straits,[5] encountered an idol of stone on the bank of the Detroit River, which idol he broke to pieces and cast into the water in righteous anger to find such pagan worship disfiguring so fair a land!

Stone images were also set up on the banks of Lake Huron by him who wrestled with Mondanin, the spirit of the Indian-corn, and a most magnanimous deed it was that a man should worship those who had tried to slay him. The legend tells us that after the wrestle he was weary and lay down to rest. From his sleep he was wakened by a voice which said, "Let us take his heart," "How shall we take it," "Put your hand into his mouth," and the wrestler felt fingers at his throat. He bit off the fingers and dealt a mighty blow in the dark and heard no sound, but in the morning he found the wampum beads where the bitten fingers had lain, and going to his canoe on the lake-border he found moored beside it one of stone in which sat two figures of Ruckmujimines also turned to stone with the marks of his blow upon them and minus the fingers. These he forgivingly set adrift and did homage to. Before such as these, on rocky hilltops and into the waters (for the great lakes were worshipped as divinities par excellence) were placed and thrown offerings of bows and arrows, tobacco, roots and skins.

Animals, especially the bear, were venerated as the possible temporary dwellings of deities who loved to take varying shapes, and would seem to have been both ubiquitous and inquisitive, since the Indian felt himself always in the presence and hearing of unseen spirits. It is curious also to notice here the trait which they shared with the Italians and Chinese, who never praise but always depreciate their own families and belongings lest the envious gods, overhearing, take sudden vengeance. There are other legends for which we have not space. Some of them are fables of flowers and animals belonging to this region; and are at once dainty, ingenious and humorous to a marked degree. Yet as we leave this land which is as that of the lotus-eaters, "where it is always afternoon," one word more of the Manabosho. This tale is one of a last struggle, and is nearly identical with one told among the Mic-macs of Nova Scotia as a discomfiture endured by their deity, Glooscap.

Manabosho, that active and contradictory deity, half god and

[5] Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations," Vol. L, p. 320.

half devil, waged war against and finally conquered all the sorcerers, witches, devils, imps, cannibals, goblins and dark spirits he could lay his enterprising hands upon, and thought his work done. Unhappily for his peace, he complacently mentioned this fact to a woman whom he one day met, but she much upset him by replying: "Not so, Master, there is still one whom neither you or any other has or can conquer while time lasts." "And who is he?" said the master crestfallen but still ready for fight. "Nosis" (the grandchild), she answered, "the mighty Nosis." Now Nosis, the baby, sat peacefully upon the floor, happy with a bit of sugar. To him Manabosho called sweetly and bade him come to him. Twice he called powerfully and compellingly, making his voice as the voice of a bird, but the baby only looked calmly at the mighty magician and moved not. Then Manabosho commanded sternly, but Nosis gazed vacantly into space. He raved and raged, and the baby whimpered but came not. Then did Manabosho utter awful spells, dire threats, terrible incantations, and the baby blinked cheerfully—and sat still! So Manabosho made a gesture of despair and went his way defeated, and the one who had vanquished him basked in the happy sunshine and went "Goo-goo." And ever since, when baby says "goo-goo" we know that he is remembering how he conquered the great and terrible Manabosho.

CHAPTER III

CHAMPLAIN, AND THE EARLY FRENCH EXPLORATIONS

Stephen Brulé was the first white man whose name can be associated with Michigan; and even in his case the evidence is purely circumstantial. His career of exploration, however, is so remarkable, and his wanderings are known to have taken him so far in other directions that it may be presumed that he penetrated also to Lake Superior. In any event his career so well epitomizes the history of French discovery along the St. Lawrence that it serves the purpose of leading the reader along the historic pathway.

In 1535, James Cartier, a native of St. Malo, in France, sailed up the St. Lawrence to an Indian village on an island called by the natives Hochelaga and by him named Mont Royale, the present site of Montreal. From the Indians Cartier learned of the Ottawa River, coming from the north; possibly also of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron; and certainly of deposits of copper. Other expeditions followed, but it was not until sixty-eight years later, in 1603, that the establishment of French settlements began with the advent of Samuel Champlain, the founder of New France.

Born at Brouage, in 1567, Champlain was trained in the royal navy. As commander of a vessel he visited the West Indies, reaching Vera Cruz, the City of Mexico, and also the Isthmus of Panama, where he conceived the idea of a ship canal. He was thirty-six years old when he made the first of his ten voyages to America; and his commission called upon him to make exact researches and explorations, while his companions were to establish traffic relations. During that year of 1603, Champlain reached the Island of Hochelaga, only to find that the Huron Indians, who occupied it during the days of Cartier, had been driven back into the interior by the hostile Iroquois. From scattered bands of Indians he learned of Niagara and of the Great Lakes; and like Cartier he conceived the idea of reaching China through the Northwestern waterways, the journey being, as he estimated, one of from five to seven hundred miles. Meantime his two ships had been filled with rich furs purchased from the

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290
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Golfe
de
Hudson
Cap Hen
Farr
N. Severne
R
la Grande
Baye
Deli
Irimna
dous
Kiristinous
Lac
Superieur
Nadouessoueronons
Astakouankae
ronons
Attiouan
darons
Aouentsiou
aeron
Skiaeronons
Cheveux Relevez
Lac des Puans
Oukouarararonons
Kareg nondi
Assistaeronons, ou
N du Feu
Ariatoeronon
Couacronons
Aictaeronons
Squenquoronons
Ontarraronons
Lac des Eaux de Mer
Erie
Chat
Ontario
ou
de S. Louys
Chonchradeen
Tontha
Nipissiriniens
Eachinouacha
Algonquins de l'Isle
Saron
Quionon
Tarantou
Attiqua
Enchek
Aessodi
Errahon
Ongiara
Sault
Soyoua
Powhatan
Kecoughtan
Weapa
Demamotique
Secoutan
Pomeioc
Cunarwoc
Wokokon
Xuala
Chalaque
Guaxule
Cofachiqui
Aminoia
Guascoia
Guancana
Achalaque
Utaunque
Naquatex
Andco
Cofaqui
Cofa
Mocos
Palatcoa
FLO
RIDE
VIRG
490
295
300

LE CANADA, ou
NOUVELLE FRANCE, &c.
Tiree de diverses Relations des
Francois, Anglois, Hollandois, &c
Par N. SANSON d'Abbeville
Geographe ordre du Roy.
Avecq Privilege pour Vingt Ans.
A Paris Chez l'Auteur.
1657.
NOUVELLE FRANCE
CANADA, ou
ACADIE
TERRE NEUVE
ISLE DE
St LAURENS
GOLFE DE
Port Royal
Cap Breton
Isle de Sable
Hollandsche Bay
Bay Sauvage
Lage Hoeck
Anthonis oste Cameels Hoeck
Oost Hoeck
Port de Quarantaine
Port de S Nicolas
Port Neuf
Gr Baye
Baye d'Orgel
Baye Blanche ou de Ste Claire
Baye de la Conception
Belle Isle
Cap de Grace
Cap Rouge
Brest
Fichet
Gr Golfe
Isles d'Espoir
le Grand Banc
NORT
Slapers Haven
Clap muts Bay
Oock Nothavan
Esquimaus
Oupapinachouet
Chuchi Koue
Port aux Ours
Anticosti ou Assomption
Mal Baudet
Riviere de Canada ou de St Laurens
Croixpapes
Gaspe
Pelee
Miscou
Isle St Jean
Regibouchouc
Mines
Port Royal
Marue
Sourricois
Martenge
Macomode
Passpay
la Heve
Rossignol
Isle de Sable
Aux Loups Marins
Malabarre
Vlielande
Monts Deserts
Ides
Longue
Etechemins
Lequemin
Oumouqui
Bersiamites
Port Neuf
Riviere de St Jean
Riviere de Pentagouet
Riviere de Kinibequy
Riviere de Pentagouet
Riviere de Mirligueche
Riviere de Ste Croix
Riviere de Port Royal
Riviere de Mirligueche
Riviere de Pentagouet
Riviere de Kinibequy

Indians so that the voyage was a financial success. In 1608, Champlain returned to New France as lieutenant governor, bringing with him men and stores for a colony. He selected Quebec as the site for his town and there passed the winter.

Champlain was an empire-builder, rather than a trader. His object was to explore the continent, to discover a pathway to Asia, and to secure that route to France by planting colonies and forts. In order to accomplish his purposes the friendship and cooperation of the Indians were essential. The fur country, on which he relied for the support necessary to his undertakings, was in the possession of tribes with whom the Iroquois were at war. Therefore he cast his lot with the enemies of the Iroquois. The choice was as unfortunate as it was inevitable. By his alliance with the Hurons, the Algonquins and the Montagnais, he espoused a cause doomed to defeat, because of the superior courage, resources and situation of the Iroquois. Not only so, but unwittingly he committed New France for all time to the losing side; and the growth and development of French power in America was hampered and restrained by a daring, adventurous and skillful foe, which came to be supplied by English traders with the materials for warfare, at prices so much below those of the French that even the Hurons themselves were attracted to the rival markets.[1]

It was in 1609, two years after the founding of the first English settlement at Jamestown, and eleven years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, that Champlain lent the effective aid of his arquebus to a band of Algonquins engaged with a hundred Iroquois, on the banks of Lake Champlain, at a point probably near Port Henry, New York. The event is commemorated by a monument erected 300 years later, under the auspices of the French government.[2] The advantage obtained by the use of fire-arms for the first time was never repeated; and in time the final success of the Iroquois was due largely to the fact that they had more English muskets than the Hurons had French guns.

[1] The name Hurons was given to the nation in derision on account of their manner of wearing their hair—like boars. *"Quelle hures!"* exclaimed the French; and hence, according to Charlevoix, came the name. The Algonquins at this time were a tribe living on and near the Ottawa; later they were known as the Ottawas. The name Algonquin came to be applied to many tribes speaking the same language. The Montagnais occupied the territory between the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay. Iroquois is also a term originated by the French. They were the Five Nations, and had their villages in the central portion of the present State of New York.

[2] The monument is visible from the Lake Champlain steamers.

With Champlain on this expedition was Brulé, then a lad of some seventeen years. He was born in Champigny about 1592, but nothing further of his origin is known. By an arrangement made between Champlain and the Algonquin chief, Iroquet, Brulé spent the winter of 1610-11 with the Hurons near Lake Simcoe; and, at the same time, an Indian boy, named by the French, Savignon, returned to France with Champlain. The following June the two lads were returned, each to his own people. Brulé had learned the Huron language and was prepared to begin his career as interpreter, explorer and promoter of French trade with the savages.[3] Nevertheless he added to his Indian lore by spending four more years with his newly made forest friends, accompanied by another of Champlain's young men, Nicholas Vignau by name.

In 1615, the Hurons and Algonquins planned a great expedition against the Iroquois. They were to attack the Onondagas, who lived in the heart of the present New York State; and 2,500 Indians were to form the attacking force. The journey of 800 miles was to be made up the Ottawa to the lands of the Algonquins, thence by the Mattawan River to and across Lake Nipissing, then down the French River to Lake Huron and so to the country of the Hurons, who were then dwelling near Lake Simcoe. Champlain and Brulé accompanied them; and in that year of 1615 they were the first white men to look off over the dancing waters of Lake Huron, in that portion of the lake now known as Georgian Bay but called by Champlain *Mere Douce,* the fresh water sea. Father LeCaron with twelve other Frenchmen preceded them to Lake Simcoe.

The Huron country was to be the rendezvous; but the Indians were, as usual, slow in assembling. Champlain went from village to village, some of which contained as many as two hundred large cabins. Brulé was sent ahead with a party of Hurons to bring up the Indian tribes, allies of the Hurons, who lived to the southward of the Onondagas, probably on the upper waters of the Susquehanna. Thus Brulé became the discoverer of Lake Ontario, which he crossed at the mouth of the Niagara; while Champlain and his force crossed at the foot of the lake, near the present city of Kingston. Brulé was the first white man to traverse Western New York, six years after the Dutch had sailed up the Hudson. Owing to the failure of the allies to arrive in time, the expedition was a failure,

[3] Champlain in his "Voyages" does not mention Brulé by name, but there is no doubt as to whom he meant.

Champlain's fire-arms being ineffective against the palisades of the Iroquois, and that worthy being so badly wounded by an arrow that he had to be carried back in a litter. Sore in spirit was Champlain, and his disappointment was made more bitter by the fact that although he heard from the Indians tales of a great sea which he took to be the western ocean, but which was really Lake Superior, they feared to conduct him thither. "If ever," he says, "a person was sorely disappointed it was myself, since I had been waiting to see, this year, the North Sea, which during many preceding years I had been seeking for with great toil and effort, through many fatigues and risks of life." [4]

Brulé spent the winter of 1615-16 with the tribes on the Susquehanna, which river he followed to the sea, thus marking him as the first explorer of Pennsylvania. On his return he narrowly escaped torture at the hands of the Iroquois, and after an absence of three years once more appeared at Quebec, only to return forthwith to the Huron country. The mystery of the North Sea was still to be solved. In 1621 Brulé and a companion, Grenolle, started for the north to discover that body of water about which Champlain heard in 1603—the lake which emptied itself into Lake Huron by rapids a league in width. When these rapids are passed "one sees no more land on either side, but only a sea so large that they have never seen the end of it nor heard that anyone else has." He was to find also that mine of copper of which Champlain was told. These vague and obscure references of 1603 are the first accounts of Lake Superior and its afterwards famous copper mines.

To the historian-priest Sagard,[5] Brulé gave a description of his travels. "The interpreter Brulé," says Sagard, "assured us that beyond the Mere Douce (Lake Huron) there was another very large lake which empties into it by a waterfall, which has been called the Saut de Gaston, of a width of almost two leagues, which lake and the Mere Douce have in length almost thirty days journey by canoe, according to the account of the savages; but according to this interpreter's account, they are 400 leagues in length." There is small doubt that in 1623 Brulé added to his other discoveries that of Lake Superior. But the victory was a barren one. The sea was of fresh water, and it had an end. It was not the ocean; it did not

[4] Champlain's "Voyages," Prince Society edition, 1878-82.

[5] Gabriel Sagard, a Franciscan, came to Canada in 1623, and the same year he visited the Hurons. He wrote in 1632.

lead to China.[6] Lake Superior and Sault Ste. Marie appear for the first time on Champlain's map of 1632, which was drawn three years before that date; but that searcher for the Northwest Passage was convinced of the futility of his hopes of finding the western ocean by the Lake Superior route.

Of Brulé himself not much more is to be said. When, in 1629, the British Admiral Kirk for the second time attacked Quebec, Brulé acted as the pilot of his fleet; and when Champlain and the other French captives were sent to France, he returned to the Huron country. In 1633, the year after New France was restored to the French, Brulé was clubbed to death by the Hurons, and his flesh furnished a feast for his former friends. Whether the treatment he received at the hands of Champlain excused him for deserting the country he had served so long and with so little reward, and whether some act of his own led the Hurons to put him to death, are matters of speculation.[7] It is to be assumed that the Indians did not question his bravery, else they would not have feasted upon him. Champlain for his part hastened to inform the Hurons holding back from the St. Lawrence fur-markets that Brulé was no longer regarded as a Frenchman, because he had gone over to the English; therefore no reprisals would be taken on account of his murder.[8] Indeed Brulé's only mourner seems to have been the Jesuit priest Brébœuf, who relates, "I saw also the place where poor Etienne Brulé had been barbarously and treacherously murdered."

In the year 1618 there appeared in New France John Nicolet, a blonde-haired, long-faced, blue-eyed Norman youth from Cherbourg, whose excellent disposition and good memory caused the Jesuit Vimont to have great hopes of him.[9] The son of a pious carrier between Paris and the sea-coast town of his birth, the youth was trained in the faith so thoroughly that savage life never was able to swerve him from the path of virtue, rectitude and allegiance. The boy's imagination probably had been stirred by his father's recital

[6] For a full discussion of Brulé's claims as to the discovery of Lake Superior see "Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations," by Consul Willshire Butterfield, Cleveland, 1898. Also Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vols. V, VII, VIII, X, XIV. It is incredible that Brulé did not discover the great lake; but it is unfortunate that the evidence is so largely circumstantial.

[7] Champlain says that Brulé was depraved. Sagard believes he was murdered for revenge. See Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. V, p. 291.

[8] LeJeune Relation of 1633.

[9] Vimont, Relation of 1643. For a detailed account of the life of Nicolet see "Jean Nicolet et le Canada de son Temps, 1618-1642," par L'Abbe Auguste Gosselin; Quebec, 1905.

of the news he had heard at Paris of Champlain's arrival in Honfleur and his appeal to the merchants to engage in the profitable fur-trade between France and the New World. Father LeCaron, who had lived among the Hurons and had returned with Champlain, presented the opportunity offered to the church of saving souls from perdition. The need was great for young men to go among the Indians, to learn their language and their customs, to the end of bringing to savages the advantages of civilization and also inducing them to take their furs to French markets on the St. Lawrence. Nicolet, one of a family of seven, could well be spared for the good work, and eagerly he adopted his vocation. He belongs to the best type of those Frenchmen who sought America for the purpose of making a home in a new country.

After a journey of twelve or fifteen days from the trading-post of Three Rivers, Nicolet arrived at Allumette Island in the Ottawa, where his instruction was to begin. He was assigned to an Indian family, and became a child of the house, enjoying the seasons of plenty, suffering when food ran short. He hunted and fished for his living, and meantime pursued the main object of his sojourn, the study of the language of the savages. Jerome Lalemant [10] has testified that the Indian language has all the niceties of the Greek and the Latin; and modern investigators have found that the most subtle shades of thought were expressed by an inflection. Brulé, in spite of his long association with the Hurons, was often perplexed by illusive distinctions. Nicolet proved an apt student.

After spending two years with the Algonquins, Nicolet had attained such familiarity with their customs and had won their confidence to such an extent that he was sent to the Iroquois with a deputation to negotiate a treaty of peace. Next he visited the Indians living about Lake Nipissing. The company of merchants whom Nicolet served was composed of Rouen and St. Malo traders who, through the good offices of Champlain, held the exclusive right to the fur-trade of the St. Lawrence Valley on condition that they would pay the administration charges, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the colony, and also furnish each year a certain number of colonists and provide for the defense of the new settlers. Many of the members being Huguenots, there was no strong desire to propagate the Catholic

[10] Lalemant Relation of 1660. The idea that the Indian languages are meager and lack words to convey abstract ideas is as common as it is false. The vocabularies are rich and the grammatical structure is systematic and intricate. In each language there are no fewer than two thousand stem-words. See "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 757.

religion; and all being merchants the profits as computed in France were their first concern. Champlain's personality was the only thing that saved the colony from extinction. Attached to the Rouen company as he was, Nicolet nevertheless deplored their lack of zeal for the advancement of the colony, but like Champlain he remained faithful to his ideals; and when in 1627 Richelieu formed the company of the Hundred Associates he yielded to the new order. When Quebec was surrendered to the English, in 1629, he betook himself to the Huron country, where he remained until the return of Champlain. Perhaps his greatest service was rendered during the three years of uncertainty when he aided in keeping the Hurons friendly to France amid times of failing markets and meagre supplies. Only the Algonquins appeared at the English markets.

In 1634, Nicolet came into a portion of his reward by being appointed clerk and interpreter for the Company of One Hundred Associates. In pursuance of his duties he was commissioned to undertake an expedition to the "Tribes of the Lake" for the purpose of making peace between them and the Hurons, thus opening the western fur-markets to French companies. Thus the first white man to see any portion of Michigan, Brulé, went as an explorer in the personal service of Champlain; while the second explorer undertook a mission of trade, also at the instance of Champlain. From the founder of New France, Nicolet carried messages to the Hurons requiring them to furnish ambassadors commissioned to make peace with the western tribes. Nor was this peace to be merely a matter of sentiment. It meant that the road between the western nations and the St. Lawrence markets would be cleared for the passage of the distant Indians, between whom and the French the intervening tribes were accustomed to act as middlemen, thereby obtaining a considerable profit.

On July 4, 1634, Nicolet assisted at the foundation of Three Rivers, half-way between Quebec and Montreal. The town speedily became the seat of a prosperous fur-market and the home of many a trader and explorer, among them Nicolet himself. Three days later, amid the shouts of the Frenchmen and the noise of the cannon mounted on the new fort, Nicolet set out with the Jesuit Fathers Brébœuf and Daniel, who were destined for the Huron mission; and the three Normans doubtless beguiled the toilsome journey by tales of their native country. The colossal Brébœuf, capable of enduring any hardship, has left the record that Nicolet shared the labors of the journey with the most robust of the red-men. At Allumette Isle they parted, the missionaries taking the direct road to the Huron country;

and Nicolet making the circuit through the territory of his old friends, the Nipissings. On reaching the Huron towns, Nicolet presented the desires of Champlain; there were feasts and dances, and exchange of presents, and all the other preliminaries to so important a project. The result was all that could be desired, and at the end Nicolet with seven savages set out for the western country.

They paddled north along the shores of Georgian Bay to the river by which the greatest of lakes empties itself into Lake Huron, thence up that island-strewn stream to the rapids, where they found a small Indian village. After a few days of rest they dropped down the stream, and at the mouth of the river turned their prows west in waters never before traversed by white men. Passing through the Straits of Mackinac to Lake Michigan, they entered the Bay des Noquets and in time came to Green Bay and disembarked in the country of the Folle-Avoine (Winnebagoes), the people of the wild-rice, so called from the abundance of that plant in rivers which empty into the bay. The Indians whom he had met on the way spoke an Algonquin dialect, and Nicolet had been able both to understand them and also to make himself understood by them; but the Winnebagoes had a different language, and communication was difficult. Soon the news of his arrival spread from village to village. He sent out messengers proclaiming his errand of peace.

Champlain still cherished the idea of finding a passage to China, perhaps to the south of Lake Superior; and Nicolet had brought from Quebec a gorgeous robe of Chinese damask, embroidered with flowers and birds of all kinds, hoping to encounter among the western tribes people from Asia. On reaching the first of the Winnebago towns, Nicolet arrayed in his fine garments advanced, discharging his pistols. "The women and children were badly scared at seeing a man carrying thunder in his two hands," says Vimont.[11] The same chronicler relates that the gathering of Indians numbered four or five thousand, and that each of the chiefs gave a feast at which no fewer than a hundred and twenty beavers were served.

Nicolet embraced the occasion to propose a treaty of peace. In glowing terms he painted the beauties of the St. Lawrence Valley and the advantages that would be derived by the Winnebagoes from a regular trade with the colonists. He showed the necessity of being on friendly terms with the Indians who were friends of the French. To all of this talk his listeners were agreeable, and peace was concluded. Instead of returning at once and leaving his new friends to find their way down the Ottawa, Nicolet determined to spend the

[11] Relation of 1640.

winter in their country, and personally conduct them, the next summer. Probably he feared the treachery of the Indians through whose countries the Winnebagoes would have to pass, as he had abundant reason to do. Possibly, too, he was human enough to desire the glory of heading the expedition which his diplomatic skill had made possible. He improved the time of his stay by ascending the Fox River, and coasting along Lake Winnebago, penetrating to the site of the present City of Oshkosh. He came upon a village of Mascoutins, and doubtless he encountered the soft-mannered Miamis and the rough Kickapoos. Possibly he reached the Wisconsin River and thus entered the Valley of the Mississippi. At any rate, he told Vimont that he was within three days journey of the sea. Why he did not pursue his way can only be conjectured. Probably he did not know at the time how near he was, not to the sea, but to the Mississippi; or he may have learned of his nearness from the Indians whom he met on his return journey. Such an explanation best comports with Nicolet's character; he was not one to turn back before reaching his goal.

In July or August of 1635, Nicolet arrived at Three Rivers and then hastened to Quebec to lay before Champlain the results of his embassy and the tale of his discoveries. The governor-general thereupon renewed his commission as clerk and interpreter, signing it with his own hand. On the same day (August 15), Champlain wrote to Cardinal Richelieu a most enthusiastic letter, telling of the peace that had been established among all the tribes hostile to the Iroquois, and asking for enough soldiers to maintain the French authority built up by him during thirty years of privation and frequent risk of life. Easily the English could be opposed, he wrote, French commerce could be increased, and the boon of true religion could be bestowed on numberless people.

On Christmas day of that same year Champlain died at Quebec. He left among the savages a memory of honorable dealing and the highest integrity and morality. In the wilderness he founded and established a state, the possibilities and potentialities of which are now just on the point of realization. Every year that passes adds lustre to his name and increases his fame, and the fame of those his servants whom he led or sent for the discovery of new countries.

As clerk for the company, Nicolet led a busy life at Three Rivers. He was the devoted friend of the Jesuits, he kept the savages in order by fair and honorable dealing, and in all ways he strove to advance the interests of his country and his religion. Again he was sent as an ambassador to treat with the Iroquois for peace; and

while successful in securing the release of two captives, he came back with the answer that the Iroquois were ready to make peace with the French but not with their Indian allies, the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais—a condition which the new governor Montmagny, following the precedents set by Champlain, refused to accept. In 1641, Nicolet assumed for a time the duties of chief clerk of the company at Quebec. While enjoying the religious and social satisfactions of the capital, he was suddenly recalled to Three Rivers by the news that the Algonquins had captured a member of a tribe allied with the Iroquois and were about to torture their victim over a slow fire. The French at Three Rivers, appalled at the thought of the consequences to New France of such an act of cruelty, hurriedly sent for Nicolet as the one man capable of averting the catastrophe. On October 27, in the midst of a tempest he set out; the cold was intense, and already ice was forming on the rivers. It was dark when they embarked for Sillery, where they were to spend the night. A gust of wind upset the boat. In the darkness nothing could be distinguished. "Chavigny," cried Nicolet to his companion, "save yourself. You can swim; I cannot. I go to my God. To you I commend my wife and my daughter." So perished Jean Nicolet, giving his life for his country. The annals of the Northwest bear the record of no whiter soul.[12]

[12] Nicolet married at Three Rivers, October 22, 1637, Margaret Couillard, daughter of William and Williametta (Hérbert) Couillard, a girl under twelve years of age, a goddaughter of Champlain and a granddaughter of Louis Hérbert, whom the great governor-general styled "the first head of a family in the country who lived on the products of his farm." At the time of his marriage Nicolet gave to his bride 2,000 livres, together with his furniture and real estate whether in France or New France. There was a son who died soon after birth, and a daughter, Margurite, who was educated at the Ursuline school and at the age of fourteen years married Jean-Baptiste Le Gardeur de Repentigny. Their son Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche was a worthy contemporary of Nicholas Perrot, and a credit to his grandfather. The widow, four years after Nicolet's death, married Nicholas Macard. She was then twenty years old. They had numerous offspring; she is said to have died in 1725; if so she lived to be nearly or quite a hundred. Of Nicolet's brothers, the Abbe Gilles Nicolet, came to New France in 1635 and returned in 1647; Pierre came in 1640 and was the guardian of Margurite. Perhaps also Euphrasie-Madeline of Cherbourg who came to Quebec was his sister.

Happily the Indian was rescued on the very night set for his torture. After the death of Nicolet, word was sent that the victim was to be saved at any price. The price was a large one; but the advantage to the colony was great. The fact that Nicolet could not swim is not unusual. The author personally knew a Cape Cod life saving crew, seven of whom perished in attempting a rescue. None could swim.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPLORERS OF LAKE SUPERIOR

Six years (1641) after the adventurous voyage of Nicolet, the two priests, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, accepted an invitation to accompany a party of Algonquins on their return to their homes at the falls in the outlet of the upper lake. The fathers had watched with intense interest the celebration of the Feast of the Dead as it was celebrated in the country of the Nipissings, north of the Huron country. They noted the many nations that formed their canoes in line so as to sweep up to the landing-place in imposing fashion; and the scramble of the young men for pelts and hatchets and beads thrown into the water to test their diving abilities. They admired the rich furs of beaver, otter, moose, wild-cats and deer which the visiting nations presented to the givers of the feast in order to dry the tears shed for departed ones; and the fathers themselves gave presents, not for consolation for the dead, but in the hope of securing for the living the joys of eternal life. They were pleased with the "ballet danced by forty persons," and with the trials the visitors made to climb a greased pole. Their curiosity was excited by the election of chiefs and by the rich presents made by the successful candidates, amounting in value, as the fathers estimated, to forty or fifty thousand francs; and they looked with awe on the ceremony of placing the bones of the dead in a long cabin richly furnished, after the names of the distinguished ones had been bestowed on the young men, who were expected to emulate the bravery of the departed.

About the end of September they started with their hosts from the mission house of Sainte Marie, and after the seventeen days of navigation reached the place then known as the Sault. Scattered over the sand plateau beside the rush of waters were the huts of some two thousand Ojibwas and other Algonquins, allured thither by the whitefish that had their home in pools behind the foam-making rocks. There they heard of many other sedentary nations who had never known Europeans—among others of the Sioux, who lived eighteen days journey towards the northwest, and who fought

with the Crees. Willingly the curious savages listened to the new doctrines of the black-gowns; and even invited them to take up their abode in that country. The lack of laborers in the mission field, however, was such that the fathers could hold out hopes indeed, but could make no promises. As the ice began to form the missionaries set out on their return journey—Raymbault going to a speedy death at Quebec,[1] and Jogues unwittingly entering the path that five years later led to martyrdom on the banks of the Mohawk. They left behind them only the name Ste. Marie, calling the place of their sojourn, as well as the falls and the river, after the mission whence they came.

We come now to the explorations of two Frenchmen, Chouart and Radisson, whose adventures have formed a bone of contention among western historical writers during the quarter of the century since the Prince Society of Boston published, in 1885, "Radisson's Voyages." The book was printed from manuscripts prepared for the edification of Charles II of England in order to induce him to charter "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay," better known as the Hudson Bay Company. The object of the writing was attained; the company was chartered in 1670, with Prince Rupert at its head; and today its trading stations are dotted over an immense region stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the boundaries of the United States to the Arctic Ocean, excluding Canada proper and Alaska.

Radisson himself was a person of much humor and no one could be more amused than probably he would be if he could read the ingenious expositions of the paths he trod in the wilderness. Some writers appropriate for him the credit of the discovery of the upper Mississippi; while others look upon him as the pathfinder par excellence to all the Northwest. There are others, however, who while recounting the great results that have come from the wanderings of the two brothers-in-law, still regard them as renegades and as traitors to France; also as inaccurate in their statements and bent

[1] For a detailed description of the Feast of the Dead see Jesuit Relations, Vol. XXIII, Relation of 1642. Raymbault was born in 1602. In 1640 he was at Three Rivers; then he was a missionary to the Nipissings; and on October 22, 1642, he died from overwork (Jes. Rel. Vol. XI, p. 279). Jogues was born at Orleans in 1607; he came to Canada in 1636 and entered the Huron missions; he was captured by the Iroquois in 1642 and escaped to the Dutch; he was again taken in 1646 and was tortured to death in the Mohawk country.

only on their own commercial success. There are good arguments in support of both contentions.[2]

The Radisson papers, having served their purpose at court, became a portion of the collections of Samuel Pepys, known to fame as a diarist. In 1703 Pepys' manuscripts were sold for waste paper, from which fate they were saved by the collector, Richard Rawlinson, about 1749; nearly a century later a portion of the Radisson papers came into the possession of the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the British Museum; and in 1885 they were published by the Prince Society of Boston, with an introduction by Gideon D. Scull of London.[3]

[2] A. C. Laut, in "Pathfinders of the West" (1904) devotes 190 pages to Radisson's explorations and adventures. She writes with unbounded enthusiasm, but refuses to be drawn into controversies as to dates. This is her chronology: 1652-4, Radisson's capture by the Iroquois, escape and return to New France; 1657-8, Radisson's sojourn at the Onondaga Mission; 1658-60, Radisson and Chouart make their first journey to the Upper Lakes; 1661-4, Radisson and Chouart make their second journey to the Upper Lakes. This also is the chronology of N. E. Dionne, professor of Canadian archæology in Laval University, in his work entitled "Chouart et Radisson" (Quebec, 1910), and of Sulte and George Bryce and E. D. Neill, all authorities. On the contrary, Henry Colin Campbell (Am. Hist. Rev. Jan. 1896; also Parkman Club pub., No. 2, and Wis. Hist. Soc. 1896) identifies Radisson and Chouart as the two Frenchmen mentioned in the Jesuit Relations as having returned in 1856, after a two years' stay in the upper country. Warren Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, follows Mr. Campbell in the theory that the first journey was made in 1655-6 and the second in 1659-60. The late R. G. Thwaites evidently did not give particular attention to the subject, since he can be quoted on both sides. I confess that, after some fifteen years of discussion, the fewer difficulties seem to lie in taking Radisson's own order. It is less difficult to account for the idle years between Radisson's return to Canada in 1654 and his Onondaga journey in 1657 (during which time he married) than it is to suppose that between his first and second journey he turned aside to pursue a footless missionary expedition. When once the Lake Superior air got into his blood, he is not likely to have turned aside for a purely philanthropic task in a country that offered no financial inducements nor yet any chance for explorations. From the day he came under the influence of Chouart he ceased to be a boy and became a man bent on his own advancement. Nor do I place much reliance on the identifications of Radisson's various encampments. If he reached the Mississippi, he did not realize the fact, nor did his explorations add either to the geographic or the trade knowledge of that region. His thoughts were fixed on the north, where lucrative trade was possible; and this country he exploited with ardor and success.

[3] Only 250 copies of this publication were printed; one of which came into the possession of the writer about twenty years ago, through the courtesy of Warren K. Blodgett, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass.

Radisson wrote ostensibly in English; but the ordinary English of that day was not clear, and the English of a French sailor and traveler, gained probably while he was a youth, naturally is obscure and difficult.[4] Moreover, Radisson wrote primarily to produce an effect; and if he kept notes, as undoubtedly he did, in transcribing them probably he added whatever a fertile imagination, together with any information obtained from the savages, might suggest.[5] Certainly he frequently mixed dates.

Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, as he came to call himself, was born in Touraine, France; in 1641, when he was a boy of fifteen or sixteen, he came to New France and became a lay-helper (donné) at the Huron missions, where he spent ten years in learning the language and customs of the savages. He became familiar with the country and the tribes from the Ottawa to Lake Huron and from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario. He must have known Nicolet, the most famous explorer of that time, who was making his home at Three Rivers, where Groseilliers established headquarters in 1647, when he embarked in business on his own account. At Quebec he married Helene Martin, a daughter of that Abraham Martin who gave name to the Plains of Abraham, where Montcalm and Wolfe fell in 1759, more than a century later.

On May 24, 1651, Peter Esprit Radisson arrived at Quebec, having come with his family to settle at Three Rivers. In 1653, Radisson's widowed sister, Marguerite, married Groseilliers, who had then been a widower for two years. These alliances established the two families as among the landed proprietors of the colony and gave them a secure position.[6]

[4] Peter Radisson's style is at least as lucid as that of another French Peter, who wrote in personal English of the City of Washington more than a century later—Peter Charles L'Enfant.

[5] Mr. Warren Upham after extended research has reached the conclusion that the two Frenchmen, on their first journey, crossed from Green Bay to the Mississippi, then paddled up the river for eight days to the vicinity of Winona and thence to Prairie Island, a few miles above Red Wing, where they made headquarters. Mr. Upham, however, believes that not much thanks or praise can be awarded to them for being the earliest Europeans on the upper Mississippi River; for they failed to discern the geographic significance of the great river, and designedly concealed from their countrymen, so far as possible, all knowledge of their travels. See his "Groseilliers and Radisson, the first white men in Minnesota—1655-6 and 1659-60, and their discovery of the Upper Mississippi River" (Wis. His. Pub., Vol. X, pt. II).

[6] "Chouart et Radisson," by N. E. Dionne, Quebec (1910).

Young Radisson was not present at the marriage; in 1652, while carelessly wandering in the outskirts of Three Rivers, he was captured by an Iroquois war party, and was taken to their country, where he was tortured cruelly and afterwards adopted by an Indian family. He escaped to the Dutch at Albany, was sent to Holland, and by way of France returned to Three Rivers in 1654. In two years he had learned by hard experience the language and customs of the savages. Evidently savage life had attractions for him; because in 1657 he was one of the party to establish the ill-fated Onondaga mission. Having escaped the threatened slaughter of the missionary party, he returned to Three Rivers the next year. There he found his brother-in-law, who had returned during the previous year from a successful trip to the Huron country for furs. At this time, Groseilliers was about thirty-three years old, and probably Radisson was ten years his junior.

The man found the boy at once adventurous, inured to hardships and resourceful in times of danger—in short, just the person he was looking for to penetrate the northern wilderness where the largest profits lay, and where the fur-trade monopoly had not yet obtained a foothold. Groseilliers was an independent trader, taking chances in selling his furs, and his success lay in opening new markets. Radisson was filled with delight at the prospect of combined exploration and profit. "I longed to see myself in a boat," he writes. The authorities were then planning an expedition to new countries and the two adventurers obtained places in the company. About the middle of June, 1658, they set out with a party of returning savages; and after various vicissitudes found themselves the only ones to persevere, all the others, more than thirty in number, having turned back while yet on the Ottawa.

The journey was perfectly familiar to Groseilliers; for he had been in the Huron country since he was a boy; but to Radisson the experience was a novel one. The hard journey up the Ottawa, with its thirty or more portages and its many rapids where the canoe had to be pushed up-stream by the waders; the diet of berries and of soup made from moss scraped from the rocks; the rare adventure of killing bears for food; and especially the fact that their faces were set towards lands unknown to white men—all these elements combined to give interest and zest to hard experiences. They passed through Lake Nipissing, where food was abundant; paddled easily down the French River; took the southerly course along the shores of Georgian Bay amid the ten thousand islands each more beautiful than the others; past the site of the Huron

mission, ruined since the great destruction of 1649; stayed a time at the Manitoulin Islands; and then crossed through the Straits of Mackinac to Green Bay, the home of their red fellow voyagers. Here they assisted in the obsequies due to the Indians slain on the journey; and they also had the good fortune to lead their savage friends in a successful attack on an Iroquois war party, with the result that for the time being they were accorded favor and distinction in the Indian camps akin to that shown to Nicolet fourteen years prior.

Whither did the two adventurers go during the next two years? Did they reach the Mississippi; did they go to the Gulf of Mexico; were they gone three years or two? If we take Radisson at his word all three things happened. If we believe one of his most ardent admirers, "here was a man whose discoveries were second only to those of Columbus, and whose explorations were more far-ranging and important than those of Champlain and La Salle and De la Verendrye put together." And yet this same writer claims that the missionaries maintained a conspiracy of silence against Radisson and his explorations.[7] Perhaps the best explanation is Radisson's own; he says that because they had not reached Hudson Bay, their main objective, they determined to tell no one about their explorations. Yet the writer of the Relation of 1659-60 states that one of the fathers (probably Dreuillettes) met at Quebec in 1660 two Frenchmen who had just arrived from the upper countries, and who have been identified as Radisson and Groseilliers. The adventurers told him that they passed the winter on the shores of Lake Superior, where they were fortunate enough to baptize two hundred children of the Algonquin nation. These children, they said, were the victims of disease and famine, and forty went straight to heaven, dying soon after baptism. They also said that they saw, six days journey beyond Lake Superior to the southwest, remnants of the Hurons and of the Tobacco Nation, who had been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they could not be found by their enemies. "These poor people fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and lakes, through vast unknown forests, fortunately encountered a beautiful river, large, wide, deep and worthy of comparison with the St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great nation of the Alimiwec, who gave them a very kind reception. They also visited another warlike nation which with its bows and arrows rendered itself as

[7] A. C. Laut, "Pathfinders of the West," pp. 84, 85.

redoubtable among the upper Algonquins as the Iroquois were among the lower. As wood was scanty, the Indians of that country made fire with coal from the earth and covered their cabins with skins. They lived in fear of the Iroquois, who came in search of them for a distance of five hundred to six hundred leagues. "If the Iroquois go thither," says the writer of the Relation, "why shall not we also?" This contemporary record supplies the date of Radisson's first journey to the Northwest, a date that is confirmed by the journal of the Jesuits for August, 1660, which mentions Groseilliers as having arrived from Lake Superior with sixty canoes loaded with furs valued at 200,000 livres. Furs to the value of 50,000 livres were left at Montreal, and another portion was left at Three Rivers.

In August, 1661, Groseilliers and Radisson, having eluded the vigilance of the governor, D'Avaugour, who had demanded the right to send two of his servants with them and to share the profits, started on a second northern journey, with the object of exploring the rich fur country between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. In Radisson's narrative of this trip we find the first descriptions of any portion of the present State of Michigan. Having reached the mouth of the St. Mary's River, they ascended it until, as Radisson relates, "We came after to a rapid that makes the separation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calls Superior, or upper, for that ye wild-men hold it to be longer and broader, besides a great many islands, which maks appeare in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling of those with whom wee weare, and consequently we must not aske them if they knew where they have layed. Wee made cottages (camps) at our advantages, and found the truth of what those men had often (said), that if once we could come to that place we should make good cheare of a fish that they call Assickmack, which signifyeth a white fish. The bear, the castors (beavers), and the Oriniack (moose) showed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestrial paradise—after so long fasting, after so great paines yt we have taken (to) finde ourselves so well by choosing our dyet, and resting when we had a mind to it; 'tis here that we must tast with pleasure a sweet bitt. We doe not aske for a good sauce; its better to have it naturally—it is the way to distinguish the sweet from the bitter." [8]

The season was so far spent that the voyageurs were forced to leave their paradise and its whitefish to "the cursed Iroquoits;" yet they were impelled "to give thanks to the river, to the earth, to the

[8] Radisson's Voyages, p. 187.

woods and to the rocks that stayes the fish." They paddled along the southern shore of Lake Superior; on the banks of the streams they found pieces of copper, some of which weighed as much as a hundred pounds; and the Indians pointed out a great hill of that metal, but deterred the explorers from proving the truth of the story by saying that even larger deposits lay beyond.[9]

They skirted coasts that nature had made pleasant alike "to the eye, the spirit and the belly," until they came to those remarkable plains of shifting sand early named the Grand Sables. "As we went along we saw banckes of sand so high that one of our wildmen went upp for curiositie; being there, did show no more than a crow. That place is most dangerous when there is any storme, being no landing place so long as the sandy banckes are under water; and when the wind blowes, that sand doth rise by a strange kind of whirlings that are able to choake the passengers. One day you will see 50 small mountains att one side; and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other side. This putts me in mind of the great and vast wilderness of Turkey land, as the Turques makes their pilgrimages." [10]

Pursuing their course they "came to a remarquable place. Its a banke of Rocks that the wild men made a sacrifice to; they calls it Nanitouckfinagoit, which signifies the likeness of the devil. They fling much tobacco and other things in veneration. It is a thing most incredible that the lake should be so boisterous that the waves should have the strength to doe what I have to say by this my discours: first, that it's so high and soe deepe yt it's impossible to claime up to the point. There comes many sorte of birds yt makes there nest here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bignesse of a pigeon, which makes me believe what ye wildmen told me concerning the sea to be neare directly to ye point.[11] It's like a great Portall by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that opening is as big as a tower, and grows bigger in going up. There is, I believe, six acres of land. Above it a ship of 500 tuns could passe by, soe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of St.

[9] For mention of Lake Superior copper in the Jesuit Relations, see Vol. XL, p. 219; L, p. 265; LI, p. 65; LIV, pp. 65, 153; LV, pp. 99, 103.

[10] For a description of the Grand Sables see Bela Hubbard's "Memorials of a Half-Century," chapter on "Lake Superior in 1840." The dangerous navigation which Radisson noted still makes voyagers shun this coast; and it is very little known. In 1891 the writer coasted along the shores in the Revenue Cutter Fessenden, and obtained a fairly good view.

[11] Gulls are plentiful throughout the lakes.

Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it. There is in place caves very deept, caused by the same violence. We must look to ourselves and take time with our small boats. The coast of rocks is 5 or 6 leagues, and there scarce a place to putt a boat in assurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves goeth in these concavities with force and make a most horrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns."

It is strange that in so extended a description of the Pictured Rocks, Radisson has omitted all notice of the one feature that gives to them their present name—the brilliant colors produced on the surface of the rocks by the exuding of mineral paints.[12]

[12] The Pictured Rocks are simply the highest development of phenomena characteristic of the shores for many miles on either side of Marquette. Mr. Hubbard says (Memorials of a Half-Century), "The cliffs here rise into a mural precipice, springing perpendicularly from the deep waters to the height of from 80 to 250 feet; and for the distance of fifteen miles, except in one or two places, are destitute of a beach upon which even a canoe may be landed. So dangerous is the coast that vessels all give it a wide berth, passing at too great distance for accurate view. The predominant color is gray, sometimes light, often dark and rusty, and stained by oxides of iron and copper, with which the materials are charged. The great diversity of hues that give so beautiful and variegated an appearance to large portions of the surface, and from which the cliffs derive their name, are owing to the oxides which have filtered through the porous stone in watery solutions and left their stains upon the surface. Too extravagant an idea could scarcely be conveyed of the exceeding brilliance of the coloring. These cliffs present indubitable evidence that the lake once washed them at a height many feet above its present level. And as the strata are of differing degrees of hardness, they have been worn by the waves into a variety of forms. An immense angular projection of the cliff, known to voyageurs as 'La Portaille,' exhibits on its three sides arches of this construction, one of which springs to a height of about 150 feet. The openings form passages into a great cavern, or more properly a vestibule, the roof of which is beyond the reach of our longest oars, and which conducts through the entire projecting mass,—a distance of not less than 500 feet. Entering with our boat into this natural rock-built hall, its yawning caverns and overhanging walls strike a sudden awe into the soul. Echo gives back the voice in loud reverberations, and the discharge of a musket produces a roar like a clap of thunder.

"Among the characteristic features, none is more extraordinary than one to which the French voyageurs have appropriately given the name of 'La Chapelle.' This rock was originally part of the solid cliff, of which the greater portion has been swept away, causing a valley about half a mile in breadth, through which a considerable stream enters the lake, falling over the rocks in a sheet of foam. Close by, reared upon the rocky platform, about twenty feet above the lake, and conspicuous from its isolation, stands the chapel. It consists of a tabular mass of sandstone, raised upon five columns, whose

Coming to what are now known as the Huron Islands,[13] Radisson looked upon their beauties and because "there be 3 in triangle," he called them "of ye Trinity." Waiting for fair weather, the Frenchmen sailed across Keweenaw Bay to the mouth of Portage River, and were surprised to find there meadows squared and smooth as a board, the work of the beavers, which industrious animals had cut the trees and flooded many a square mile of territory. The explorers broke through the beaver-dams, and at last came to "a trembling ground" over which they dragged their boats. "The ground became trembling by this means; the castors drowning great soyles with dead water, herein grows mosse which is 2 foot thick or there abouts, and when you think to goe safe and dry, if you take not good care you sink downe to your head or to the middle of your body. When you are out of one hole you find yourself in another. This I Speake by experience, for I myself have bin catched often. But the wild men warned me, which saved me; that is, that when the mosse should break under, I should cast my whole body into the water on sudaine—I must with my hands hold the mosse, and go like a frogg, then to draw my boat after me. There was no danger."

Gloomy Portage Lake passed, they came to the portage, where is now the government ship-canal. There they found the way "well beaten because of the comers and goers, who by making that passage shortens their passage by 8 days by tourning about the point that goes very farr in that great lake; that is to say, 5 to come to the point and 3 for to come to the landing of that place of carriage." They were told that a league from the end of Keweenaw Point was an island all of copper, and that from this island, when one was "minded to thwart it in a faire and calme weather, beginning from sun rising to sun sett, they come to a great island [Isle Royale] from which they come the next morning to firme lande on the other side."

capitals swell into a uniform arch and support the ceiling or dome of the edifice. Its whole height is fifty-six feet. The pillars are somewhat irregular in form and position; including their bases, they are about twenty-five feet in height, and from four to six feet diameter in the swell. Regular proportions are not altogether preserved, for in most of them the central portion has the smallest diameter, like an hour-glass. Two uphold the front, and from these the arch springs to the height of thirty feet, allowing to the roof a thickness of five or six feet. The span of this arch is thirty-two feet, as viewed from the water, in which direction the spectator looks completely through the temple into the woodland beyond."

[13] There are seven or eight of these islands, although they may well appear as only three, owing to the smallness of the others. Under a bright sun the western cliffs look like a walled city.

Pursuing their westward way, the two Frenchmen reached Chequamegon Bay and wintered among the tribes gathered from the four points of the compass to dwell for a season beside the abundant fisheries of the greatest of lakes. From the east came the nations of the Sault, to regale themselves with "sturgeons of a vast bigness, and Picts of seaven foot long." From the west the Sioux appeared, each warrior accompanied by his two wives bearing oats and corn, garments of buffalo-fur and "white castor" skins; and following the first embassy came a deputation of young men with "incredible pomp" that reminded Radisson of the entrance of the Polanders into Paris, "save that they had not so many jewells, but instead of them they had so many feathers." From the south came old friends from Green Bay, whom they had met during their first voyage, and who now gave them warm greetings. Best of all, from the north came the Christinos (Crees), who filled the willing ears of the Frenchmen with tales of the immense riches in furs of the lands about Hudson Bay.

Undaunted by perils from starvation and illness, from accidents, from the treachery of Indians, the two adventurers pushed farther into unknown countries than any Frenchmen had done before them. Before the spring of 1663 they had mastered the commercial possibilities of the entire region between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. If they did not actually reach the latter waters, at least they came within striking distance of them, and, what was far better for their own purposes, they established traffic relations with the savages, taking furs throughout a vast region richer than any known to New France. When they reached the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1663, they brought down with them furs to the value of $300,000. Of this fortune the governor, D'Argenson, exacted various fines for unlicensed trading until the explorers had for their own share the equivalent of less than twenty thousand dollars. This piece of short-sighted folly eventually cost the French government many times the amount of the extortion in vain attempts to defend their possessions; while at the same time it lost to that country the services of the hardiest adventurers and the keenest traders New France ever knew, and threw them into the arms of their rivals, the English, who are enjoying to this day the profits from the labors of Radisson and Groseilliers in founding the Hudson Bay Company.[14]

[14] When and where Groseilliers and Radisson died is not definitely known. From the Hudson Bay Company the latter drew a pension until 1710; he was a poor man, as was also Groseilliers when he retired in 1684.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONS

It is difficult for us who belong to a commercial age to realize that the men who first passed over the waters and through the woody solitudes of the now sovereign State of Michigan were not creatures of myth and tradition straying like shadows through the dawn of history. Now and again perhaps the summer pleasure-seeker drifting over the waters of river or lake in morning mist or dim twilight hears in fancy the dip of a paddle as some eager explorer hurries on his northward way; or sees in the midday hush of the forest on Superior's shore the flutter of a black-robe among the silver birches. And then at night, ensconsed in his own sophisticated log-cabin, he may take from his shelves the volumes of Jesuit Relations, in which there is opened to us the very words in which the "black-robes" themselves have recorded their wanderings and discoveries, their achievements and their pitiful failures. Dropping the book, he gazes into the glowing embers in the broad fire-place; the whole chronicle springs into vivid life, and before his vision now strides the crafty and dauntless explorer, adventurer and trader and again moves the brave and gentle priest of whom it may be written, as Plutarch said of Homer: "Born at Ios amid violets, as the word typifies, he was dead at Smyrna in the bitterness of sacrificial myrrh, which the name implies." Born and trained in the supreme days of French power and glory, amid scenes where art brings nature to contribute to the highest of man's pleasures, they sought an arduous life, the perils of lonely travel amid scenes absolutely devoid of human interest, chances of death by slow torture at the hands of savages, all to serve a Master whose rewards were not of this world.

To all who shall read this chapter this greeting comes: try first of all to put yourself into the mood to understand the aims and purposes of these men who for conscience sake did the rough work of the pioneer in the lands you now enjoy. Among them are beguiling personalities, which appeal to our sense of romance and devotion as we read of their lives of bravery, daring and self-sacrifice. At

least give them credit for sincerity, and admit that of such is the kingdom of Heaven.

The distinction of having been the first white man positively known to have coasted along the shores of Lake Superior belongs to Father René Ménard. The recital of his life and death in the "Jesuit Relations" shows at its best the temper of the men who undertook to instill in the minds of the Indians a knowledge of Christ and his kingdom; and also shows the difficulties with which they had to deal, difficulties arising from both man and nature. Because the experience of Father Ménard is typical his career merits extended examination.

René Ménard was born in Paris, September 5, 1605, and at the age of nineteen became a Jesuit novice. He studied at Paris, La Flèche, Bourges and Rouen; and spent six or seven years as an instructor at Orleans and Moulins. In 1640, at the age of thirty-five, he came to Canada, and after a year of experience in the Huron country began missionary work in the country of the Nipissings, near Georgian Bay. After the destruction of the Huron missions in 1649, he lived at Three Rivers as superior of the mission; he spent two years among the Iroquois, fleeing with his brethren when the disastrous ending of that mission came in 1658.

In August, 1660, he accompanied a party of returning Ottawas on their way from Montreal to Lake Superior; that winter he spent on the shores of the upper lake somewhere between the present city of Marquette and Portage Entry, possibly at the foot of Keweenaw Bay, near the present site of L'Anse. In the spring of 1661 he felt called to go to the succor of some Hurons, whom the Iroquois had driven to the headwaters of the Black River in Wisconsin. Making his slow way westward, he left the lake in August and perished in the wilderness, the first martyr of the Ottawa mission. The story of his wanderings is told by Father Jerome Lalement in the Relations of 1662-3.[1]

"We are going," says the Relation, "to witness the lonely death, in the depths of the woods, five hundred leagues from Quebec, of a poor missionary worn out with apostolic labors, in which he had grown gray, and full of years and infirmities. He was spent with

[1] A sketch of Ménard is in Jesuit Relations, Vol. XVIII, p. 256; for a more extended account of his life and last journey there is H. C. Campbell's Parkman Club paper (Milwaukee). The scene of Ménard's winter habitation was not far from the site of the Huron Mountain Club; and while this account was in preparation the writer was spending the days on Ménard's trail.

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

LOUIS JOLIET

an arduous and toilsome journey; all dripping with sweat and blood; exposed to rapacious animals, hunger, and every hardship; and, in accordance with his own desires, and even in fulfillment of his own prophecy, imitated in his death the forsaken condition of Saint Francis Xavier, whose zeal he has imitated to the letter during his lifetime. I refer to Father René Ménard, who for more than twenty years labored in those rude missions where, at length,—losing his way in the woods, while going in search of the lost sheep,—he had the happiness to finish his apostleship with the loss of his strength, his health, and his life."

Father Ménard and eight Frenchmen, setting out from Three Rivers on the 28th of August, 1660, with the returning Ottawas, reached the latter's country on October 15, Saint Theresa's day, "after enduring unspeakable hardships, ill treatment from their boatmen, who were utterly inhuman, and an extreme scantiness of provisions. As a result, the Father could scarcely drag himself along, for he was, besides, of a delicate constitution and spent with toil; but, as a man can still go on a good distance after growing weary, he had spirit enough left to gain his hosts' quarters. Le Brochet ('the Pike'), the head of this family,—proud, extremely vicious, and possessing four or five wives,—treated the poor Father badly, and finally forced him to leave and make himself a hut out of fir-branches. For food their only dish was a paltry fish, cooked in clear water, to be divided among the four or five of their party; and this, too, was a charitable offering made by the savages, one Frenchman awaiting the return of the fishermen's canoes, as poor beggars wait for alms at church doors. Moss growing on the rocks often served them in place of a good meal; they would put a handful of it into their kettle, which would thicken the water ever so little, forming a kind of foam or slime, like that of snails, and feeding their imaginations more than their bodies. Fish-bones, carefully saved when fish were plenty, also served to beguile their hunger in time of need. There was nothing, even to pounded bones, which those poor starvelings did not turn to some account. Many kinds of wood, too, furnished them food. The bark of the oak, birch, linden, or white-wood, and that of other trees, when well cooked and pounded, and then put into the water in which fish had been boiled, or else mixed with fish-oil, made excellent stews. They ate acorns with more relish and greater pleasure than attended the eating of chestnuts in Europe; yet even of those they did not have their fill. Thus passed the first winter."

In the spring and summer they eked out a living with less difficulty,

killing from time to time ducks, bustards, or pigeons, which furnished them delightful banquets; while raspberries and other similar small fruits served them as choice refreshments. Corn and bread were entirely unknown.

"There is in that country a certain plant (wild rice), four feet or thereabouts in height, which grows in marshy places. A little before it ears the savages go in their canoes and bind the stalks of these plants in clusters, which they separate from one another by as much space as is needed for the passage of a canoe when they return to gather the grain. Harvest time having come, they guide their canoes through the little alleys which they have opened across this grain-field, and, bending down the clustered masses over their boats, strip them of their grain. When a canoe is full, they go and empty it on the shore into a ditch dug by the water's edge. Then they tread the grain and stir it about long enough to free it entirely of hulls; after which they dry it, and finally put it into bark-chests for keeping. This grain much resembles oats, when it is raw; but, on being cooked in water it swells more than any European grain.

"While Father Ménard was wintering with the Ottawas he began a church among those barbarians—very small, indeed, but very precious, since it cost him much exertion and many tears. So, too, it seemed to be composed only of the predestined, the great part of whom were the little dying children whom he was obliged to baptize by stealth, because their relatives hid them whenever he visited the cabins, being under the old superstition of the Hurons that baptism made them die. Among the adults there were two old men whom grace had fitted for Christianity—one through a mortal illness, which robbed him of the life of the body soon after he had received that of the soul. He breathed his last after making public profession of the faith, and preaching by his example to his relatives, who, by mocking at him and his prayers, gave him an opportunity to show proofs of a piety that was very strong, although but recently rooted. The other old man was enlightened through his blindness; never, perhaps, would he have perceived the brightness of the faith had his eyes been open to earthly objects. This poor blind man the Father came just in time to enlighten and open heaven's doors to him, when he already had one foot in hell. He died some time after his baptism, blessing God for the favors which he had shown him at the end of his days, and which, during his lifetime of nearly a hundred years, he had done so little to deserve. There were also some good women who swelled the membership of this solitary church; among others a widow christened Anne at her baptism, who passes for a saint among those

people, although they know not what sanctity is. After the Father prepared her to receive the most holy sacrament of the altar, she ceased to lead a barbarian life among barbarians. Alone and on her knees, while all the family are indulging in filthy conversation, she says her prayers, continuing this holy exercise of devotion to the admiration of our Frenchmen, who have found her in later years as fervent as on the first day. Moreover, setting an example never seen among those people, wholly given over as they are to lechery, she has voluntarily consecrated the rest of her widowhood to chastity, amid the unceasing abominations wherewith those infamous wretches glory in constantly defiling themselves.

"Those are the fruits of Father Ménard's labors, small indeed in appearance, but very great when we consider the high courage, earnest zeal, and stout heart called for in enduring such severe hardships and going so far for so small results. In fact, they cannot be called small, and could not, even did they involve only the saving of one soul.

"Except these elect, the Father found nothing but opposition to the faith among those barbarians, owing to their great brutality and infamous polygamy. His small hope of converting these people, immersed as they are in all sorts of vice, made him decide to undertake a fresh journey of a hundred leagues, to instruct to a nation of poor Hurons whom the Iroquois caused to flee to the very end of that part of the world. Among them were many old-time Christians, who eagerly asked for the Father, and promised him that, upon his arrival in their country, all the rest of their countrymen would embrace the faith. But before setting out the Father begged three young Frenchmen of his company to go first and reconnoiter the situation, for the purpose of giving presents to the elders, and assuring them for him that he would go and instruct them as soon as they sent him an escort. These three Frenchmen, after many hardships, finally reached this poor nation in its death agony, and entering the people's cabins, found naught but skeletons, in such a state of weakness as to be unable to move or stand. Therefore, they deemed it inexpedient to offer the presents they had brought from the Father, seeing no likelihood of his going to visit them very soon without running the risk of dying of hunger. So they dispatched their business with these poor starvelings, and took leave of them with the promise that it should not be the Father's fault if they were not instructed.

"On their return they told the Father how little likely it was that a poor old man, broken in health, feeble and without provisions, as

From a painting at St. Mary's College, Montreal, supposed to be a contemporary portrait

FATHER JAMES MARQUETTE

he was, could undertake such a journey. But it was vain for them to put before his eyes the difficulties of the route. 'God calls me thither, and I must go, although it should cost me my life. Saint Francis Xavier,' he told them, 'who seemed so necessary to the world for the conversion of souls, met his death in the act of effecting an entrance into China; and should I, who am good for nothing, refuse to obey the voice of my God, who calls me to the relief of poor Christians and catechumens so long bereft of a pastor? No, no, I cannot, under the pretext of keeping life in the body of a paltry creature like myself, suffer souls to perish. Is one to serve God and aid his fellow man only when there is nothing to endure and no risk to one's life? Here is the fairest opportunity to show angels and men that I love my Creator more than the life which I hold at his hands; and would you have me let it slip by? Should we ever have been redeemed if our Master had not preferred obedience to his Father, in the matter of our salvation, rather than his own life?'

"Some Hurons, who had come to trade with the Ottawas, offered the Father their services as escort. He chose one of the Frenchmen, an amorer, to accompany him, and for provision, he took a bag of dried sturgeon and a little smoked meat, which he had for a long time been saving for this intended journey. His last farewell to the other Frenchmen, whom he left behind, was in these prophetic terms: 'Farewell, my dear children,' he said to them while embracing them tenderly; 'and it is the final farewell that I bid you in this world, since you will not see me again. I pray the Divine goodness that we may be reunited in heaven.'

"So he started on June 13, 1661, nine months after his arrival in the Ottawa country. But the poor Hurons, lightly laden although they were, soon lost courage, their strength failing them for lack of food. They left the Father, telling him that they were going in all haste to their village to notify the elders that he was on the way, and to send strong young men to fetch him. The Father waited near a lake for about two weeks in expectation of this aid; but as his provisions were falling short, he decided to set out with his companion, making use of a little canoe found in the bushes. About the 10th of August, the poor Father, while following his companion, went astray. At the end of a somewhat arduous portage past a rapid, his companion looked behind to see if he were following; he searched for him, called to him, and fired as many as five musket-shots to guide him back into the right path; but in vain. Therefore he decided to push forward as rapidly as possible to the Huron village, in order to hire some men, at whatever price, to go in search of the Father.

But unfortunately he himself lost his way, passing by the village without knowing it. He did not arrive there until two days after the Father had lost his way. And then what was a poor man to do who knew not one word of the Huron tongue? Nevertheless, as charity and necessity are not without eloquence, he managed so well with gestures and tears as to make the people understand that the Father was lost. He promised a young man various French wares as an inducement to go and search for him, which this fellow at first feigned to do, and started out; but scarcely had two hours elapsed when, behold, my young man was back again, calling out: 'To arms, to arms! I have just met the enemy.' At this cry the pity before felt for the Father vanished, as well as the inclination to go and search for him.

"Nor can we determine precisely the time or the day of his death. His traveling companion thinks it was near the Assumption of the Virgin, as he says the Father had with him a piece of smoked flesh about as long and as wide as one's hand, which could have kept him alive two or three days. Some time afterward, a savage found the Father's bag, but would not admit having found his body, fearing lest he should be accused of killing him—an accusation perhaps only too well founded, since those barbarians do not scruple to cut a man's throat when they meet him alone in the woods, hoping to capture some booty. And, as a matter of fact, there have been seen in a cabin the remnants of some furnishings used in his chapel.

"Whatever may have been the nature of his death, we doubt not that it was God's will to use it as a means for crowning a life of fifty-seven years, the greater part of which he spent in the Huron, Algonquin, and Iroquois missions, having fitted himself by a labor of holy perseverance to teach those three different peoples in their three several languages."

Father Ménard's companion, Jean Guerin, for twenty years was one of the Jesuit domestics. He was a man of eminent virtue, and a very ardent zeal for the saving of souls. Indeed, after attending the fathers among the Iroquois, Hurons, and Algonquins, amid great dangers and severe hardships, finally, having been assigned as companion to Father Ménard, he met his death, "followed the good Father to heaven after following him so far on earth. For as soon as he learned of his death, he thought of nothing but quitting the Outaouax, in order to go in search of the Father's body; but God had other plans for him and constituted him the missionary-in-chief of that poor church which could not enjoy its pastor's ministrations. For he there conferred baptism on more than two hundred children,

whom he soon afterward sent to heaven, in order to crown the Father with a beautiful diadem of those little predestined ones, for whose salvation and in quest of whom he died." The next spring he set out on a journey with some Frenchmen; and the rain forced them to land, and make a house of their canoe, by inverting it over them. While they crouched beneath it a musket was accidentally discharged, instantly killing him. The Relation, in speaking of his virtues, says that so reserved was he with women that he would not look them in the face. When he tried to persuade his companions to follow his example, they answered him laughingly, "If we all did as you do we would soon be completely plundered of the little we possess." And among the Iroquois, when they asked women if they had not seen him, they would say, "We saw him, but he did not see us; for he does not look at us when he meets us." His humility was quite extraordinary. On one occasion he offered himself as public executioner in Canadas, that he might become an object of abhorrence to every one by reason of that office. And one thing prevented him from pressing for admission to the Society of the Jesuits was the fear lest the cassock he would wear might cause him to be esteemed more highly than he deserved.

It was given to Father Claude Jean Allouez to take up the work of this "great and painful mission." How great it proved may be known from the fact that this "second Xavier" is believed to have instructed no fewer than one hundred thousand savages and to have baptised more than ten thousand. Born at St. Didier on June 6, 1622, he came to Canada at the age of thirty-six and served for seven years in the St. Lawrence settlements before he went, in August, 1665, to minister to the scattered tribes comprising the Ottawa mission. For twenty-five years he labored in the mission fields, which comprised the present states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana, and at the age of sixty-seven went to his reward.

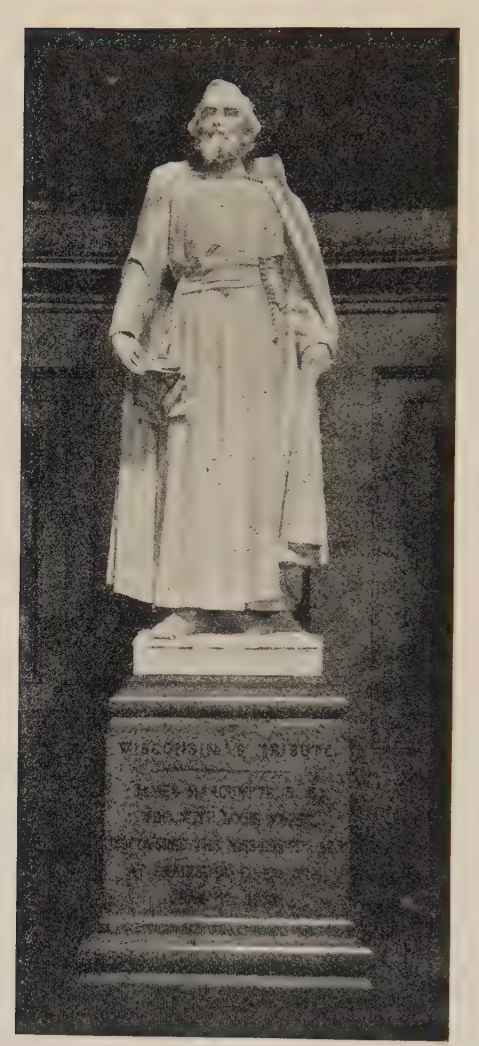
From his own journal, as given in the Relation of 1666-67, we learn that he started on his northern journey on the 8th of August, 1665, in company with six Frenchmen and more than four hundred savages. The red men were hostile from the beginning, because they believed that baptism caused their children to die—not an unnatural supposition seeing that the fathers were most anxious to save the little ones whose end was near. Forsaken in a strange land, the good father persisted in pushing on, and often the Indians took pity on him and to save his life gave aid and succor. Often he lived on moss scraped from trees, and once he was forced to eat the meat of a stag that had been dead four or five days. Hunger made him take

his share, "but my mouth had a putrid taste until the next day." He often succumbed under heavy burdens carried over the portage, and the Indians would laugh and mock him, saying that they must call a child to carry him and his burdens; and then they would be so moved by his plight that they would carry his chapel or some other burden.

About the beginning of September they came to the Sault. "The river is pleasing," he writes, "not only on account of the islands intercepting its course and the great bays bordering it, but because of the fishing and hunting, which are excellent there." Embarking on the upper lake, he gave to it the name of Lake Tracy, "in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions;" but the name did not stick. There he found fish "abundant and the water so clear and pure that objects can be seen to the depth of six fathoms." The savages revered the lake as a divinity and offered it sacrifices, whether on account of its size or because of its goodness in furnishing fish for the sustenance of all those tribes, in default of game, which was scarce in the neighborhood.

"One often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper of ten or twenty pounds weight. I have several times seen such pieces," he says, "in the savages' hands; and since they are superstitious, they keep them as so many divinities, or as presents which the gods dwelling beneath the water have given them, and on which their welfare is to depend. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper wrapped up among their most precious possessions. Some have kept them for more than fifty years; others have had them in their families from time immemorial, and cherish them as household gods. For some time there had been a sort of great rock all of copper, the point of which projected from the water; this gave passers by the opportunity to go and cut pieces from it. When, however, I passed the spot nothing was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which are here very frequent and like those of the sea—have covered the rock with sand. Our savages tried to persuade me that it was a divinity who had disappeared for some reason which they do not state." This was evidently the copper boulder in the Ontonagon River, and the savages did not make the detour necessary to pass it.

"This lake," he continues, "is the resort of twelve or fifteen distinct nations—coming some from the north, others from the south and still others from the west; and they all betake themselves either to the best parts of the shore for fishing, or to the islands which are scattered in great numbers all over the lake. These peoples' motive in repairing hither is partly to obtain food by fishing and partly to transact their petty trading with one another when they meet. But



Trentanove's Statue of Marquette in the National Capitol
(Replicas are at Mackinac Island and Marquette)

God's purpose was to facilitate the proclaiming of the Gospel to wandering and vagrant tribes." The entire month of September was spent in coasting along the southern shores of Lake Tracy; and finding himself alone with the Frenchmen he was able to say mass for the first time since leaving Three Rivers. All his discomforts were washed away by finding two children to baptise. He crossed the bay named for Saint Theresa by Father Ménard, some remnants of whose labors he found in the persons of two Christian women who had kept the faith and who shone like two stars in the darkness of that infidelity. But here again the devil, who had dogged his footsteps all the way, sought to confound him by the loss of his writings prepared for the service of converts: once these precious papers were wrecked in the rapids; again they were left behind at a portage; and then they fell into the hands of an Indian sorcerer—a man with six wives and of a dissolute life. This man returned them to the father, who feared them as demons who would cause him to lose his life if he dared to touch them.

On October 1st they came to Chequamegon Bay, whither their ardent desires had been so long directed. There they found sedentary Indians to the number of 800 men bearing arms, gathered from seven different nations, living in peace and mingling one with another. There he built a chapel and entered upon the functions of the Christian religion. Thus was founded the mission of La Pointe d'Esprit.

During his frequent missionary journeys he came upon the wandering Sioux, who told him of their home towards the great river "Messepi," of their prairies abounding in game of all kinds, of their fields of tobacco, and of a still more remote tribe beyond whose home the earth is cut off by a great lake whose waters are ill-smelling like the sea. After two years of wandering and teaching, Allouez returned to Quebec on the 3d day of August, 1667; yet so great was his zeal that after but forty-eight hours of civilization he plunged again into the wilderness. His importunate appeals for laborers to enter fields white for the harvest called into service Father James Marquette, who in 1668 established himself at Sault Ste. Marie, and there began a permanent mission that became the first white settlement within the present borders of Michigan. When Allouez was called to Green Bay in 1669, Marquette moved on to La Pointe d'Esprit, leaving in his place at the Sault Father Claude Dablon.

To Marquette at La Pointe came the Illinois Indians from the south, who excited his imagination to as great an extent as the Christinos from the north had excited the imaginations of Groseilliers and

Radisson, and with a correspondingly momentous result. "When the Illinois come to La Pointe," says Marquette, "they pass a great river almost a league in breadth. It flows from north to south, and so far that the Illinois, who know not the use of the canoe, have never so much as heard of the mouth." An Illinois youth who acted as instructor in language to Marquette told the priest that he had seen Indians from the south who were loaded down with glass beads, thus proving that they had trafficked with the whites. That the great river emptied itself in Virginia seemed to Marquette improbable; he was inclined to believe that its mouth was in California. At any rate he was determined to secure the company of a white companion, and, with his Indian boy as interpreter, to navigate the river as far as possible, to visit the nations who lived along its banks in order to prepare the way for the fathers of the Church, and to obtain a perfect knowledge of the sea either to the south or to the west.

Before starting on the journey that was to make immortal his name and that of his companion, Marquette all unwittingly must needs prepare the place of his burial. It so happened that in the dispersion of the Hurons by the Iroquois, a remnant of the Tobacco Nation dwelling south of Georgian Bay had taken refuge first on the Island of Michilimackinac, celebrated for its fishing. After a stay scarcely longer than that of a modern tourist, the Indians fled from their relentless pursuers first to Green Bay and then to La Pointe, where they dwelt in peace for several years, until by chance they incurred the hostility of the Sioux. That most chivalrous nation first returned to Marquette the images he had given them, and then began a vigorous warfare on the Algonquins. In the progress of hostilities the prisoners were burned so freely as to carry consternation to the dispirited Indians, who quickly abandoned their homes and well-tilled fields and, returning to the Straits of Mackinac, established themeslves on the north side of that passage. To his new mission Marquette—for he had followed his fleeing flock—gave the name of St. Ignace, and so the place is known to this day. There the Indians filled his chapel every day, singing praises to God with such devotion as to move even the French *coureurs de bois* who congregated at this gateway of Indian travel; and there the zealous father inspired in his savage converts a degree of affection that all too soon found its last manifestation in the weird journey to discover his body and with wild grief to bring it back to sepulchre beneath the chapel in which he had so patiently instructed them.

Setting out from St. Ignace on May 17, 1673, Marquette, ac-

companied by Louis Joliet, whom Talon had sent as his companion, pushed their canoes across the northern end of Lake Michigan to the mission at Green Bay, thence up the Fox, across Lake Winnebago, and by portage to the Wisconsin, down which stream they floated until on June 17th their light canoes were caught and whirled along by the on-rushing Mississippi, thus accomplishing a discovery that, in the words of Bancroft, "changed the destiny of nations." At the mouth of the Arkansas they turned about, being persuaded that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. The return was by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. Marquette rested at his mission of St. Ignace, leaving Joliet [2] to descend to Quebec with the news of the complete success of their enterprise.

Assigned to the Green Bay mission, Marquette felt the conversion of southern Indians so heavily on his conscience that he secured permission to return to them; and in the winter of 1674 he built and furnished a bark chapel in the town of the Kaskaskias. The seeds of disease were in his system, however, and he was seized with a longing to die among his brethren and his devoted flock at St. Ignace. After leaving the Illinois, Marquette set out on his return, coasting along the western shores of the lake of the Illinois. But his strength was so rapidly diminishing that his two men despaired of being able to bring him alive to the end of their journey. Indeed, he became so feeble and exhausted that he was unable to move himself, and had to be handled and carried about like a child. Meanwhile, he preserved in that condition an admirable equanimity, resignation, joy, and gentleness.[3]

"Eight days before his death he was thoughtful enough to pre-

[2] Louis Joliet was born at Quebec in September, 1645; he was therefore twenty-eight years old when he made his voyage of discovery. He was brought up in the Jesuit schools and took minor orders; he spent a year in France; and in 1669 he and Jean Péré were sent by Talon on a quest for the copper mines of Lake Superior, but they were not successful. He married in 1675 Claire Françoise Bissot and was the father of seven children. In 1679 he made a voyage to Hudson Bay. The Island of Anticosti, with its fisheries was granted to him for his discoveries and he was appointed hydrographer for the King. The English invasion of 1690 caused him severe losses so that he died in poverty about 1700. See Jesuit Relations, Vol. L, p. 324.

[3] There is no absolutely authentic portrait of Marquette, but in 1896, Donald Guthrie McNab obtained at Montreal a portrait which bore date 1669 and the legend "Marquette de la Confrérie de Jésus." Marquette was born June 1, 1637; and at the date of the portrait would have been 32 years old. The portrait shows a most attractive face—quite unlike the one in the statue. See Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXXI, p. 400.

pare the holy water for use during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how it should be used. The evening before his death, which was a Friday, he told them, very joyously, that it would take place on the morrow. He conversed with them during the whole day as to what would need to be done for his burial: about the manner in which they should inter him; how they should erect a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to counsel them, three hours before he expired, that as soon as he was dead, they should take the little hand-bell of his chapel, and sound it while he was being put under ground. He spoke of all these things with so great tranquillity and presence of mind that one might have supposed that he was concerned with the death and funeral of some other person, and not with his own.

"Thus did he converse with them as they made their way upon the lake until, having perceived a river, on the shore of which stood an eminence that he deemed well suited to be the place of his interment, he told them that that was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to proceed farther, as the weather was favorable, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which compelled them to return, and enter the river which the father had pointed out. They accordingly brought him to the land, lighted a little fire for him, and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark. They laid him down therein, in the least uncomfortable way that they could.

"He gave them the last instructions, thanked them for all the charities which they had exercised in his behalf during the whole journey, and entreated pardon for the trouble that he had given them. He charged them to ask pardon for him also, from all our fathers and brethren who live in the country of the Ottawas. Then he undertook to prepare them for the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He gave them also a paper on which he had written all his faults since his own last confession, that they might place it in the hands of the father superior, that the latter might be enabled to pray to God for him in a more special manner. Finally, he promised not to forget them in Paradise. And, as he was very considerate, knowing that they were much fatigued with the hardships of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little repose. He assured them that his hour was not yet so very near, and that he would awaken them when the time should come—as, in fact, two or three hours afterward he did summon them, being ready to enter into the agony.

"They drew near to him, and he embraced them once again,

while they burst into tears at his feet. Then he asked for holy water and his reliquary; and having himself removed his crucifix, which he carried always suspended round his neck, he placed it in the hands of one of his companions, begging him to hold it before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a short time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands, and, with a steady and fond look upon his crucifix, he uttered aloud his profession of faith, and gave thanks to the Divine Majesty for the great favor which he had accorded him of dying in the Society, of dying in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and, above all, of dying in it, as he had always prayed, in a wretched cabin in the midst of the forests and bereft of all human succor."

He had prayed his companions to put him in mind, when they should see him expire, to repeat frequently the names of Jesus and Mary, if he could not himself do so. They did as they were bidden; and, when they believed him to be near his end, one of them called aloud, "Jesus, Mary!" The dying man repeated the words, distinctly, several times; and as if, at these sacred names, something presented itself to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, holding them riveted on that object, which he appeared to regard with pleasure. And so, with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired without any struggle, and so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep.

His companions carried him devoutly to burial, ringing the little bell as he had bidden them; and planted a large cross near to his grave, as a sign to passers-by.[4]

"God did not permit that a deposit so precious should remain in the midst of the forest, unhonored and forgotten. The savages named Kiskakons, who have been making public profession of Christianity for nearly ten years, and who were instructed by Father Marquette when he lived at the point of St. Esprit, carried on their winter's hunting in the vicinity of the lake of the Illinois. As they were returning in the spring, they passed near the grave of their good

[4] Marquette died on May 19, 1675, on Sleeping Bear Point, near Ludington. When the chapel at St. Ignace was burned in 1705 the fact that Marquette was buried underneath its altar apparently was forgotten. In 1877, two centuries after Marquette's death, Father Jacker made a successful search for the bones of the missionary. A small monument now marks the spot. Wisconsin has placed in the Capitol at Washington a statue of Marquette by Trentanove, and replicas of this statue have been erected on Mackinac Island and at Marquette, largely through the efforts and gifts of the late Peter White. There is also a statue on the Detroit city hall, by John M. Donaldson. See Mich. P. and H. Col., Vols. XXVIII, XXI, XXX.

Sleeping Bear Point, where Marquette died

father, whom they tenderly loved; and God also put it into their hearts to remove his bones and bring them to our church at the mission of St. Ignace, where those savages make their abode.

"They resolved to act in regard to the father as they are wont to do toward those whom they respect. Accordingly, they opened the grave, and uncovered the body; and, although the flesh and internal organs were all dried up, they found it entire, so that not even the skin was in any way injured. This did not prevent them from proceeding to dissect it, as is their custom. They cleansed the bones and exposed them to the sun to dry; then, carefully laying them in a box of birch-bark, they set out for St. Ignace. There were nearly thirty canoes which formed that funeral procession There were also a goodly number of Iroquois, who united with our Algonquin savages to lend more honor to the ceremonial. When they drew near our house, Father Nouvel, who is its superior, with Father Piercon, went out to meet them, accompanied by the Frenchmen and savages who were there; and having halted the procession, he put the usual questions to them, to make sure that it was really the father's body which they were bringing. Before conveying it to land, they intoned the De Profundis in the presence of the thirty canoes, which were still on the shore. After that the body was carried to the church. It remained exposed under the pall all that day, which was Whitsun-Monday, the 8th of June [1677]; and on the morrow, after having rendered to it all the funeral rites, it was lowered into a small vault in the middle of the church, where it rests as the Guardian Angel of our Ottawa missions. The savages often come to pray over his tomb."

"Father Jacques Marquette, of the Province of Champagne, died at the age of thirty-eight years, of which twenty-one were passed in the Society—namely, twelve in France and nine in Canada. He was sent to the missions of the upper Algonquins, and labored therein with the zeal that might be expected from a man who had proposed to himself St. Francis Xavier as the model of his life and death. He resembled the great saint, not only in the variety of barbarian languages which he mastered, but also by the range of his zeal, which made him carry the faith to the ends of this new world, and nearly 800 leagues from here into the forests, where the name of Jesus Christ had never been proclaimed.

"He always entreated God that he might end his life in these laborious missions, and that, like his dear St. Xavier, he might die in the midst of the woods, bereft of everything. We might say much of the rare virtues of this noble missionary; of his zeal, which

prompted him to carry the faith so far, and proclaim the gospel to so many peoples who were unknown to us; of his gentleness, which rendered him beloved by all, and made him all things to all men—a Frenchman with the French, a Huron with the Hurons, an Algonquin with the Algonquins; of the childlike candor with which he disclosed his heart to his superiors, and even to all kinds of persons, with an ingenuousness which won all hearts; of his angelic chastity; and of his uninterrupted union with God.

"But that which apparently predominated was a devotion, altogether rare and singular, to the blessed Virgin, and particularly toward the mystery of her immaculate conception. It was a pleasure to hear him speak or preach on that subject. All his conversations and letters contained something about the blessed Virgin Immaculate—for so he always called her. From the age of nine years, he fasted every Saturday; and from his tenderest youth began to say the little office of the conception, inspiring every one with the same devotion. Some months before his death, he said every day with his two men a little corona of the immaculate conception which he had devised.

"So tender a devotion toward the mother of God merited some singular grace; and she accorded him the favor that he had always requested—to die on a Saturday. His companions never doubted that she appeared to him at the hour of his death, when, after pronouncing the names of Jesus and Mary, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, holding them fixed on an object which he regarded with extreme pleasure, and a joy that showed itself upon his features; and they had, at that time, the impression that he had rendered up his soul into the hands of his good Mother."

After a short stay at Sault Ste. Marie, Joliet set out for Quebec to report the discovery of the Mississippi. Unfortunately his canoe capsized at the Sault St. Louis near Montreal, and he lost all his papers, including "a very exact chart of these new countries;" nor has the copy he left with the fathers at Sault Ste. Marie been found. However, he told his story with much exactness and circumstance. "Two years ago," writes Father Dablon from Quebec in August, 1674, "Monsieur the Count de Frontenac, our governor, and Monsieur Talon, then our intendant, decided that it was important to undertake the discovery of the southern sea, after having accomplished that of the northern; and, above all, to ascertain into what sea falls the great river, about which the savages relate so much, and which is over five hundred leagues from them, beyond the Outaouacs. For this purpose they could not have selected a person endowed with

better qualities than is Sieur Joliet, who has traveled much in that region, and has acquitted himself in this task with all the ability that could be desired. On arriving at the Outaouac country he joined Father Marquette, who had long premeditated that undertaking, for they had frequently agreed upon it together. They set out accordingly, with five other Frenchmen, about the beginning of June, 1673, to enter countries wherein no European had ever set foot."

From Green Bay, as Joliet related, they voyaged nearly sixty leagues upon a small river (the Fox) running southwesterly; they found a short portage that enabled them to pass from that river to another (the Wisconsin), which flowed from the northwest. Embarking upon that stream, they traveled forty leagues, and "on June 15, at 42½ degrees of latitude, successfully entered that famous river called by the savages Mississippi—as one might say 'the Great River,' because it is, in fact, the most important of all the rivers in this country. It comes from a great distance northward, according to the savages. It is a noble stream, and is usually a quarter of a league wide. Its width is still greater at the places where it is interrupted by islands—which, however, are very few. Its depth is as much as ten fathoms of water, and it flows very gently until it receives the discharge of another great river (the Missouri), which comes from the west and northwest at about the thirty-eighth degree of latitude. Then, swollen with that volume of water, it becomes very rapid; and its current has so much force that in ascending it only four or five leagues (eight or ten miles) a day can be accomplished."

Joliet told about the nations of savages whom they encountered, about the dress and occupations of the people, the agriculture, soil, climate, and game. From the reports of the savages they believed that they were nearing European settlements; they thereupon took council together and decided that they should not take the chances of being captured by the Spaniards, but rather should return and make known their discovery. They felt this was the wise thing to do since they had determined by their calculations of latitude that the river "flowed into the Gulf of Mexico—that is Florida," and not into the Vermilion Sea (California), as they had hoped would be the case; for then they would have found the long sought way to Japan and China.

Father Dablon counts among the results attained the entrance to numerous docile peoples disposed to receive the faith; the prospect of reaching the western ocean by way of the Missouri; the possibility of building a canal between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers,

whereby an easy navigation would be opened between Lake Erie and the Gulf of Mexico; the possibility of colonies in the fertile lands of the new country; the feasibility of creating a fine harbor and making a settlement on the rich prairies at the mouth of the river which they called the Saint Louis, now known as the Chicago.

Here, then, was the real discovery of the Mississippi, determined upon by Government and planned by missionary and explorer who accomplished the intended result and reported their findings with such exactness that others readily followed where they had led the way.

It is not possible to read the contemporary accounts of Ménard and Marquette and men like them without feeling the sincerity and single-mindedness which characterized their labors and their lives. It is sad indeed to think of the seemingly useless sacrifices which they made to civilize a race not at that time capable of civilization. The Indian of the Northwest was the product of many conditions which arose from his own manner of life. The changes which came to him during the first century after the advent of the white men were not of their making, but rather were due to wars among the tribes. These wars between the Iroquois and the less powerful tribes the French tried to prevent, often at the sacrifice of life; they strove also to teach the Indians agriculture, and to help them in times of the pestilence so common among the tribes. But warfare and indolence and vice were the rule among the savages and there was no help in them.

CHAPTER VI

LOUIS XIV AND NEW FRANCE—THE PROCLAMATION AT SAULT STE. MARIE AND LA SALLE'S VOYAGE

From the rude writings of the adventurous fur-traders and the pious pages of the black-robed fathers, we turn to the memoirs of Saint Simon whose searching but not unsympathetic pen has recorded alike the ambitions and the foibles of that brilliant court which comprised the men and the women, the princes and the courtiers, on whom New France depended for its very existence. Louis the XIV, the Grand Monarch of France, had just been released, by the death of Mazarin, from the leading strings which had hampered him during the long years of his minority. Royal even in his pleasures and his vices, he who never learned to rule himself aspired to rule the world. No detail was too small to engage his small mind; and no scheme was too large to exceed his boundless ambitions. To him New France was a fresh page of the world's unfolding story, whereon he was to write the record of his conquests.

Neither superstitious Indian under the domination of the medicine-man, nor devoted missionary seeking to snatch dying souls from eternal torment, feared the devil more thoroughly than did Louis the king. The faith that animated New France was no different from that which worked upon the fears of the head of the state. New England especially and the Atlantic colonies in general might grow and wax strong by reason of the personal initiative of settlers striving to build up their own separate and individual commonwealths, but it was in the mind of the king that New France lived and moved and had its being. Mission and convent and seminary, trade and traffic, as well as government, were but the express manifestation of the monarch. He was the ruler of savages as well as of Frenchmen; it was against him that the Iroquois fought; his were the rich furs, taken on the frozen plains of Hudson Bay or along the rivers flowing into the Ohio and the Mississippi; and to him, or to those acting for him in granting privileges or lands in the new world, allegiance was due.

Louis XIV had many sins seeking penance, and, moreover, he was ambitious to rule the church as well as the state; therefore he took a personal interest in the missionary enterprises of the Jesuits, whom by preference he consulted in religious matters. His minister Colbert, sagacious, honest and capable, was bent on extending the French power in the new world, a project in which he was seconded by Count Pontchartrain, an upright man, and an able counselor, who had the confidence of the king as fully as any man in a court in which suspicion and intrigue played a large, often a controlling part. How the policy of the king was regarded in New France is best known from a chapter in the Relation of 1666-7, in which also is summed up the conditions, prospects and hopes of the colony.

"Since the King," the chronicler writes, "had the kindness to extend his protection over this country, by sending hither the regiment of Carignan-Salieres, we have witnessed a notable change in the appearance of Canada. It is no longer that forbidding and frost-bound land formerly painted in unfavorable colors, but a veritable New France—not only in the salubrity of its climate and fertility of its soil, but in the other conveniences of life. The Iroquois used to keep us so closely confined that we did not even dare till the lands that were under the cannon of the forts. But now the fear of his majesty's arms has filled these barbarians with alarm and compelled them to seek our friendship. Monsieur de Tracy has gone to carry the King these good tidings, after having made at the same time both peace and war, and opened to the Iroquois nations the door of the Gospel. He has left the country in charge of Monsieur de Courcelles, who, having made himself feared by the Iroquois, through the expeditions which he led into their country, will hold those barbarians—whether with their consent, or by force—to the terms of the treaty which they came hither to obtain.

"In view of these facts, the first thought of Monsieur Talon, Intendant for the King, was to exert himself with tireless activity to seek out the means to render New France prosperous. He did this both by making trial of all that it can produce, and by establishing commerce and forming business relations, not only with France, but also with the Antilles, Madeira, and other countries in Europe as well as America. Fisheries of all kinds are in operation, the rivers being very rich in salmon, brill, perch, sturgeon, herring and cod, the sale of which in France is profitable. The seal-fishery furnishes the whole country with oil, and yields a

surplus that is sent to France and the Antilles. The white-whale fishery yields oils of higher grade for manufacturing purposes."

Talon was directing a careful search for mines which appeared to be numerous and rich; he caused the felling of all kinds of timber; he started the manufacture of staves for export, and of masts, samples of which he sent to La Rochelle for use in the navy; and he also gave his attention to wood suitable for ship-building, trial of which he made by the building of a bark which was found very serviceable, and of a large vessel which was then ready to be launched.

The troops contributed greatly to the development of the country and helped to open it up, especially on the Richelieu River, where the forts recently erected were surrounded by fields covered with fine grain. Two things materially aided the plans: villages were built in the neighborhood of Quebec, as much to fortify it by peopling its vicinity as to receive families which had come from France. To these families were assigned lands already brought under cultivation, some of which were covered with grain, to serve as a first store for the settlers' sustenance. Secondly, the settling both of officers, who unite themselves with the country by marriage, and secured fine grants, which they cultivated; and also of soldiers, who found good matches and became scattered in all directions.

"We cannot omit without extreme ingratitude," continues the writer, "the acknowledgment due not only to his Majesty's minister, but to the Gentlemen of the General Company of the West Indies. By their care and liberality they have contributed greatly to this country's present flourishing condition, and to the planting of the missions, which, throughout this 'Relation,' will be seen extending to the distance of more than 500 leagues from here, and for whose maintenance these Gentlemen spare no expense. We have this year seen eleven vessels, laden with all sorts of wares, anchored in the roadstead of Quebec. We have seen land taken up by many workmen, and also by girls, who people our colony and add to the number of our fields. Flocks of sheep meet our eyes, and many horses, which thrive finely in this country and render it great service. And the accomplishment of all this at his Majesty's expense obliges us to acknowledge all the results of his royal kindness, by vows and prayers which we constantly address to Heaven and with which our churches re-echo, for the welfare of his sacred person. To him alone is due the whole glory of having put this country in such a condition that, if the course of events in the future correspond to that of the past two years, we shall fail to recognize Canada, and

shall see our forests, which have already greatly receded, changing into towns and provinces which may some day be not unlike those of France."

In pursuance of his policy of discovery, Talon in 1686 had sent Louis Joliet to Lake Superior to discover the deposits of copper whence the Indians derived their supplies. Joliet was unsuccessful in his quest for copper, but on his return he ventured on a new route to the St. Lawrence. Instead of going up the French River, across Lake Nipissing and down the Ottawa, he passed through the straits that join Lakes Huron and Erie; and on his way he met La Salle, who had been in the Ohio country. To that explorer Joliet explained the ease with which a ship might make a voyage from the lower to the upper lakes, thus opening a large and profitable commerce in furs. La Salle determined to seize the opportunity to meet and traffic with the Indians in their own country, thereby avoiding the dangers and losses incident to the arduous journey by the Ottawa route. For this purpose he would build an armed vessel that could defy the Iroquois, and at the same time carry the cargoes of many canoes. Immediately he set about his task.

Meantime, Talon proposed to confirm the title of Louis XIV to the Northwest by taking formal possession of the country.

For months the indefatigable Perrot had been working among the savages throughout the west and the north; arranging for a "congress of nations" to be held at Sault Ste. Marie. On the appointed day, June 14, 1671, the banks of the river beside the rapids were covered with the wigwams of the ever-curious Indians. Into the midst of the assembly strode the representative of the king, Simon Francois Dumont, Sieur Saint Lusson, accompanied by the King's explorer Louis Joliet, the King's messenger Nicolas Perrot, and the King's priests Fathers Allouez, Dablon, Druillettes and André.

A cedar post bearing the arms of France was planted firmly on the summit of a knoll back from the margin of the river, and in sonorous phrase Saint Lusson, in the name and by the power of his majesty King Louis XIV, took possession of and assumed authority over all those lands from the North Sea (Hudson Bay) to the seas of the south and the west, in particular of Saint Mary's Falls, the Manitoulin Islands, and of all their countries, rivers, lakes and tributaries contiguous, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side, by the northern and western seas and on the other side by the south sea, including all

its length and breadth, after which there was not much left of North America for other nations.

Hymns were chanted, songs were sung and as a matter of course there was feasting and dances for the Indians. Father Allouez took pains to impress upon the assembly the power and might of the monarch of France, at whose behest all these ceremonies were conducted, whose favor was to be sought and whose anger was to be feared even to the limits of the wilderness.[1]

Nearly two centuries later, when the contractors came to construct the ship canal around the St. Mary's Falls, they found in the line of their proposed operations a sandy knoll. Over it were scattered Indian graves and on its crest stood a large cedar cross, old, moss-grown and crumbling to decay. No living person could tell the date or circumstance of its erection. It was the local Indian tradition that it had been renewed and maintained, through passing generations, on the very spot where the first whites who came amongst them planted it. The contractors made short work of the Indian graves, the old cross and the hill it stood upon, and the locks of the Saint Mary's Falls Ship Canal now mark the spot.[2]

The times were now propitious for an enterprise which should open the Great Lakes throughout their entire extent to the commerce of the world. The fragile canoe should give place to the stout ship; that ship should be armed so as to be able to defy the Iroquois; and all the uncertainty of Indian visits to the trading-posts of the St. Lawrence should be at an end. No more should the Ottawa Indians be able to exact tribute from the savages who passed through their country; the day of ambush and sudden death should be ended. More than this the discovery of Marquette and Joliet

[1] Wisconsin Hist. Col., Vol. XI, p. 26, gives the procés verbal; see also Winsor's "Cartier to Frontenac;" Bancroft's "History of the United States;" Moore's "North-West Under Three Flags."

The monument at Sault Ste. Marie bears this inscription: "Beside these rapids, June 14, 1671, Daumont de Lusson, Nicholas Perrot, Louis Joliet and Fathers Dablon, Druillettes, Allouez and André claimed possession of all the lands from the seas of the north and west to the South Sea, for Louis XIV of France. In 1763 the lake region was ceded to England as a portion of Canada, and at the close of the Revolution, Saint Mary's River became part of the national boundaries. In 1797, the Northwest Fur Company built a bateau-canal and lock on the Canadian bank. In 1820, Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, here established the authority of the United States from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River."—*Moore's, "The Saint Mary's Falls Canal,"* p. 7.

[2] Judge Joseph H. Steere in Michigan P. and H. Col., Vol. 39.

should be utilized commercially by extending a chain of French posts down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, thus making two outlets by which the rich furs of the interior might reach European markets. Such was the dream of Talon, such the vision held before the French capitalists who were to furnish the money, and such the spirit that animated the pioneer ship-builder of the upper lakes, René Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle.

La Salle was born at Rouen, France, in November, 1643; he came to Canada in 1666; his brother Jean Cavelier was a Sulpitian priest, and the Sulpitians, then seigniors of Montreal, granted to La Salle a seigniory near the Lachine Rapids, where he established a trading-post. He started in 1669 on a quest for the Mississippi, hoping to find a route to China. With him went Galinee and Dollier de Casson, both Sulpitians. At the head of Lake Ontario they met Joliet returning from Lake Superior by way of the Detroit River. There La Salle and the priests parted company. Between 1669 and 1674, La Salle was the first to explore the upper Ohio; in the year last mentioned he went to France with letters of recommendation from his friend Frontenac, the governor of New France. From Louis XIV he obtained a grant of land at Fort Frontenac, new Kingston, where he established a prosperous colony of French and friendly Iroquois Indians, who devoted themselves to both trade and agriculture. In 1678 he received royal permission to make western explorations and establish posts on the route to Mexico. His schemes were so ambitious as to include the formation of a new empire in which he should have vice-regal powers.

On January 26, 1679, the keel for La Salle's vessel, the Griffon, was laid on the banks of the Niagara River at a point between the Falls and the present city of Buffalo; the exact site is a matter of conjecture, but a boulder, suitably inscribed, marking the supposed spot may be seen at the railroad station named La Salle. Already La Salle had a brigantine of ten tons on Lake Ontario, so he was not unused to the difficulties of construction. Henry de Tonty, La Mothe de Lussiere, La Forest and Father Hennepin were La Salle's lieutenants in the task of building; the cordage and tackle came from Montreal, and there were frequent journeys back and forth by the various members of the party. About the first of August the Griffon, aided by a "shore-breeze" at the end of a tow-line, overcame the rapids and entered Lake Erie. Tonty, with five men, was sent to Detroit to meet an advance party of fourteen Frenchmen who had been despatched to apprise the Indians of the coming of the vessel. August 11, 1679, the Griffon, a well-rigged

vessel of about forty-five tons entered the Detroit River. La Salle had placed as the figurehead of his little ship the figure of a griffin, a symbol chosen from the coat of arms of his friend and supporter, Count Frontenac; and it was his boast that he would yet make the Griffon fly above the crows, meaning that in his purpose of trade and exploration he would not allow himself to be thwarted by the Jesuits, who were the natural enemies of all traders with the Indians.

ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE
(An imaginary portrait)

At Montreal his creditors, urged on by his commercial rivals, were already in possession of his estate; but before him were riches in beaver-skins, and beneath his feet was the staunch vessel whose single voyage should bring him profits sufficient to pay every debt and yet leave him fortune enough to pursue his schemes of exploration.

La Salle was intensely ambitious, straightforward in all his dealings, and reserved in the expression of his feelings. He had great confidence in himself and he inspired confidence; and on the other hand he had little patience with the timid or vacillating among his followers, and on occasion he could be keenly sarcastic. Such

men are apt to arouse enmities that hinder and often thwart the fulfillment of their plans. La Salle, as events proved, was no exception to the rule.

The Recollect priest who made one of the company on the expedition, Father Louis Hennepin had so strong a desire to see new lands that he was continually being lured to give up the good things of this life which he so dearly enjoyed. While his fellow monks were supposed to be doing penance for their sins, Father Hennepin would steal away to some secluded spot to pour over the Relations sent back to France from the "five hundred convents of Recollects scattered over two and twenty provinces in America." Also he would hide behind the doors of Dunkirk inns to listen to the talk of the seamen. "The smoke of tobacco," he writes, "was disagreeable to me and created pains in my stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their relations; yet, nevertheless, I was very attentive to the accounts they gave of their encounters by land and sea, the peril they had gone through, and all the accidents which befell them in their long voyage. This occupation was so agreeable to me that I have spent whole days and nights at it without eating." The good father's exaggerations are quite natural in a traveler, who must be entertaining if he would find a publisher.

If we may believe Hennepin's dramatic account, it was at the battle of Seneff, where Prince Condé and William of Orange heaped the ground with 20,000 corpses that Father Hennepin (who was ministering to the dying), received the long-hoped-for orders to proceed to Rochelle to take passage for America. On the same vessel with Hennepin were La Salle and his faithful friend, Henry de Tonty, the son of the famous financier whose name the word "tontine" preserves for us.[3]

The Griffon, borne along by her two great square-sails, laid her course between Bois Blanc Island and Sugar Island. Passing the low-lying Grosse Ile and the clay bluffs of the mainland, this

[3] Henry de Tonty, the son of a Neapolitan banker, was born about 1650; he became a cadet and rose to the rank of captain in the French army. In 1667 he met La Salle in Paris and the friendship that began then lasted till La Salle's death. He superintended the building of the Griffon, and afterwards held the little Fort St. Louis for his captain. In 1688 he risked his life to go down the Mississippi to find La Salle, only to find that the latter had been murdered. Until 1700 he maintained the position on the river; but neglect and hostility at Quebec forced him to retire to Iberville's colony at Biloxi, where he was most helpful until in 1704 he died of yellow fever, leaving a record of loyalty, intrepidity and endurance unsurpassed in the annals of New France.

pioneer of the mighty fleets of our own day came to the present site of Detroit. Father Hennepin, moved with the beauty of the scene, would have given over all thoughts of further exploration in order to stay and enjoy the delights of what seemed to him an earthly paradise. He urged upon La Salle the advantages of a settlement at some point on the strait. The white-fish were excellent, he said; and a post there would keep the Iroquois in check. The father explains that his real reason for wishing to remain was in order "to preach the gospel to those ignorant nations." La Salle, however, cut short all such ideas by the icy remark that considering the great passion he had a few months before for the discovery of a new country, his present proposal was unaccountable.

As the Griffon rounded the headland near the present town of Sandwich, a canoe, shooting out from the rushes that fringe the shore, glided alongside the ship. An iron hand clutched the low bulwarks and Tonty [4] sprang on board. On the 12th of August the Griffon, skirting the shores of Belle Isle, glided out upon the surface of a small and shallow lake. It was Sainte Claire's day, and Father Hennepin suggested that her name be given to that beautiful and tranquil stretch of water. So the name of Ste. Claire, after several intermediate changes in spelling, has come down to us through the centuries.[5] Crossing the twenty miles of lake, Pilot Lucas saw before him vast stretches of rushes, among which the waters from the river above sought the lake through many a winding channel. After sounding one passage after another sufficient depth of water was found and the Griffon pursued her course up the St. Clair River. The way into Lake Huron was blocked by a strong northwest wind; and it was not until August 23d, after a voyage of twelve days from Lake Erie, that the vessel, hauled

[4] He was known as Tonty of the Iron Hand because he had lost one of his hands and used an iron hook in its place.

[5] Lake Ste. Claire was called by the Iroquois "Otsi-Keta," according to Hennepin; Campbell says the Indians called it Kandekie and Ceanatchio. Sainte Claire for whom Hennepin called the lake founded the order of Franciscan nuns known as "Poor Claires." She was the beautiful daughter of a wealthy Roman noble, and while still a girl asked advice of St. Francis one Palm Sunday when she was attending church with her family. St. Francis, by way of answer, cut off her beautiful hair, and over her costly attire he threw the penitential robes of his own order. She broke away from her family and entered the convent of San Damiano, which she saved from ravage by the Saracens. In 1212 she founded the Clarisses, and she is said to have founded many other orders, including the Recolletes, to which Hennepin belonged. In Rome she dwelt between the Pantheon and the Baths of Agrippa.

from the shore by a dozen men, and aided by a brisk southerly breeze, overcame the rapids and entered the great lake which Champlain had discovered more than half a century before. Then the ship's company sang Te Deum "to return thanks to the Almighty for their happy navigation."

On the 24th the Griffon crossed Saginaw Bay; then for two days she was becalmed among the rocky islands of Thunder Bay. On the fourth day there came a violent storm; the main-yard and topmast were lowered, and then the crew fell on their knees in prayer. Hennepin says that La Salle gave up hope, and began to prepare for death with the others—all excepting Pilot Lucas, whom, "we could never force to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curse and swear against M. La Salle, who, as he said, had brought him thither to make him perish in a nasty lake, and lose the glory he had acquired by his long and happy navigations on the ocean." Fate spared Pilot Lucas for the time being. Hennepin vowed an altar to St. Anthony of Padua, and promised to set it up in the far-distant Louisiana. This fact, he believed, helped the vessel to weather the storm.

The tempest died away as quickly as it arose, and soon the turtle-shaped island of Michilimackinac stood out in the clear air, a sentinel guarding the harbor of St. Ignace. Next day the anchors dropped into the clear waters of the harbor, and lay plainly visible on the white bottom of the lake. From the five guns on the Griffon's decks boomed a salute, which was taken up and tossed to and from island cliff to pine-tipped cape. The sound of the guns brought crowds of Indians from their bark huts, French traders from their cabins, and two or three black-robed priests from the little mission-house. La Salle, finely dressed, and wearing a scarlet cloak richly trimmed with gold braid, landed with his men, and all repaired to the little chapel in the Ottawa Village, to give thanks for a safe voyage. The Ottawas in their canoes accompanied the new-comers back to the ship, surrounding the "big canoe," as they called the Griffon, and heaping the vessel's deck with the white-fish and trout pleasing to Father Hennepin. The next day, when La Salle visited the palisaded town of the Hurons, these Indians greeted him with a salute of musketry, the Europeans having told them that was the highest form of compliment.

Of the fifteen men whom La Salle had sent before him to buy furs for the return voyage of the Griffon, four were found at St. Ignace. They had squandered their goods, and had wasted the proceeds in riotous living. Two others had escaped to Sault Ste.

Marie, whither La Salle sent Tonty to fetch them. The leader, however, sailed before his lieutenant returned. Perplexed and annoyed by the hostile feelings that his jealous crew had aroused among the suspicious Indians, he was led to push on, in order to get his cargo before his enemies could tamper with the tribes of the Illinois. At Green Bay he found a friend in an old Pottawatomie chief, whose admiration for Count Frontenac was extended to La Salle. Here also he found a cargo of furs gathered by the few faithful ones of his advance party. Elated at his success, and believing himself now certain to secure the means of continuing his explorations, La Salle placed his pilot Lucas in command of the Griffon for the return voyage, giving him five picked men for a crew. He himself, with Hennepin and fourteen others, embarked in four canoes and steered southward.

No sooner were La Salle's canoes fairly out into the lake than a sudden September storm came down upon them; and it was not until morning that the tempest-tossed voyagers came safe to land. They skirted the Michigan shore as far as the St. Joseph River, where they waited twenty days for Tonty. He brought no tidings of the Griffon, and it was several months before La Salle became certain that the same storm which had so nearly proved his own destruction had sent to the bottom his little vessel and all the high hopes that depended upon it. To this day no trace of the Griffon has been found; and while many theories as to the cause of her loss have been discussed, there is no ground to believe that it was due to any but natural causes. Thus disastrously ended the only voyage of the first vessel on the Upper Lakes.

La Salle, with Tonty, Hennepin, and his followers, made his slow way south until they came to the Illinois River. There he began to build a new vessel in which to voyage down that river to its junction with the Mississippi. The Griffon was to bring the anchors and rigging for the new vessel; but so certain was La Salle that his vessel had been lost that, with a courage that marks him as one of the greatest of explorers, undertook a winter journey back over the thousand miles that lay between the Illinois and Fort Frontenac, in order to obtain the necessary supplies. Hennepin was sent on a voyage of discovery down the Illinois, while Tonty was left in charge of their newly built little fort Crevecœur. There La Salle took a few companions and began his perilous March journey through half-frozen swamps and across deep rivers, where his way was constantly endangered by hostile Indians. Reaching his fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, and there learning beyond doubt

that the Griffon had been wrecked, the little party struck across Michigan. Through dense woods where the thorns tore their clothes into strips and cut their hands and faces, for three days they made their slow way. Then came stretches of prairie bordered by groves of oak, the home of the deer, bear and wild turkey. These "oak openings" were at this time the battle-ground for a half-dozen tribes of Indians, no one tribe being able to hold a land so rich in game and with so fertile a soil. A two-days' journey brought them to marshes, through which they waded painfully for long days, with hostile Indians on their track, so they dared not light a fire at night. Once they took off their water-soaked clothes, and rolling themselves in their blankets, lay down to sleep on a dry knoll. In the morning they were forced to make a fire to thaw out their frozen garments, and the smoke quickly betrayed their presence to a band of Illinois; but when the Indians found that La Salle's party were not Iroquois, they suffered the white men to go in peace.

Ten days out from St. Joseph, they reached the Detroit River, within a few miles of those islands whence, seven months before, they had looked out with such confidence upon the future. La Salle lost no time in pushing on to Fort Frontenac, where he arrived after a journey in all of sixty-five days. Having failed in his first attempts, he set out on a second expedition in 1681, going directly to the Mississippi, which he descended to the Gulf of Mexico, taking possession of the entire territory for the King, in whose honor he named the region (April 9, 1682) Louisiana. In December of that year he built Fort St. Louis on "Starved Rock," near Utica, Illinois. The following year he returned to France to seek again royal favor, the recall of Frontenac and the wiles of his enemies having made such a course necessary. The King was gracious, and he returned in 1684 with a large expedition, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to find the mouth of the Mississippi. On March 19, 1687, he was murdered by his own men.[6]

The career of La Salle is one of the more striking examples of the pioneer failures with which the history of the Northwest abounds. If the explorer had to struggle only with the wilderness, his conquests would have been secure; but in the great majority of cases the lack of reasonable support from the fickle government

[6] See Parkman's "La Salle"; Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations," Vol. LVII, p. 315. Mr. C. M. Burton has secured copies of the papers in the French archives relating to La Salle, and is arranging for the publication of them through the Michigan Historical Commission.

and the active jealousy and enmity of those who themselves had not the courage to venture beyond the limits of the trading-post were the undoing of the brave and devoted explorers.

The wreck of the Griffon brought to a disastrous end the attempt to conduct lake transportation on a large scale; and it was many years before another sail vessel made a wake on those broad waters. Another great change followed closely upon La Salle's defeat. The Upper Peninsula, the first portion of Michigan territory to be explored and settled, was destined to revert to the wilderness as the tide of development turned to the south.

A conflict between the French and English for the possession of North America was inevitable. Along the Atlantic seaboard colonies of English settlers had established their homes and laid the foundations of institutions representing the greatest degree of freedom then known. These institutions were original in the sense that they sprang from new conditions of life and developed in an atmosphere of revolt against the governmental restrictions of the parent country. At all events they were rooted deep in the soil of a new land that represented freedom dearly purchased by privation and peril and homesickness, by the sundering of the dearest relations known to the human heart, and all the sweeter because of the great price paid. As was to be foreseen, the flood of immigration could not always be held in check by the mountains that hemmed the colonies on the west. Sooner or later it was bound to break through into the rich interior.

The French, on the other hand, found themselves in a cold country, difficult to cultivate, with harbors closed during half the year, dependent for its prosperity upon the precarious fur-trade, and subject to frequent incursions by the most powerful Indian confederacy known in history—the Six Nations, or the Iroquois, who lived within striking distance of every portion of the French dominions, and who were at bottom friendly to the English from whom they obtained supplies and war-materials. Moreover, Canada having no internal commerce, French development was hampered by the state monopolies which checked private initiative and made impossible the creation of a stable society formed of prosperous merchants, manufacturers and artisans such as was to be found among the English.

In the conflicts which marked the first half of the eighteenth century, the English colonists were the aggressors; and it was not until the middle of the century that the British Government took up the cause of their colonies. Had the English colonies been bound

together by a central government the period of conquest would not have stretched itself over a half century. In this particular the French had the advantage of unity of action, even though continuity of action was often disturbed by the varying policies of the succession administrations at Quebec. The fact that the English sold goods to the Indians a third cheaper than the French could sell played a large part in drawing the western tribes to British trading-posts whenever and wherever they were established in the western country. No conscientious scruples deterred the English from supplying the Indians with all the rum they had furs to pay for; whereas the French, through their missionaries and by governmental decree exercised some regard for the morals of the savages they were bent on converting as well as trading with.

CHAPTER VII

THE FOUNDING OF DETROIT

In 1686 in order to check British advances Du Lhut was sent with fifty soldiers to the Detroit region to build Fort St. Joseph, at the head of the St. Clair River, near the present site of Port Huron; and the next year Henry de Tonty came across Southern Michigan from his station in the Illinois country to the Detroit River, where he met his cousin Du Lhut from the St. Clair, and La Forest and Durantaye from Michilimackinac, all going to assist Frontenac in chastising the Iroquois. On the way down Lake Huron, the French party captured thirty Englishmen sent by Governor Dongan, of New York, to seize Michilimackinac; and a second English party, despatched to reinforce the first, was taken on Lake Erie. For fourteen years Fort St. Joseph was maintained as a meeting place at which to hold conferences with various tribes of Indians in the Detroit country. M. de Longueil in his reports speaks of "my fort at Detroit" being garrisoned by a small body of French. The object of his negotiations was to induce the Indians to take the war-path against the English on the Ohio, to extirpate "that scum" and to pillage their goods. La Hontan, who passed up the Detroit in the September of 1687, locates Fort Joseph on his map of that year. This fort, or earthwork, built by Du Lhut at the foot of Lake Huron, was officially known as the Fort at Detroit years before the foundation of the city that now bears the name once given to the entire strait between lakes Erie and Huron. Probably, however, instead of being maintained as a permanent post, Fort St. Joseph was the headquarters for detachments sent out to hold the English in check. This would account for the fact that La Hontan, on his larger map, marks it as an abandoned post.[1]

In 1694, Michilimackinac was the strategic point for the fur trade; and with a view to strengthen the French hold on that traffic Frontenac sent thither Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, whom Shea,

[1] Louisiana Collections, p. 69; N. Y. Collections, Colonial Manuscripts, Vol. IX, p. 704.

the historian of the Catholic Church in colonial days, characterizes as chimerical, grasping, overbearing, regarding religion as a means to be used for the purposes of government or as an element of trade. This is all true, but it is not all the truth.

Cadillac was the son of Jean de la Mothe, seigneur de Cadillac, de Launay, de Semontel, a counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse, and his mother was Jeanne de Malenfant; at an early age he entered the French army; he was well educated, and was ever able to hold his own in an argument or in repartee. In 1683, when about twenty-two years old, he came to America and settled at Port Royal. He sailed the Atlantic coasts with the French privateerman François Guyon, whose niece, Marie Therese Guyon, he married on June 25, 1687, when she lacked two months of being sixteen years old.[2] The year following his marriage he received from the authorities at Quebec a grant of land in the present State of Maine, 23,000 acres in exent, and also the island of Mount Desert, where Frenchman's Bay and the Cadillac Trail (cut by the late Dr. Weir Mitchell) still keep alive the fact of his ownership. For a time he lived on the island. The King confirmed the grant in 1689, and the State of Massachusetts about 1787 recognized the rights of his granddaughter to all that portion of the island which had not previously been disposed of by the state.[3]

Cadillac took part in the abortive attempt of the French to capture New York in 1689 and was carried to France on one of the battleships when the attack failed. At court he made friends; but in the meantime (1690) the English under Sir William Phips had captured Port Royal and burned the town, thus reducing Cadillac to poverty. In 1690 he returned to Canada bearing a letter from Count de Pontchartrain, Minister of the Finances, recommending him to Frontenac, governor at Quebec, as "a gentleman of Arcadia whose habitation had been ruined by the English, and suggesting that he be employed in such manner as he might be found useful." To make bad matters worse the ship that was conveying Cadillac's wife and the remainder of his goods from Port Royal to Quebec was captured by a privateer out of Boston. However, Cadillac was made a

[2] "Sketch of the Life of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Founder of Detroit" (1895); "Cadillac's Village; or Detroit under Cadillac, with list of property owners and a history of the settlement, 1701-1710" (1896); "In the Footsteps of Cadillac" (1899), all by Clarence M. Burton.

[3] The authorities are the extensive Cadillac correspondence obtained in France by Clarence M. Burton, and published in translation in the Mich. P. & H. Col. Vols. XXXIII and XXXIV.

lieutenant of the troops of the colony; and the family was reunited. In 1692 he was again in France, this time called by the King to give information as to the New England coast preparatory to an attack planned but never executed. In 1693 and the following year he acted as Frontenac's secretary, and in 1694 the governor sent him to Michilimackinac as captain and commandant.[4]

When he reached his new post Cadillac was already under the ban of the Jesuits. During the winter of 1693, while a member of the circle that Frontenac had gathered about him at Quebec, he had joined the officers who, to beguile the long winter evenings, arranged some theatricals. One of the plays presented was Moliére's "Tartuffe," in which the vices of falsehood, lust, greed and ambition are

From a mural painting by Francis D. Millet, in the Cleveland Trust Company

BUILDING THE GRIFFON

satirized in the person of a priest. The storm of objurgation that began in France extended even to Michilimackinac, and Cadillac on reaching his new station found that the Jesuits at that post had set the officers against their commandant. He promply imprisoned the insubordinate ones; but while he established his own authority, his action resulted on the part of the Jesuits in an intense opposition to him and his plans.

Cadillac had gone to Michilimackinac to stop the intrigues of the Iroquois; and to this end he resorted to measures which even the savages were at no loss to understand. The Iroquois had invited the Lake Indians to a council at Detroit, and on learning of this

[4] Clarence M. Burton has spent much time in France and in this country endeavoring to piece together the story of Cadillac's life. See his sketch of the Life of Antoine de la Cadillac, Detroit, 1895, and subsequent pamphlets.

meeting he took drastic measures to counteract the scheme. One evening seven Iroquois prisoners were brought to the post. As the party landed upon the beach, the French, acting under orders, stabbed two of the Iroquois. The Hurons promptly defended the others, but finally were prevailed upon to give a chief into the hands of the whites, who at once sent to the Ottawas an invitation to drink the broth of an Iroquois. The victim was first tied to a stake, then tortured by burning with a gunbarrel heated red-hot, and was finally cut in pieces and eaten by the assembled Indians. Again four Iroquois prisoners taken in battle by parties sent out by Cadillac, were burned alive in order to stir up strife between them and the Lake Indians; and Cadillac promised that "if they bring any prisoners to me, I can assure you their fate will be no sweeter than that of the others." But Cadillac was unable to keep his allies from being tampered with while on their way back from the fur-markets at Montreal. The Iroquois were making friends of the Detroit Indians, and the only remedy was war. By selling all he possessed and giving credit to his Indians, he succeeded in getting the Chief Omaske to take the war-path with a strong party of braves. So vigorous was the chase that forty Iroquois, in order to escape their pursuers, jumped into a river and were drowned, thirty scalps and as many prisoners were taken, and four or five hundred beaver-skins, which the Iroquois intended to exchange for English goods, were seized as booty. This success put a stop to Iroquois advances for the time being.[5]

To Cadillac it was clear that the place to check the advance of the Iroquois was not at Michilimackinac, but on the River Detroit, because through that narrow strait all travel and commerce must pass on their way between the lower and the upper lakes. Moreover, the New York governor, Robert Livingstone, had already determined to ruin the French fur-trade by seizing and holding the Detroit region. In order to persuade his superiors of the absolute necessity of occupying that strategic position, and equally sure that he saw a fine opening to make a fortune, Cadillac went to Quebec and there explained his ideas to Calliéres, the governor, and Champigny, the intendant. Cadillac laid great stress on the social and moral reformation he proposed to effect by teaching the natives to speak the French language. Yet he was on record as believing that the only fruits of the Jesuit missions consisted in the baptism of infants who

[5] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. IX, p. 648. Parkman's "Half Century of Conflict," Vol. I, chapter 2.

died before reaching the age of reason; and that while the Jesuits were ostensibly employed in the labor of saving souls, still he charged that they found ample time to enrich their order by traffic in furs. Hence he met the open and powerful opposition of the intendant, Champigny, who voiced the sentiment of his friends the Jesuits when he argued that if the savages were to be saved they must be kept as far as possible from the vices of civilization.[6]

Unable to persuade the authorities at Quebec, Cadillac carried his case to France and presented the argument to Count de Pontchartrain, then chancellor of France under Louis XIV. With all the eloquence at his command he urged upon his friend, the minister, the absolute necessity for a permanent post, with its garrison, its traders, its schools, and its tribes of friendly Indians, all working together for the advancement of France and the confusion of her enemies, the Iroquois and the English.

That Cadillac was able to win the favor of the minister is proved by the fact that he named the post at Detroit Fort Pontchartrain, and so it was known for many years. It is doubtful, however, if that modest gentleman ever appreciated the honor done him. Certainly it would have been a satisfaction to him in the days of quiet which he deliberately interposed between life and death if he could have known that in one of the great cities of America his portrait would have a place in its council chamber and that his name would be a household word.[7]

Philypeaux, Count de Pontchartrain, had been for ten years controller of finances when, in September, 1699, the King (urged thereto by Madame de Maintenon) persuaded him to accept the office of chancellor and keeper of the seals of France, an office which he accepted much against his will. As controller-general he had power to advance or remove men as Mme. Maintenon wished, because "it was with him that the King ordinarily worked, and he therefore had the principal interest." Saint Simon has left us this picture of him.[8]

"He was a very small man, thin, well set-up in his little figure, with a countenance from which the fires of his mind sparked inces-

[6] Cadillac Papers, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIV. The voluminous discussion is there given.

[7] Hotel Pontchartrain in Detroit was so named in 1908 by William C. McMillan, one of its owners, at the joint suggestion of Mr. Harry Skinner and the writer.

[8] "Memoirs of the Duc de Saint Simon in the Times of Louis XIV and the Regency." Translated and abridged by Katherine Prescott Wormeley, Boston 1889, Vol. I. p. 178.

The First St. Anne's Church, Detroit
(Burned in 1703)

santly, and kept even more than its promises. Never was there such promptitude of comprehension, such lightness and charm of conversation, such neatness and quickness of repartee, such facility and solidity of work, such rapid perception of men, and such cleverness in getting hold of them. His nicety was remarkable, and extended to everything, and throughout all his gallantry, which lasted in his soul to the very end, much piety and goodness, and I must add equity, both before and after his career in the finances, and even during his administration of them, as much as they allowed to exist. His wife was a woman of great sense, wise, solid and enlightened in conduct, equable, consistent, unaffected, with nothing bourgeois about her but her appearance; liberal, free with her gifts, and in the art of imagining and executing fetes noble, magnificent to the highest point, and with it all an admirable and orderly manager. No one, and this is surprising, knew the Court or people of the world better than she, or had, and her husband also, more graces and charms of mind. She was of great use to him both in counsel and conduct; and he had the sense to know this and profit by it. Their union was always intimate. What they gave to the poor is incredible. Mme. de Pontchartrain always had her eyes and hands open to their needs; and she was always in quest of persons reduced to poverty, gentlemen and young women in need, girls in danger, seeking to draw them from peril and suffering, marrying or finding places for some, giving pensions to others, and all with the utmost secrecy. She was a stout woman, very ugly, of an ignoble and coarse ugliness, who sometimes showed temper, which she controlled as best she could." One shall search in vain the voluminous pages of this prince of memoir-writers to find another couple to whom so much and such unstinted praise is given. Assuredly Detroit is most happy in its patron.

The skeptical minister inquired of Cadillac how a post at the Detroit would keep the Indians from resorting to the English. The wily Cadillac replied that, although the will to go to the English and deal in the cheapest markets would still be present, yet "each savage, one with another, kills per year fifty or sixty beavers, and, as he is neighbor to the Frenchman, frequently borrows of him, paying in proportion to the returns by the chase. With what little remains to him the Indian is compelled to make purchases for his family. Thus he finds himself unable to go to the English, because his remaining goods are not worth carrying so far. * * * Another reason is that in frequenting the French he receives many caresses; they are too cunning to allow his furs to escape, especially when they succeed in making him eat and drink with them."

Cadillac's persistency was not displeasing to Count Pontchartrain or to Louis XIV. The fact that little money from the royal treasury was asked for doubtless made Cadillac's path an easier one; but there can be no doubt that the commander's energy, his uncompromising nature, and his well known mastery over the conditions of frontier life won for him support in his plans, while court friendships gained for him unusual concessions in the way of trade and land. Cadillac understood that he was to have control of the trade at Detroit, but it turned out that the Company of the Colony also controlled the traffic at that post; and this fact was one of several causes of disaster. Although Cadillac himself appears to have been a stockholder in the company, his interests as proprietor were opposed to those of the company; because the organization was bent on keeping the northwest a fur-preserve, and they feared (not without good reason) that it was Cadillac's intention to form a strong colony of settlers at Detroit, and to make that town a rival of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. To Count Pontchartrain he wrote that the only way to get along with the Jesuits was, "First, to let them do as they please; secondly, to do as they please; and thirdly, to say nothing of what they do." Then he adds: "If I let the Jesuits do as they please, the savages will not establish themselves; if I do as they would desire, it will be necessary to abandon this post; and if I say nothing of what they do, it will only be necessary for me to pursue my present course." "Thirty Hurons," he says, "arrived from Michilimackinac on the 28th of June (1703). There remained only about twenty-five. Father Carheil, who is missionary there, remains always firm. I hope this autumn to pluck the last feather out of his wing; and I am persuaded that this obstinate old priest will die in his parish without a single parishioner to bury him." That is a high and just tribute to the zeal and long-suffering of the old missionary, who saw his flock lured away by the brandy and the vices at the new fort. He labored on until 1705, with Father Aveneau from St. Joseph, whence also the Indians had been lured to Detroit. Then the two, finding themselves without parishioners burned their chapel under which rested the bones of Marquette, and departed for Quebec.

The King promised to Cadillac protection against the Jesuits; enough money and men to carry out his enterprise, and a tract of land fifteen arpents (acres) square, "wherever on the Detroit the new fort should be located." Thus equipped he set sail for America. On June 2, 1701, he left Montreal with fifty soldiers and an equal number of Frenchmen. Alphonse de Tonty, a brother of

La Salle's companion, was Cadillac's captain; for lieutenants he had M. Dugue and M. Chacornacle and for chaplain he took with him Father Valliant, a Jesuit. Taking the old route of Indians and traders, in order to avoid the Iroquois, the party paddled up the Ottawa River, made the thirty portages to Lake Nipissing, thence to Georgian Bay and by Lake Huron down to the Detroit. Arriving on the 24th day of July, Cadillac set about making a stockade of wooden pickets, with bastions at the four angles. Inside the palisade

From a photograph in the possession of George N. Brady

CADILLAC OR CASS HOUSE*

stake-houses were built. The chapel, begun on the feast-day of Saint Anne, July 26, was named in her honor, and this name the

* Built at Detroit, Mich., in 1703 by M. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, founder of Detroit, for the chief of the Huron Indians, by order of Count Pontchartrain, French colonial minister of marine. It was occupied by Huron chiefs until 1740, after which it was bought by Jacques St. Martin, an interpreter, in 1750, and occupied by him during the Pontiac war of 1763, when it received many bullet marks. Subsequent to 1763 it was occupied by Dr. George C. Anthon, surgeon-general of the British army, and some of his gifted sons were born there. It was bought by William Macomb, a Scotch merchant, in 1781, and his son, Alexander Macomb, who died a major-general commanding the United States army, was born in this house on April 3, 1782. It was the headquarters of United States officers in 1814. Bought by Gen. Lewis Cass, territorial governor. The building was moved from the river bank about 1835 to Nos. 164-166 West Larned Street. This house, which stood in Detroit for 179 years, was demolished in August, 1882, to make way for improvements.

successive churches have kept to this day. The little settlement that sprang up about Fort Pontchartrain was generally spoken of as Detroit.

Cadillac was full of schemes for the development of his colony, a copper-mine on Lake Huron; silk-culture among the mulberry trees of Lake Erie; a uniformed Indian militia; a seminary to teach the French language to the savages; and for grants of lands to settlers. He spoke of himself as one whom "God had raised up to be another Moses to go and deliver the Indians from captivity; or rather, as Caleb, to bring them back to the lands of their fathers. * * * Meanwhile, Montreal (the Jesuits) plays the part of Pharaoh; he cannot see this emigration without trembling, and he arms himself to destroy it."

The opposition of the Jesuits to the sale of brandy to the Indians especially angered Cadillac. They took the matter to the King, and Louis XIV in 1694, referred to the Sorbonne for decision of the question of allowing French brandy to be shipped to Michilimackinac. The decision of the council was against the sale, and the traffic was forbidden. Thus, the Northwest became dry territory in theory, but the commandment was at no pains to enforce the order. "A drink of brandy after the repast," he maintained, "seems necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities which they leave in the stomach." Cadillac knew unless he had liquor to sell the savages he might as well abandon the post; the Indians would go to the English at Albany where goods were cheap and rum was unlimited. To give up Detroit never entered into Cadillac's plans; but while unwilling to prohibit entirely the sale of liquor he did enforce restrictions so rigid that his action was the cause of complaint against him. In the report of M. d'Aigrement, who inspected Detroit in 1708, it is mentioned as one of the grievances of the savages against Cadillac, that "in order to prevent disturbances which would arise from the excessive use of brandy, he causes it all to be put into the storehouse, and sold at the rate of 20 francs a quart. Those who will have it, French as well as Indians, are obliged to go to the storehouse to drink, and each can obtain, at one time, only the twenty-fourth part of a quart. It is certain that the savages cannot become intoxicated on that quantity. The price is high, and as they can get brandy only each in his turn, it sometimes happens that the savages are obliged to return home without a taste of this beverage, and they seem ready to kill themselves with disappointment."

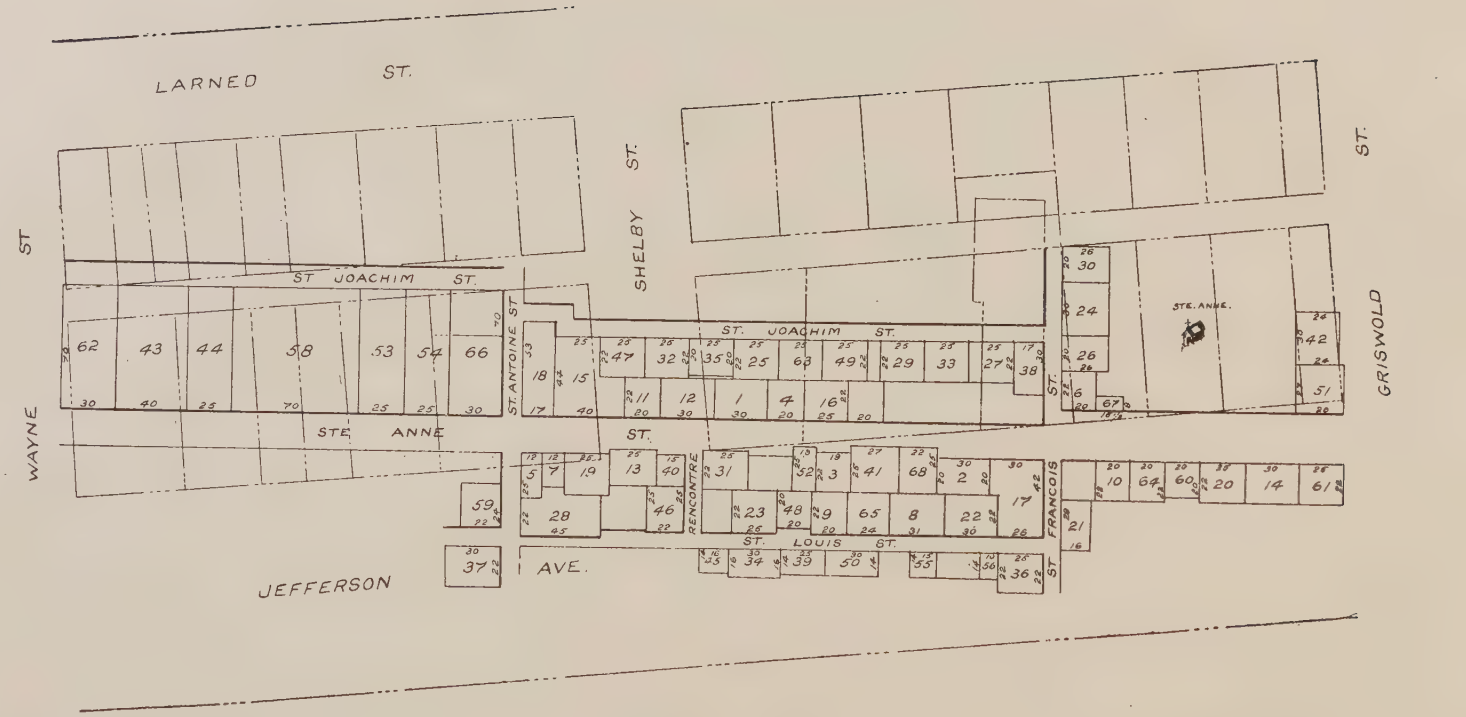
M. d'Aigrement, spent nineteen July days at Detroit. He re-

ported that he found that Cadillac was unpopular with both the savages and the colonists. Parent, the blacksmith, complained that he had to pay annually 600 francs and two casks of ale for the privilege of working at his trade; and besides he was compelled to keep all Cadillac's horses (one in all) shod. Pinet, the gunsmith, was required to repair twelve guns each month, besides paying 300 francs a year. The people grumbled because Cadillac took as grist toll an eighth instead of the customary fourteenth part, although it was admitted that the cost of the mill had been excessive. Of the 350 roods of valuable land, Cadillac owned 157, while the French owned the forty-six, and the Hurons held 150; moreover the commandant required the soldiers and savages to break his land, and make it ready for planting. Inside the fort the people owned twenty-nine small log-houses thatched with grass. Of the sixty-three settlers, thirty-four were traders, and the only profitable articles of traffic were ammunition and brandy, the English being able to undersell the French in all other commodities. Cadillac himself bought for 4 francs a quart of brandy that he sold for 20 francs; he charged 2 francs and 10 sous a front rood for grounds within the palisades, and a double price for corner lots. Besides, each trader paid an annual tax of 10 francs for the privilege of dealing with the Indians. Such complaints should have been dismissed with the mere statement of them, if indeed even that were deemed necessary; and so they would have been had not the person who reported them been sent for the purpose of finding or making trouble.

"The soil is poor," continues d'Aigrement, "and is full of water; it is fitted to raise Indian corn and nothing else; the cider made from the native apples is as bitter as gall; and the grasshoppers eat all the garden plants so that they have to be planted two or three times over." "On the whole," says the investigator, "the post was a mistake, and it should be abandoned." [9]

Had Cadillac been a man of less directness and more tact in dealing with his subordinates, he might have avoided some of the difficulties that encompassed him from the first. As it was, his project was no sooner started than treachery manifested itself. First Father Vaillant started a mutiny among the troops by trying to persuade them to return to Quebec. Cadillac learned of the attempt and drove the father into the woods. Next Tonty and La Forest intrigued with the Jesuits at Michilimackinac to start a rival post; but here again the founder of the colony was warned in time

[9] Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIII, p. 422.



From C. M. Burton's Collection

DETROIT IN 1708..

INDICATES PRESENT PLAN OF CITY.

FORT PONTCHARTRAIN IN 1708

Tonty evidently became ashamed of his part in the affair; although he never was true to Cadillac, of whom he appeared to be jealous. The Jesuits had a basis for their opposition. Every portion of Cadillac's plan for the colony at Detroit was in opposition to their interests. They were entirely correct in saying that he regarded religion as merely a means to an end. Again the success of Detroit, where an enemy would be in absolute control, meant the decay of Michilimackinac where they were all powerful. To them a colony meant the corruption of the savages whom they were bent on converting, and who were best reached when not under the influence of wheedling traders bent on making capital out of their necessities and ever ready to exchange brandy for furs.

In spite of these discouragements Detroit thrived. Cadillac was successful in drawing the Indians from Michilimackinac; so that Father Carheil, an earnest and devoted priest, could do no better than to burn the chapel under which rested the bones of Marquette, lest it should fall into sacrilegious hands. Then he retired from the deserted field. No fewer than six thousand savages set up their wigwams near the stockade; seed was planted and fisheries were set up to make the people self-sustaining, and then, to give to the place an air of permanency, Cadillac's wife with Madame de Tonty set out in August, 1701, and after passing the winter at Fort Frontenac (Kingston) they reached Detroit in the spring of the following year. Their arrival gave joy alike to whites and Indians.

With the coming of Madame Cadillac family life at Detroit begins. She gave to her husband thirteen children. The eldest child, Judith, became a pensioner in a convent of Ursuline nuns; the third child, Antoine, at the age of nine years, accompanied his father to Detroit; the second son, James, came with his mother, in 1702; and six of their children were born in Detroit between the years 1702 and 1710, and were baptised in Saint Anne's Church.

In 1703 a fire within the stockade burned the church, the houses of the priest, of Cadillac and of de Tonty. Cadillac asserts that he saved the warehouse of the Company of the Colony, together with the King's ammunition at the expense of his own property; and he strongly intimated that the fire was the work of an enemy turned incendiary. This may well have been true for in those days every man seemed to be an enemy to every other, and the whole trade system was one of fraud and corruption generally. It was Cadillac's misfortune that one of the company clerks whom he caught in stealing was related to the Governor-General Vaudreuil, and others had powerful connections in Quebec.

Just as things seemed at their worst a cheering letter came from Count de Pontchartrain, who now proved himself indeed a friend in need. Cadillac was at Quebec trying to make headway with the authorities when he received the most welcome intelligence that he was still in favor at court. The Company of the Colony was ordered to surrender to him the trade at Detroit, although he was not permitted to traffic beyond the region tributary to his post. He was to have a market made for his furs; and of the beaver-skins which the company was required to accept from the traders each year one-tenth was alloted to Cadillac. Other furs he might supply in any quantity. "With all this assistance," writes Pontchartrain, "and any other just and reasonable request you may make, which his majesty will grant you, he hopes you will succeed in realizing the outline you have given of this post. From this success you may expect favors from his majesty proportioned to the service you render; and you may count on my contributing on my part to procuring them for you as far as I can. I am explaining the intentions of his majesty on this subject definitely to Messrs. Vaudreuil and Beauharnois and to the directors of the company, so that in future you may find no more obstacles in this post. I am convinced that on your side you will act like a man of honor, and will give no ground for complaint against your conduct, especially regards the beaver skins, the trade in which you will confine to the said sum of 15,000 or 20,000 livres. Matters being thus ordered, you will have no more contests with the Jesuits, nor with anyone."

He returned jubilant. During the next five years he took to Detroit domestic animals including the horse Colin that became a constituent portion of the population; all kinds of grains and seeds, fruit-trees in boxes, tools for carpentry and joinery, axes and locks, materials for building a windmill costing 1,000 pistoles, a barge, the iron work for the fort; he built a fort with eight bastions, lodging places for the troops, a church, a warehouse, a powder magazine, a pigeon-house, an ice house and a brewery for beer. A hundred Canadians were brought to work in transporting materials, besides the workmen and soldiers, who were paid 30 sous per day when they worked. He remained only four years after commencing this undertaking.

This good fortune did not last long. Pontchartrain had already become tired of the troublesome life at court, and after the death of his wife he determined to take the then unheard of step of resigning. Although he continued in office until 1714 he was no longer able to assist Cadillac as he had done. The latter was now encom-

passed by enemies, and his very success at Detroit made them the more eager for his overthrow. The end came in 1710, when he was driven from Detroit; his property was seized by his successor and although he was assured that he would be recompensed for it he never secured payment for the 125,000 livres worth of goods shown by the inventory made by his wife after his departure.

In order to mitigate the severity of royal disfavor, Cadillac received the governorship of Louisiana, and repaired to his new post in 1713. There he remained four years. On returning to France

From Bela Hubbard's "Memorials of a Half Century"

FRENCH PEAR TREES, DETROIT RIVER

during the John Law Bubble excitement, he gave to the optimistic promoters of that scheme such matter of fact statements in regard to the conditions in Louisiana that they had him thrown into the Bastile, whence he emerged on February 6, 1718. He was appointed governor of Castelsarrazin in France, and in that quiet office he died October 18, 1730.

Alphonse de Tonty was in command at Detroit in 1704-5, while Cadillac was absent from his post. Unfortunately Alphonse was quite unlike his elder brother, Henry, who was so loyal to La Salle. Alphonse was disloyal to Cadillac, who had left his lieutenant in charge of affairs while he himself was under arrest at Quebec. Not only did he sell undue amounts of powder to the Indians, but he was also discovered in secret and treacherous correspondence with Cadillac's enemies. . On this account he also was called to

Quebec, leaving in his stead Stephen Venyard, sieur de Bourgmont, who thought discretion the better part of valor, and before Cadillac's return betook himself to the woods in company with some soldiers of the garrison and a notorious woman named Tichenet. Only one of the deserters was captured; but he was convicted and shot. Bourgmont lived to do good service among the Indians of New Mexico in 1720.[10]

Officially Cadillac's successor was François de la Forest; but he was old and ill, and therefore sent Charles Regnault, sieur Dubisson to take his place temporarily. He was appointed on September 13, 1710, and promptly entered into the possession of all of Cadillac's possessions.

Two years after Cadillac departed from Detroit, a thousand and more Mascoutins and Foxes from west of Green Bay appeared to establish themselves there. Mascoutins were deadly enemies of the Hurons. The Ottawas were away on their winter hunt and so weak was the garrison that, for the time being, Dubuisson the commandant, was forced to endure the insolence of the new-comers. They killed his pigeons, stole his goods, and began to fortify a camp near the fort. Dubuisson sent messengers to scour the woods for his absent allies; also he pulled down the Church of St. Anne, outside the palisades, lest it should afford a shelter for attacking Indians. Dubuisson related in his official report that the hunting parties returned about the middle of May. The two swivels were mounted on logs and provided with slugs of iron made by the fort blacksmith; Father Cherubin held himself ready to give a general absolution and to assist the wounded. Then Dubuisson himself mounted the bastion and watched for the expected help. Soon his eager eyes beheld a movement among the budding trees at the back of the long farms, and from the thick coverts rushed the savages—Illinois, Missouris, Osages, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Menominees—with the Ottawa Chief Saguina (Saginaw) at their head. Running, yelping, waving their tribal emblems, the red host made for the Huron Village, but were turned to the fort by the stay-at-homes, who pointed to the fires in the enemy's camp, crying, "They are burning the women of your village, Saguina, and your wife is among them. Hasten to our father's fort; he has ever had pity on you, and now you should be willing to die for him."

The allies ran to the fort to hold council with the commandant, saying: "Father, last year you drew from the fires our flesh, which

[10] Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIII, p. 307; Margry Papers, Vol. VI.

the Ottagamies were about to roast and eat. Now we bring you our bodies and make you master of them. Care for our women and children, and if we die throw a blade of grass upon our bones to protect them from the flies. And now give us something to eat and tobacco to smoke; we have come from afar and have neither powder or balls to fight with." For nineteen days the interlopers were kept under fire. Their kindred coming to join them were taken in the woods, and first were made targets of and then were burned for sport; if brave or squaw ventured to the river for water, death was almost certain; if they dug holes to escape the fire of the besiegers, the latter fired down on them from high towers.

One morning the French saw the palisades of their enemies hung with scarlet blankets, while twelve other such sanguinary emblems flew from standards set up within the enclosure. "There," the Mascoutins called to the fort, "are the signals of the English King." The Pottawatomie chief, however, answered that the English were the enemies of prayer, so that the Master of Life chastises them; and that their only power was in the liquor which they gave to the Indians to poison them. Then followed unavailing parleys; the allies became discouraged and threatened to go away. The foe, they said, are braver than any other people; it is useless to fight them. The French, also, began to talk of escaping to Michilimackinac; but Dubuisson put heart into all of them. Deserters told that in the beleagured palisades over sixty women and children had died of hunger and thirst, and that their bodies were without burial.

Then, with one of those unexpected changes of front characteristic of Indian warfare, one dark and rainy night the enemy slipped away to Grosse Pointe, where, after four days of fighting, the end came. Of the 300 braves behind the improvised defenses, not more than one-third escaped. The women and children were spared; but the men were reserved for the sport of their conquerors, who killed three or four each day. So the first siege of Detroit ended in a bloody victory for the garrison, and the annihilation of the Foxes and Mascoutins. The victory cost the French treasury about three thousand livres; and one-eighth of this sum was required to pay for the blankets, leggings and shirts that formed the final equipment of the eight principal Indian allies on their journey to the happy hunting-grounds.[11]

[11] The dead were buried in land at the southwest corner of Fort and Griswold streets; a tablet on the Moffat Block marks the spot.

La Forest died in Quebec, October 16, 1714; he had been one of Cadillac's lieutenants in the founding of Detroit and in the course of years by trading and by marriage he had become wealthy. In 1679 La Salle had left him in charge of Fort Frontenac, when he sailed for the upper lakes. La Forest appears to have been a forceful, loyal and enterprising friend to Frontenac. He was the companion of the elder Tonty at Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country; and in 1684 he secured the restoration to himself as agent of La Salle's post, which had been confiscated by the government. Before he joined Cadillac he and Tonty were in the enjoyment of the privilege of sending annually to Montreal two canoes for purposes of trade. In short he was an influential man in New France, and it is not surprising that he and Cadillac developed marked differences of opinion as to the conduct of affairs at Fort Pontchartrain.

From 1714 to 1717 Detroit had for commandant James Charles Sabrevois, sieur de Bleury, a man in his early fifties. Twenty-eight years before Cadillac had picked a quarrel with him in a Quebec boarding house, and had hit him with a candlestick, wounding him severely. In his quarter-century service he had given a good account of himself in service against the Iroquois; he came to Detroit with the expectation of being allowed to trade with the Indians, but in this he was disappointed after making expensive preparations. Probably he was not sorry to be replaced by Tonty, who arrived on July 3, 1717.

Tonty was now fifty-eight years old; for the second time he was a bridegroom and he was the third husband of the bride, who was ten years his junior. She followed her husband to Detroit and got into trouble with the authorities by taking three canoe-loads of goods instead of but two. Tonty's hopes and expectations were not realized. It cost him heavily to complete the work his predecessor had begun on the decaying fort; but he did the job thoroughly. In order to escape the importunities of his creditors he farmed out the trade of the post; and this made him unpopular with the people, who had been enjoying if not freedom at least license in trafficking with the savages. The Indians, also, were dissatisfied when on coming to the annual fair they found but two stores at which to deal, and no competition, so that they were forced to take the prices made by the traders. As a culmination of these troubles, Tonty was removed in 1727, by the new Governor Beauharnois, whom

From a painting by F. LeQuesne. Presented to the City of Detroit by the French Republic, 1902

CADILLAC RECEIVING THE CHARTER OF DETROIT FROM LOUIS XIV.

he had gone to Quebec to welcome. Returning to Detroit he died of a broken heart on November 10, and was buried in that city.[12]

On the death of Tonty, John Baptist de St. Ours, sieur Deschaillons (who had fought against the Fox Indians and had commanded St. Josephs in 1719) was sent to take command at Detroit; but he declined the appointment, although he appears to have come to the fort in 1728. The next name is that of Louis Henry Deschamps, sieur de Boishebert; and the dates 1730 to 1733 are all there is to say; nor can much be said of Ives Jacques Hughes Peau, sieur de Livaudiere, who occupied the succeeding three years in the command of some seventeen soldiers and eighty militia. From 1736 to 1739 Detroit had a popular ruler in the person of Nicholas Joseph Desnoyelles, whose appointment was rejected by the King; whereupon he joined de la Verandrye in his western explorations.

Next came a grandson of Charles Le Moyne, a name famous in Canadian annals, all of whose ten sons left their names firmly fixed in the history of that country. Peter James Payan de Noyan was the son of Charles Le Moyne's daughter, Catharine; he saw service under his uncle, Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, and his Detroit assignment dated from 1738 and he served from the following year until 1742, when he received the usual reward of such service by being promoted to the post of major and governor of Montreal.

The next in order is the name of Peter Joseph Celoron, sieur de Blainville, who became known in the history of the Northwest as the French commander who reasserted the territorial claims of France by burying along the Ohio River plates bearing the legend to the effect that "in 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France, we Celoron, commanding a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commandant-general of New France, to establish peace in some villages in these cantons, have buried this plate at [here is inserted the location and date] as a monument of renewed possession that we have taken of the said Ohio River," and more to like effect. He was commandant at Michilimackinac from 1734 to 1740; and was stationed at Detroit in 1742. Two years

[12] Among the list of Detroit commandants appear the names of Louis de la Porte, sieur de Louvigny and François Marie Picote de Belestre. The former had been superseded by Cadillac in command at Michilimackinac, and saw service against the Iroquois (1700) and the Fox Indians (1716). Belestre was an officer at Detroit and his family was with him. He died at the post October 9, 1729. Neither ever acted as commandant. See "Detroit Rulers," by C. M. Burton, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIII, p. 316.

later he was ordered to Niagara where he served during the Old French War, being twice sent to Detroit on special duty. After his expedition to the Ohio he again came to Detroit as commandant and in 1753 he was removed on charges, preferred by the Marquis de Jonquiere, of having failed to keep the Indians loyal to France. During his stay the town received a large number of colonists, many of whom brought their families.[13]

Paul Joseph Le Moyne, commandant from 1743 to 1748, was a grandson of the great Charles; and he was followed by James Peter Daneau, sieur de Muy, whose only deed worth recording in the ten years of his stay was his pious death in 1758. John Baptist Henry Beranger, second in command, succeeded, and he ruled the town until the advent of the last of the French commandants, François Marie Picote, sieur de Belestre, a man whose amiable disposition enabled him to play an important part in promoting the transition from French to English rule in the western country. He was about forty years old when he came to Detroit; he was born in Montreal and at an early age entered the army. In 1747 he was stationed at St. Joseph, and he accompanied Celoron to the Ohio two years later; and in 1755 he commanded a party at Braddock's defeat. He was captured by the Virginians in 1757 and was brought before Col. George Washington and George Croghan; but he appears to have escaped to lead other bands of Indians against the British.

In 1721 the collapse of Law's schemes of administering the financial and commercial affairs of France sent to America many ruined Frenchmen, not a few of whom found refuge at Detroit. Among the new-comers were the Chapoton, Goyon, and Lauderoute families. In 1730 Robert Navarre, in whose veins, as was believed, ran royal blood, established himself as royal notary and subdelegate of the intendant of New France, being the first civil magistrate to exercise his office within the present boundaries of the Northwest. In 1755, a number of Arcadians banished by the English came with Gabriel seeking the Beautiful River, and several of their number remained.

For the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Detroit's history is best found in the account-books of Father de la Richardie, superior of the Huron mission at Detroit. Under the good father's able direction the garrison was reduced to dependence on the enter-

[13] For a list of these accessions see Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIII, p. 332.

prising mission. When a cow was wanted to furnish an Indian barbecue, it was supplied by the mission farmer on Bois Blanc Island, who held his fertile acres on the condition that he should furnish firewood, chickens, lard and suet to the good fathers, and also give to the mission half the produce of the farm. The blacksmith worked on shares; the mission storekeeper supplied the com-

From the collection of Clarence M. Burton

FORT PONTCHARTRAIN AT DETROIT, 1701

mandant at the fort with his canoe and his wines; and the small traders replenished their stocks of wampum-beads, vermilion, knives, powder and ball at the mission store, where the lay-brother, La Tour, was in charge. Thus Father de la Richardie became the first wholesale merchant at Detroit. On his books masses are charged along with vermilion, chemises de femme, the wheat and wampum. The superior of the Huron mission also dealt in real estate, both within and outside of the palisades; and it was due to him that the Hurons gave up their valuable possessions on the northern borders of the growing town, and removed their long houses to the mission

domain of Father de la Richardie, across the river, where the Town of Sandwich now stands.[14]

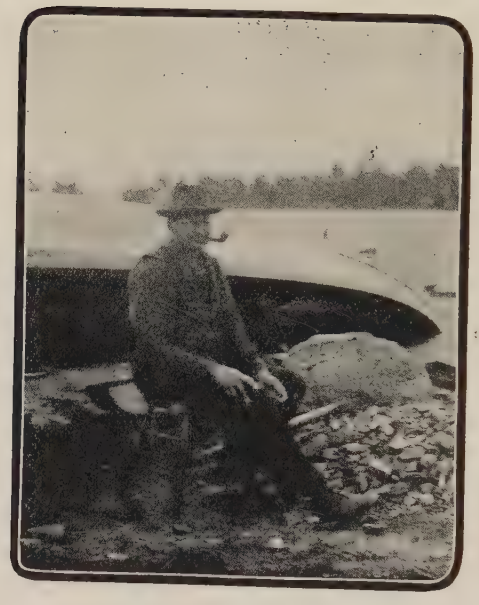
Aside from Detroit the only settlements in the present State of Michigan were St. Joseph, Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie; but none of them was more than a trading-post. In order to thwart the movements the English were making unceasingly to win over the Indian nations of the North, Count Repentigny, a native of Canada and an ensign in the French army, was sent, about 1751, to Sault Ste. Marie, with orders to build a palisade fort to stop the Indians on their way to the English posts; and to seize the presents and to intercept the commerce that passed between the Upper Lake savages and the English. Land was to be cleared, Indian-corn planted, and stock supplied, all at the expense of Repentigny and his partner, Capt. Louis De Bonne. In return for their services they received, October 18, 1750, a grant "in perpetuity by title of feof and seigniory" of six leagues along the portage with a depth of six leagues. During the four years of his stay, the young count reared a small fort, cleared and planted a few acres, built three or four log huts for his men, and for stock brought thither seven head of cattle and two horses. But the young feudal lord preferred the army to the wilderness. At the battle of Sillery, in 1760, he fought by the side of his partner De Bonne in the vain attempt to recapture Quebec from the English. It was De Bonne's last fight; and when England won the French possessions in the new world, Repentigny, refusing the most pressing offers from the British governor to return to his northern seignory and cast his lot with the conquerors, left his native country first to fight the Indians in Newfoundland, and finally to become a major-general and the governor of Senegal, in which office he died in 1786. Meantime in 1762 the Indians burned his fort, and the lands once more became the hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians, and so continued for half a century.[15]

French traders and woodrangers established themselves in little communities throughout the Northwest, obtaining supplies from Quebec and Montreal, or from the nearer post of Detroit. Little by little the initiative of the government relaxed, and the individual trader became the controlling force. At Detroit the French inhabi-

[14] These account books are in the Burton Library; they have been published in Thwaites' edition of the Jesuit Relations.

[15] See U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 8 Wall., Louise Pauline de Gardeur de Repentigny et al.

tants intermarried scarcely at all with the Indians; generally family pride held back the thrifty Frenchman from open alliances with Indian maidens; but in the remote settlements there was no such hesitation. There Frenchman and Indian slept in the same hut, ate out of the same dish, and shot with the same gun, both actually and metaphorically.



AN INDIAN OF TODAY

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGLISH GAIN POSSESSION OF THE NORTHWEST

Detroit was founded by Cadillac in order to protect French trade from the English living in the Colony of New York, but it was not from the Hudson River settlements whence came the encroachments which really threatened French dominion. Strangely enough, the Iroquois, who were always friendly with the English and hostile to the French and their red allies, in later days formed a buffer between the British and the French; while the real attack came from Virginia, through the Pittsburgh gateway. Moreover, the real cause of trouble was not primarily the Indian trade, but rather the desire on the part of the Virginians to make for themselves homes along the Ohio, although there as elsewhere the trader was in advance of the settler.

In 1748 a group of Virginia planters, aided by Thomas Hanbury, a London merchant, secured from the Crown a charter for the Ohio Company, for the purpose of controlling lands along the Ohio from the Monongahela to the Kanawha. Before they could begin the work of colonization, the Chevalier Celoron de Bienville with 200 French soldiers descended the Allegheny, expelled the English traders and reasserted the claims of France to all territory drained by the Ohio. The Virginians sent explorers and traders over the mountains to win the Indian occupants of the country. Gist, Croghan, Montour and Kallendar trafficked with the savages in the interest of the English.

In 1752 the English obtained from the Indians the right to settle south of the Ohio. When news of this invasion was brought to Detroit, then a town of 500 whites, the French commander, Celoron, dispatched Charles de Langlade with his Ottawas from Michilimackinac to dislodge the English traders; and Duquesne advanced by way of Lake Erie, building forts along his path to the Allegheny River. Governor Dinwiddie dispatched his adjutant-general to inquire the purposes of the French; for he claimed that the Ohio was within the chartered limits of Virginia. The governor's messenger was a youth of twenty-one, who had already seen

three years' service in the colonial militia. But Maj. George Washington got little satisfaction from his long tramp through the wilderness to interview Captain Joncaire. Thereupon the Virginians built a fort near the present site of Pittsburgh, and the French drove out the English and burned their stockade.[1]

In 1754 Washington, at the head of a force of Virginia militia, fell upon a French detachment, killed the commander and nine men; later at Fort Necessity he was forced to retire, after an engagement of nine hours. This was the beginning of the French and Indian war, which raged for nine years and reached more than halfway around the globe.

From the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607, England had left to the Colonists the task of protecting themselves against the savages and the French. Now the mother country found it necessary to step in to save the western empire which she had bestowed by charter on the men who were to win it. A thousand British veterans were sent to America under the command of Edward Braddock, gallant soldier and convivial gentleman. Never before had the new world seen so fine a military array. At Alexandra, in Virginia, General Braddock called into council Governors Dinwiddie of Virginia, Shirley of Massachusetts, De Lancey of New York, and Dobbs of North Carolina, together with Benjamin Franklin, then the postmaster general of the Colonies. Two youths found places with Braddock—George Washington, then twenty-three years old, and Henry Gladwin, two years Washington's senior. On that July day in 1755, when the British soldiers went down before Charles de Langlade's painted Ojibwas from Mackinac, both youths learned lessons in backwoods fighting that were to stand them in good stead. Washington learned that the best military training of Europe could not cope with the tactics of the backwoodsmen. Gladwin learned that prudence, watchfulness and endurance were the qualities needed to win against the savages.

There was one other apt pupil in that school—the principal chief of the Ottawas, Pontiac, who was then forty-three years old, who had come from Detroit with a band of braves, and whose leadership among the confederated tribes of Ottawas, Ojibwas and Pottawatomies was even then being established.

In that battle Washington seemed to bear a charmed life; four bullets pierced his coat and two horses were shot under him. On the death of Braddock the management of the retreat fell on him.

[1] In "The Northwest under Three Flags" (N. Y., 1900), I have traced the English advances over the mountains to the Ohio Valley.

Having read the funeral service over his dead general, he returned to his home and saw no further active service during the war. Gladwin was wounded and his name was misspelled in the dispatches.

After Braddock's defeat came a long series of British disasters. William Johnson, the all powerful Indian agent in the Mohawk country, led a force of New Englanders (Israel Putnam and John Stark among them) against Crown Point, defeated and captured Dieskau, and won a title; but Governor Shirley's expedition against Niagara was a failure, and everywhere along the English border from the Great Lakes to the Ohio the French and Indian bands, with tomahawk and scalping-knife were busy as never before. The brave and intrepid Montcalm swooped down on Oswego and destroyed the post. This put new spirit into the fickle Indians, who were of one mind with the band from Lake Superior, who, when they looked into the eyes of the little French commander "saw the greatness of the pine-tree and the fire of the eagle." The new English commander, the Earl of Loudoun, made an abortive attempt to capture Louisburg; and Montcalm captured Fort William Henry on Lake George, where in spite of his efforts his Indian allies committed one of the most shocking massacres in the annals of American warfare.

Then the change came. William Pitt, a wonder among war ministers, replaced the incompetent Loudoun with the seasoned soldier, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and the youthful James Wolfe, who had a genius for war animating the frailest of bodies. The end of British reverses came with Abercrombie's disastrous defeat at Ticonderoga. Amherst captured Louisburg, and thus gained command of the entrance to the St. Lawrence; Bradstreet captured La Salle's old post, Fort Frontenac, thus gaining command of the Great Lakes and cutting off Fort Niagara and the Ohio country; General John Forbes, with George Washington and Col. Henry Bouquet, cut a road from Philadelphia to the forks of the Ohio and reached that river to find a deserted military post; General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson and Colonel Haldimand captured Fort Niagara, defeating La Corne and his Indians from Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie, who had gone to the aid of the French commander, Pouchot; and Amherst assailed Ticonderoga. The end of the great drama came with the capture of Quebec on September 12, 1759, when both Wolfe and Montcalm fell on the Plains of Abraham.

New France was henceforth nothing but a page in the world's

history. Montreal yielded in due time, and it only remained for the English to take possession of the country they had captured. Charles de Langlade, who had fought with desperate valor, gathered his Indians and returned to Michilimackinac, resolved to acknowledge the authority of the conquerors.

On May 28, 1760, General Amherst ordered Maj. Henry Gladwin from New York, by way of Fort Pitt, to relieve Niagara. He was to leave 150 men at Presque Isle (Erie), where he was to throw up an intrenchment. On his way across Lake Erie, Gladwin made a chart of the coast. On September 9, Vaudreuil announced to the Beaujou at Michilimackinac the capitulation of Montreal, and on October 18 Monckton wrote to Bouquet that Amherst had ordered Maj. Robert Rogers to Michilimackinac to take possession of the upper posts. With Rogers went Captain Campbell with a detachment to garrison Detroit.

Far from the scene of hostilities the little colony at Detroit continued in its accustomed ways, regardless of coming charges. On November 29, 1760, Maj. Robert Rogers drew up his two companies of Rangers and his little detachment of Royal Americans on the commons under the guns of Fort Pontchartrain, to await the reply of the surprised French commandant, M. Bellestre, to the letter of the Marquis Vaudreuil, in which he commanded the surrender of Detroit to the British.

Robert Rogers,[2] the leader of the English forces on this delicate mission, was the most famous Indian fighter of his day. Born in the Scotch-Irish settlement of Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1727, he began his career as a scout in the Merrimac Valley when he was but nineteen years old, and at the time of his arrival at Detroit he had been in the King's service fourteen years. Tall even for one of his race, he wore a close-fitting jacket, a warm cap, coarse woolen small-clothes, leggings and moccasins. A hatchet was thrust into his belt, a powder-horn hung at his side, a long, keen hunting knife and a musket completed his armament; and a blanket and a knapsack filled with bread and raw salt pork, together with a flask of spirits, made up his outfit. He could make either an Indian or a Frenchman understand his meaning, although his education in schools was meager; he knew every sign of the forest, every wile of his foes, and repeatedly his bravery and coolness

[2] James Rogers, the father, came from Monteloney, Ireland, and settled first at Londonderry and afterward at Dunbarton. In 1753 Robert was a member of the company led by his townsman, Capt. John Goffe, the great-great-grandfather of the writer.

brought him safely through the most critical situations. He lifted a scalp with as little compunction as did any Indian, and counted it successful warfare to creep into an Indian encampment by night to set fire to the lodges, and to make his escape by the light of the flames, with the scream of the surprised savages rejoicing his ears. At the village of St. Francis his force put to death 200 Indian warriors who had no fewer than 600 scalps adorning their wigwams when they were attacked.

In the French and Indian war he had served as the captain of a company which had for second-lieutenant John Stark, afterwards of Revolutionary fame; and he was employed mainly along the Hudson River and on Lakes George and Champlain. In 1756 he made thirteen different scouting expeditions, capturing prisoners and provisions, burning villages, killing cattle, and in other ways repeating the deeds of border warfare then familiar to the Scotch-Irish both in Europe and America. He records no instance in which he spared aught that fell into his hands, except that he sometimes deferred the disposal of captured brandy. Withal he was a man of much humor; and he gave to the army the saying, "We pay our debts as Rogers paid the debt of the English nation." The phrase had its origin in his remark to two drunken soldiers who were quarreling as to the ability of Great Britain to pay her national debt, that he would pay one-half and a friend of his would pay the other half.

In 1756 Rogers was summoned to Boston, was commissioned a major, and was put in command of an independent company to be paid by the king instead of by the Colony of New Hampshire; and eventually his force was increased to nine companies. In all his depredations he simply obeyed to the letter his orders from Major-General Shirley.[3]

On his way to Detroit Rogers and his Rangers had been stopped at a place near the present site of Cleveland by an embassy from the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, who demanded by what right the English had entered his country.[4] When the defeat of the French seemed assured, the prudent Pontiac had gone with the other chiefs from the Detroit to the recently surrendered Fort Pitt to learn how the

[3] "Life and Exploits of Robert Rogers, the Ranger" by Joseph B. Walker; Boston, 1885. Mr. Walker relates that on one occasion Rogers deceived a party of pursuing Indians by reversing his snowshoes. A mountain at the south end of Lake George bears his name.

[4] Pontiac was the head of a confederacy of Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawatomies. At this time he was about fifty years old.

Indians were likely to fare under British rule. The British commandant gave assurance that the rivers would run with rum, that presents from the great king would be without limit, and that the markets would be the cheapest ever known. These and many other fair promises so reassured Pontiac that he spread the good news far and wide among the Indians, and when Rogers appeared the chief was disposed to give him hospitable welcome. Rogers confirmed all that had been said at Fort Pitt; and night after night, as Ranger and Indian sat by the campfire and smoked the pipe of peace after the day's march, Rogers told Pontiac how the English maintained discipline in their forces, erected defenses and handled their armies in battle; also how cloth was made and iron forged, and what multitudes of white men lived in great cities over seas. All these things Pontiac pondered in his mind and in due time made use of them.[5]

Rogers admired Pontiac to the extent of making him the hero of a tragedy which he started to write.[6] Moreover, the shrewd Indian fighter knew that with Pontiac and the Ottawas on his side, the French commandant must speedily yield. M. Bellestre made his surrender most humiliating for himself. On reading the letter he ran up on the flagstaff of the fort an effigy of Rogers' head, on which a crow, supposed to represent the French, was engaged at scratching at the brains of his foe. But Pontiac's Indians had made known to the savages at the fort the true condition of affairs, and when the French commandant found himself deserted by his Indian allies, he gave the reluctant order to lower the flag of France, which for more than half a century had floated over Fort Pontchartrain. In its place the red cross of St. George was flung to the brisk November breeze, and amid the hoarse cheers of Rangers and provincials came the yelps of the fickle savages, who jeered at their former friends, whom they now called cowards.

It was too late in the season for Major Rogers to reach Michilimackinac, so that the occupation of that post was delayed until the following year. Capt. Donald Campbell of the Royal Americans was left in command of Detroit. The following August Major Gladwin came with Sir William Johnson.

Henry Gladwin was born in 1730.[7] The first record of him is

[5] Rogers' Journal, Hough's Edition.

[6] The Caxton Club of Chicago has published this work in a de luxe edition.

[7] From a printed slip furnished by the late Richard Henry Goodwin Gladwin, of Hinchleywood, Derbyshire.

found in the British army lists for 1753, in which he appears as a lieutenant of the Forty-eighth Foot (advanced from second-lieutenant, Irish, half-pay). From the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1775 we learn that Gladwin was a subaltern in Colonel Dunbar's regiment at the time of the Braddock defeat at Little Meadows; that he showed bravery on that occasion is proved by the fact that he was among the eight wounded subalterns of his regiment, five of his fellow lieutenants having been killed. His name is spelled "Glandwin" in the report, but is correctly spelled in General Braddock's orderly book, as reprinted in "Lowdermilk's History of Cumberland." It was during this campaign that Gladwin came under notice of Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, with whom he sustained most friendly relations in after years.[8] It would be interesting to know if a personal acquaintance was formed between Gladwin and Washington, but continued search fails to give the slightest information on the subject.[9] On July 30, 1761, Major Walters writes to Bouquet that Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin are at Niagara on their way to Detroit, with 300 light infantry; and on August 11 the party reached Presq' Isle. General Amherst reported his action to the secretary of war, in a letter dated August 13, 1761, as follows:

"I have sent a detachment of three hundred men to the Upper Lakes under command of Capt. Gladwin of Gage's, and I have judged it for the good of his majesty's service to appoint Captain Gladwin to act as major during this expedition, for which I have given him commission, that I hope his majesty will approve of."

Captain Campbell reports (August 17) to Bouquet the arrival at Detroit of Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin, and enlarges on the unstinted hospitality that marked the visit. Sir William was convinced that the Indian conspiracy against the English was universal, a fact that Amherst doubted. It also appears from the correspondence that a Mr. Theis had built at Niagara a schooner drawing seven feet of water and carrying six guns, to be commanded by Lieutenant Robertson; and a sloop to carry ten guns.

In the festivities and negotiations Gladwin had no part. An

[8] See letter, Gladwin to Gage, in The Gladwin Manuscripts, by Charles Moore, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. 27.

[9] I am under obligations to the late Col. William Ludlow, military attaché, Embassy of the United States, London, England, who at the request of Senator James McMillan, obtained copies of every mention of General Gladwin on file in the British War Office. The request made by Colonel Ludlow was complied with through the courtesy of the Marquis of Landsdowne, secretary of state for war; Sir Ralph Thompson and Sir Arthur Haliburton. Copies of entire correspondence now in my possession.

From the collection of Clarence M. Burton

Detroit in 1763 from Bellin's Atlas of 1764.

attack of fever and ague confined him to his quarters; and it was not until October 12 that he had recovered sufficiently to return.[10] After leaving Detroit, Gladwin sailed for England, and on March 30, 1762, he married Frances, the daughter of the Rev. John Beridge. Mrs. Gladwin's portrait shows that in middle life she was a handsome woman. At first glance the portrait would be taken for a picture of Martha Washington. That at the age of eighteen she must have been a beautiful bride is quite evident, and one can readily believe that it was with no little reluctance on both sides that soon after the marriage the bridegroom again set his face towards the American wilderness. Perhaps it was by way of a wedding present that Gladwin was offered a majority in Bouquet's regiment of Royal Americans, but he declined the proffer, because he preferred to take his chances in the regular British army.

In July, 1762, the Indians learned with satisfaction that England was at war with Spain, and soon the report spread far and wide that the French and Spanish were to retake Quebec and all Canada. Here at last was the chance for which the savages had been waiting. With the help of the French they could drive out the English, and once more receive solicitous attention from both nations. At this juncture Maj. Henry Gladwin appeared at Detroit, with orders to establish posts on Lake Superior and to exercise general supervision over the northwestern establishments. Captain Campbell remained as second in command; and the esteem in which he was held by both the French and the Indians was a decided help to Gladwin.

Pontiac has a well defined place in the history of this country. The temporary success of his great conspiracy against the English and his tragic death by the hand of an assassin; and especially the fact that he embodied in his own person the most formidable protest against the encroachments of the whites on the hunting grounds of the red men, have combined to make him the heroic figure in northwestern history during the years between the surrender of Canada to the English and the War of the Revolution. Moreover, the genius of Parkman has made it certain that the name of Pontiac will never cease to be remembered among English speaking people on this continent.

What changes might have taken place in the development of the Northwest had Pontiac's conspiracy been successful can only be surmised. That he was foiled in his great purpose and after many

[10] Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XIX, p. 116.

minor successes was compelled in the end to acknowledge defeat was due to the unexampled intrepidity, carefulness and soldierly training of one man. The sagacity of Henry Gladwin and his success in withstanding the long siege of Detroit mark him as one of the very few great Indian fighters in our history. And yet when one inquires as to Gladwin's history before or after the siege of Detroit, one finds even on the pages of Parkman nothing but a misspelled name.

"In the year of 1762," according to Capt. Jonathan Carver,[11] "in the month of July it rained on the town of Detroit and the parts adjacent, a sulphurous water of the color and consistence of ink; some of which, being collected into bottles and wrote with, appeared perfectly intelligible on the paper, and answered every purpose of that useful liquid. Soon after, the Indian wars already spoken of broke out in these parts. I mean not to say that this incident was ominous of them, notwithstanding it is well known that innumerable well-attested instances of extraordinary phenomena happening before extraordinary events have been recorded in almost every age by historians of veracity; I only relate the circumstances as a fact of which I was informed by many persons of undoubted probity, and leave my readers, as I have hitherto done, to draw their own conclusions from it.

"Pontiac was an enterprising chief or head-warrior of the Miamas. During the late war between the English and the French, he had been a steady friend to the latter, and continued his inveteracy to the former, even after peace had been concluded between these two nations. Unwilling to put an end to the depredations he had been so long engaged in, he collected an army of confederate Indians, with an intention to renew war. However, instead of openly attacking the English settlements, he laid a scheme for taking by surprise those forts on the extremities which they had lately gained possession of.

"To get into his hands Detroit, a place of greater consequence and much better guarded, required great resolution, and more consummate art. He, of course, took the management of this expedition on himself, and drew near it with the principal body of his troops. He was, however, prevented from carrying his designs into execution by an apparently trivial and unforeseen circumstances. On such does the fate of mighty Empires frequently depend!

[11] Carver's Travels. Many editions of this book have been printed. The copy I have used was one taken from a southern plantation house during the War of Secession. It is an English print but the title page has disappeared.

"The town of Detroit, when Pontiac formed his plan was garrisoned by about three hundred men, commanded by Major Gladwyn, a gallant officer. As at that time every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached the fort, without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and sent to let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor still unsuspicious, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

"The evening of that day, an Indian woman, who had been employed by Major Gladwyn, to make him a pair of Indian shoes, out of curious elk-skin, brought them home. The Major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servants to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she staid there; she gave him, however, no answer.

"Some short time after, the governor himself saw her; and enquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness toward her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her, why she was more reluctant to do so now, than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance she answered, that she never should be able to bring them back.

"His curiosity being now excited, he insisted on her disclosing to him the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that if it

appeared to be beneficial she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council-room had cut their guns short, so they could conceal them under their blankets; with which, at a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up, and instantly fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council, under pretense of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

"The intelligence the governor had just received, gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next to him in command on the subject. But that gentleman considering the information as a story invented for some artful purposes, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had happily no weight on him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked round the fort during the whole night, and saw himself that every sentinel was on duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

"As he traversed the ramparts which lay nearest to the Indian camp, he heard them in high festivity, and, little imagining their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms; and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he decided they would have their arms ready, and repel every attempt of that kind.

"About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived; and were conducted to the council-chamber, where the governor and his prin-

cipal officers, each with pistols in their belts, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered, and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up, and parading the streets. He received for answer, that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

"The Indian chief-warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good-will towards the English; and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same instant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the boldest of men, immediately turned pale, and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet waiting the result.

"The governor in his turn made a speech; but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew every thing, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and as a proof that they were well acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards the Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside his blanket discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

"He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

"Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort, but instead of being sensible of the governor's generous behavior, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.

"Major Gladwyn has not escaped censure for his mistaken lenity; for probably had he kept a few of the principal chiefs prisoners, whilst he had them in his power, he might have been able to bring the whole confederacy to terms, and have prevented a war. But he atoned for this oversight, by the gallant defence he made for more than a year, amidst a variety of discouragements."

Whether or nor Carver is correct in his report of the details of the discovery of Pontiac's plot no other version seems likely to be believed. Parkman adopted the story in the first edition of his "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" and reluctantly cast doubts upon it in later editions. Today the legend of the girl and the moccasins is printed in children's books on American history and Stanley has painted it with much detail. Yet the story was never believed in Detroit. Charles C. Trowbridge, who, in 1855, assisted Parkman to gather from the lips of persons present at the siege, the details remembered by them has this to say of the tale.[12]

"You and I, Mr. President, were well acquainted with Mr. Peltier, the grandfather of the late Chief Justice Whipple, with Mr. Charles Gouin, our near neighbor; Madame Meloche, a resident at Parent's Creek; with Jacques Parent, of Connor's Creek, and Gabriel St. Aubin, of Sandwich. These were eye-witnesses of the massacre [at Bloody Run], Mr. Peltier was lying upon the roof of his father's cottage, looking over its ridge upon this horrid spectacle, and Mrs. Meloche was a young bride, living with her father-in-law upon the bank of the creek, and but a few hundred yards from the bridge upon which so many brave men met an inglorious death.

"It was my happy privilege, just forty years ago to take from the lips of each of these persons, while yet in full possession of their memories, such of the principal incidents of the siege of the fort at Detroit as were most vividly recollected by them. Their relations,

[12] Address by Charles C. Trowbridge, May, 1854, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. I, p. 372. The president of the Historical Society of Michigan was Hon. B. F. H. Witherell, the grandfather of the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer. Of the persons mentioned by Mr. Trowbridge, Madame Meloche was the widow of Jean Baptiste Meloche, who owned a gristmill on the present site of the Michigan Stove Works; both she and her husband were natives of Detroit and she was twenty-two years old at the time of the siege. Charles Gouin was the son of Thomas Gouin, a trader, who was well acquainted with Pontiac. Jaques Parent was a descendant of Joseph Parent, who came to Detroit with Cadillac under a three-years contract to work at his trades of toolmaker and brewer. Gabriel St. Aubin was a descendant of Jean Casse, *dit* St. Aubin, who died in 1759, having lived more than a century.

just as they were then taken, with a lead pencil, have, as you are aware, been presented to your society, together with a literal copy in ink, covering about fifty pages of foolscap, in order to ensure their better preservation.

"Whoever reads the thrilling account of this conspiracy by Parkman, will find that having compared these relations with each other, and with masses of documents preserved in the archives of England and France, this gifted author has accepted them as genuine, and has made free use of them in his narrative. Parkman's book is undoubtedly the best border history of our country ever written. Every library, certainly every western library, ought to possess it. Its style is very like that of the gifted Prescott, and in many parts quite as graphic.

"Assuming these narratives of Meloche and others here alluded to, to be in accordance with facts, it would seem that in order to 'vindicate the truth of history' we should be obliged to lessen the romance of one important incident. Parkman says the designs of Pontiac were communicated to Major Gladwin, the commandant of the fort, by a beautiful dark-eyed daughter of the forest, named Catherine, who had won the Major's affections. Parent says that Pontiac told him this was done by 'an old squaw' of that name, who communicated, not with Gladwin, but with some Pawnee servant woman in the fort; and that he sent two young men to bring her to his tent, where he gave her a severe beating with his crosse, a stick used by the Indians in playing ball."

The fact is that the conspiracy was in the wind. Madame Gouin surmised that treachery was imminent when she observed the Indians filing off the end of their musket-barrels. Whether Mlle. Cuillerier revealed the plot to her lover, James Sterling, as Mr. Clarence M. Burton believes, or whether the faithful Indian Monighan told his friend, Captain Campbell, as the "Pontiac Manuscript" states; in any event we cannot rely on the story told in "Carver's Travels." Yet we are not of those who cast discredit on that work, in so far as it professes to be a relation of what that traveler states he saw. His description of Indian life and customs he seems to have taken from whatever source contained material that coincided with his own observations.

Let us now return to our story. Late in the afternoon of that 7th of May, four warriors returned[13] bringing with them

[13] The Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763. Published by Clarence Munroe Burton, under the auspices of the Michigan Society of Colonial Wars. Edited by M. Agnes Burton. Translated from the original French by C.

From a painting by F. E. Cohen

RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH CAMPAU ON JEFFERSON AVENUE, BETWEEN SHELBY AND GRISWOLD STREETS. BUILT IN 1805; TORN DOWN ABOUT 1870.

an old squaw, saying that she had given false information. Gladwin declared that she had never given any kind of advice. When they insisted that he name the author of what he had heard in regard to a plot, he simply replied that it was one of themselves, whose name he promised never to reveal. Whereupon, they carried the old woman to camp. Then Pontiac gave her three strokes with a stick on the head, which laid her flat on the ground, and the whole nation assembled around her, and called "Kill her! Kill her!"

The next day, Sunday, Pontiac and several chiefs paddled across the river to smoke the pipe of peace, with the officers of the fort. Gladwin refused to go near them; but Captain Campbell, desirous to pacify the Indians, smoked the peace-pipe with them outside the fort, and returned with the message that next day all the Indians would settle everything to the satisfaction of the English, after which the Indians would immediately disperse.

At 10 o'clock next morning the soldiers counted on the river fifty-six canoes each carrying seven or eight Indians. When the warriors approached the fort they found the gates fast barred against them. An interpreter met them with the message that not above sixty Indians might enter. Whereupon the enraged Pontiac in peremptory manner bade the interpreter say to Gladwin that if all the Indians had not free access to the fort, none of them would enter it. "Tell him," said the angry chief, "that he may stay in his fort, and that I will keep the country."

Pontiac strode to his canoe, and paddled for the Ottawa village. His followers, knowing that the fight was on, ran to the house of an Englishwoman and her two sons, whom they tomahawked and scalped. Another party paddled swiftly to Isle au Cochon, where they first killed twenty-four of the King's bullocks, then put to death an old English sergeant.[14]

Clyde Ford, December, 1910. There are also translations in Schoolcraft and in the Mich. P. & H. Collections. The original manuscript is in possession of Mr. Burton. The authorship of the Diary is not definitely known; but Mr. Burton's contention that it was kept by Robert Navarre seems to be entirely probable. He came to Detroit in 1743; he acted as interpreter for the Indians as well as notary first for the French and afterwards for the English; he had access to the Fort during the siege and must have known everything that took place. Moreover, the handwriting of the Diary is similar to that of Navarre.

[14] Afterwards, the Canadians buried the mutilated corpse; but on returning to the spot, so tradition relates, they were surprised to see an arm protruding from the grave. Thrice the dirt was heaped above the body, and thrice the arm raised itself above the ground, until the mound was sprinkled with

Next the Indians sent to Gladwin a Frenchman to report the murder of Sir Robert Davers, Captain Robertson, and a boat's crew of six persons, who had been sent to the St. Clair Flats to sound a passage for one of the schooners bound to Michilimackinac. This information removed all lingering doubts that the Indians were determined to wipe out the English at Detroit.

Pontiac ordered the squaws to change the camp to the western bank, above the fort. That night Pontiac himself, bedecked with war-paint, leaped into the center of the ring and flourishing his tomahawk, began to chant record of his valorous deeds. One by one the listening braves, catching the contagion were drawn into the ring, until at last every savage was dancing the war-dance.

Gladwin, pacing the wide street that encircled the buildings of the fort just within the pickets, looked the situation in the face. Burning arrows might set fire to the fourscore wooden buildings within the palisades; the church was particularly exposed, unless, indeed, the superstitious Indians should hearken to the French, who had threatened the vengeance of the Great Spirit if the Indians should attempt to destroy the house of God. Two six-pounders, a three-pounder, and the mortars composing the battery of the fort were of little avail against an enemy that fought singly and from behind trees; but an English head above the pickets of an English body at a port-hole was the sure lodgment for an Indian bullet. The garrison was made up of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers and eight officers, together with about forty fur-traders and their assistants. These traders would fight to save their lives, but were inclined to the French rather than to the English. Between this little garrison and the thousand savages was a single row of palisades made by planting logs close together so that they could stand twenty-five feet above ground. Block-houses at the angles and at the gates afforded additional protection. The river gave an abundant water-supply; a schooner and a sloop, both armed, might be relied on to keep open the line of communication with Niagara, whence Major Walters would send supplies. Success would mean promotion; the torture-stake the penalty of failure.

On the low bluff far up the river, Gladwin's anxious eye at dawn discovered the lodges of Pontiac's Ottawas, who, under the cover of the night, had paddled around the head of the island and noiselessly established themselves above the line of French farm-houses.

holy water; then the perturbed spirit left the body in peace, never since disturbed.

This meant a siege. A pattering of bullets against the block-house announced the beginning of hostilities.

During the morning a party of Wyandottes, summoned by Pontiac to a council, stopped at the fort. Fortified by English rum, they went to the meeting, promising that they would appease the Ottawas and dissuade them from further hostilities. Then came French settlers, bringing chiefs of the Ottawas, Wyandottes, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, who told Gladwin that almost all the French had gathered at the house of the trader, M. Cuillerier, where the Indians were to hold their council. They assured Gladwin that if he would allow Captain Campbell and another officer to go to the council, it would not be hard to persuade the Indians to make peace. Both the French and the Indians promised to see that the popular old captain and his companion returned to safety that very night. Gladwin, having little hope of turning Pontiac from his purposes, was reluctant to intrust Captain Campbell to their hands; but the captain, relying on the friendship that had existed between him and the savages no less than on the promises of the French, urged to be allowed to attend the council. Gladwin reluctantly consented because of the necessity of getting into the fort a supply of corn, flour, and bear's grease. Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall went off with high hopes, and Gladwin, under cover of the darkness gathered provisions from the French settlers across the river.

The embassy of peace were met by M. Gouin, who first urged and then begged them not to trust their lives to the now excited Indians. The appeal was in vain. Almost immediately they were set upon by a crowd of Indians, but were rescued by Pontiac himself. They found the room filled with French and Indians; in the center of the group sat M. Cuillerier, who kept his seat when the officers entered and remained covered during the conference. When bread was passed, he ate one piece to show the Indians, as he said, that it was not poisoned. Pontiac, addressing himself to M. Cuillerier, craftily said that he looked upon the Frenchman as his father come to life, and as the commandant at Detroit until the arrival of M. Bellestre, the former French commandant. Then Pontiac, turning to the British officers, told them plainly that to secure peace, the English must leave the country under escort and without arms or baggage. Thereupon M. Cuillerier shook Lieutenant McDougall's hand, saying, "My friend, this is my work; rejoice that I have obtained such good terms for you. I thought Pontiac would be much harder."

Captain McDougall made a short but earnest plea for peace. Then he waited for the usual grunt of approval. For the space of an hour there was unbroken silence. Then Captain Campbell, dejected by evident failure, arose to retrace his steps to the fort. "My father," said Pontiac, "will sleep tonight in the lodge of his red children." In spite of all promises, the two Englishmen were sent under guard to the house of M. Meloche. They were not immediately put to death because Gladwin held several Pottawatomie prisoners, and Pontiac feared that if the commandant should retaliate on his hostages, that tribe would leave him without the support.[15]

The terms proposed to Captain Campbell were offered next day to Gladwin, and the French urged him to escape while he might; but he absolutely refused to make any terms with savages, and his soldiers caught his spirit. He wrote confidently to General Amherst, that he would hold out until succor should come. The schooner Gladwin, which bore the despatch, eluded Pontiac's canoes; and when the chief reported his failure to M. Cuillerier, the Frenchman jeered at him because five canoes withdrew at the death of a single Pottawatomie.

One by one the results of Pontiac's plotting transpired. On May 22d news came of the capture of Fort Sandusky. At the inquiry Ensign Paully related that on May 16th his sentry called him to speak with some Indians in the party; he allowed seven to enter the fort and gave them tobacco. Soon one of the seven raised his head as a signal, whereupon the two sitting next the officer

[15] Of all the prominent French settlers at Detroit, Cuillerier (*dit* Beaubien) was the only one who openly sided with Pontiac, although the French traders naturally favored any movement that would restore their waning supremacy. Angelique Cuillerier, who afterwards married James Sterling, was friendly to the English, perhaps because of natural perversity, perhaps because of the attention that had been paid her by Sir William Johnson. She may have been the one who betrayed the plot. At any rate, she is the only person whose name is connected with the disclosure who could lay claim either to youth or good looks. It seems to be necessary, in order not to thwart the romance of history, to have a handsome female for a heroine; and she certainly must have looked the part, however improbable the surmise.

George McDougall was the owner of Isle au Cochon (Belle Isle); after the siege he married Marie Francoise Navarre, daughter of Detroit's notary and the founder of a family which numbers many descendants in Detroit today. During the Revolution McDougall served until 1780, when he resigned, owing to ill health. He sold his commission to Patrick Sinclair, the builder of Fort Mackinac, and died April 8, 1780; his son John Robert McDougall married Archange Campau.

seized and bound him and hurried him from the room. He passed his sentry dead in the gateway, and saw lying about the corpses of his little garrison. His sergeant was killed in the garden where he had been planting; the merchants were dead, their stores were plundered. The Indians spared Paully and took him to their camp at Detroit, where he was adopted as the husband of a widowed squaw, from whose toils he finally escaped to his friends in the fort.

On May 18th, Ensign Holmes, who commanded the garrison at Fort Miami, on the Maumee, was told by a Frenchman that Detroit had been attacked, whereupon the ensign called in his men and set them at work making cartridges. Three days later Holmes's Indian servant besought him to bleed one of her friends, who lay ill in a cabin outside the stockade. On his errand of mercy he was shot dead. The terrified garrison of nine were only too glad to surrender at the command of two Frenchmen, Pontiac's messengers, who were on their way to the Illinois to get a commandant for Detroit.

On May 25th, at Fort St. Joseph, seventeen Pottawatomies came into Ensign Schlosser's room on the pretence of holding a council. A Frenchman, who had heard that treachery was planned, rushed in to give the alarm, whereupon Ensign Schlosser was seized, ten of the garrison were killed, and the other three with the commandant were made prisoners. They were afterwards brought to Detroit and exchanged.

On the 29th the bateaux from Niagara appeared. And the garrison looked forward to the end of their tedious siege. As the boats came nearer, the English saw with dismay that Indians were the masters of the craft. When the foremost bateau came opposite the schooner Gladwin, two soldiers in her made the motion to change rowing places. Quickly they seized the Indians and threw them overboard. One Indian carried his assailant with him and in the struggle both were drowned. Another soldier struck the remaining Indian over the head with an oar and killed him. Under the fire of sixty savages on the shore the three Englishmen escaped to the vessel with their prize, which contained eight barrels of most acceptable pork and flour. Of the ten bateaux that had set out from Niagara under Lieutenant Cuyler, eight had been captured and the force had been completely routed by an Indian surprise and night attack at the mouth of Detroit.

Then came Father La Jaunay, missionary at Michilimackinac, to tell that on June 2d, the Chippewas living near the fort assembled for their usual game of ball. They played from morning till

noon. Captain George Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie were watching the sport when suddenly the ball was struck over the stockade. A dozen Indians rushed through the gate to get it. Before the dazed sentry could recover, the captain and lieutenant were seized and hurried off; the Indians within the fort had received from the squaws stationed there hatchets hidden under their blankets; in an instant Lieutenant Jamet, fifteen soldiers, and a trader named Tracy were killed, five others were reserved for a like fate, and the remainder of the garrison were made prisoners. Had it not been for the powerful influence of Charles de Langlade and his friends the Ottawas, all the English must have perished; as it was, Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie, with fourteen men, were held until July 18th, when they were taken to Montreal by the Ottawas.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, Pontiac attended mass in the French chapel in Sandwich. When the services were over, the chief selected three of the chairs in which the French had been carried to church, and, making the owners his chairmen, he made a search for provisions. He imitated the credit certificates issued by Gladwin and gave in payment for cattle billets signed by his mark, the picture of a coon. The provisions were transported to Pontiac's camp near Parent's Creek, and in due time the billets were redeemed. The next day Pontiac sent summons to surrender, saying that 900 Indians were on their way from Michilimackinac, and if Gladwin waited till those Indians arrived he would not be answerable for the consequences. Gladwin replied that until Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall were returned, Pontiac need not trouble to send messages to the fort. Pontiac answered that he had too much regard for his distinguished captives to send them back; because the kettle was on the fire for the entire garrison, and in case they were returned he should have to boil them with the rest.

On June 30th, the Gladwin returning from Niagara landed a force of fifty men, together with provisions and needed ammunition. For two months Detroit had sustained a siege conducted by Pontiac in person, while fort after fort had fallen before the savages. As the Indians returned from their successes elsewhere they were more and more eager for the overthrow of the one fort that hitherto had baffled all their efforts. Pontiac now threatened to force the French to take up arms against the English. During the siege, however, copies of the definitive treaty between France and England had reached Detroit; and, on July 4th, Gladwin assembled the French

inhabitants and read to them the articles of peace. Also he sent a copy across the river to the priest. Thereupon forty Frenchmen, with James Sterling as leader, took service under Gladwin. On this same day a party from the fort made a sortie for the purpose of bringing in some powder and lead from the house of M. Baby, who had taken refuge in the fort. Lieutenant Hay, an old Indian-fighter, commanded the force, and in his exultation over driving off an attacking party, he tore the scalp from the head of a wounded Indian and shook his trophy in the face of his enemies. It happened that the one of the savages killed was the son of a Chippewa chief; and as soon as the tribe heard of their disaster they went to Pontiac to reproach him for being the cause of their ills, saying that he was very brave in taking a loaf of bread or a beef from a Frenchman who made no resistance, but it was the Chippewas who had all the men killed and wounded every day. Therefore, they said, they intended to take from him what he had been saving. Lieutenant McDougall had already made his escape to the fort; but they went to Meloche's house, where Captain Campbell was confined. They stripped him, carried him to their camp, killed him, took out his heart and ate it, cut off his head, and divided his body into small pieces. Such was the end of a brave soldier, esteemed, loved and sincerely mourned in the army, from General Amherst and Colonel Bouquet down to the privates who served under him.

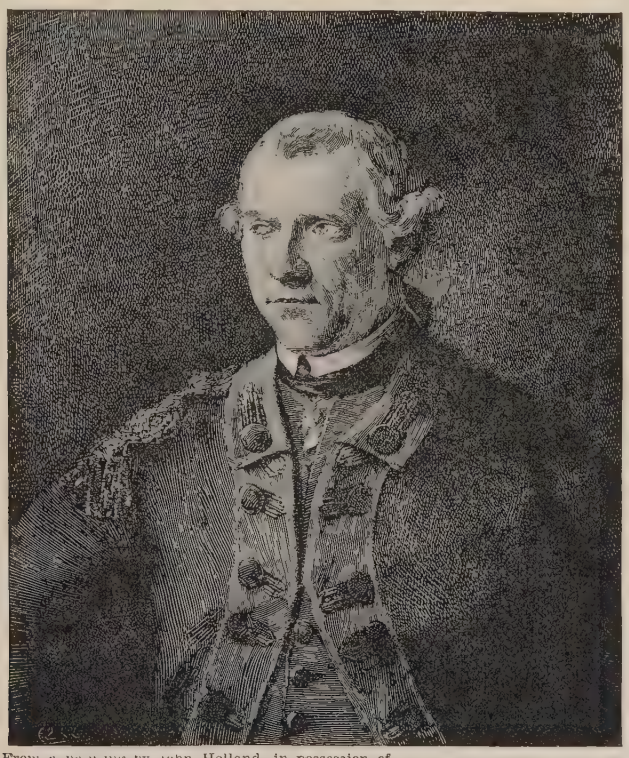
At midnight on July 10th, a great fire-raft, built by the French and Indians, made for the two vessels anchored in the stream; but the alert crews had anticipated their danger and were prepared for it. The vessels were anchored by two cables, and as the flaming pile approached, they slipped one cable and easily swung out of the way of the enemy.

On the evening of the 30th of July, Captain Dalzell, aide-de-camp to General Amherst, arrived with detachment sent under his command; and being fully persuaded that Pontiac would soon abandon his design, insisted with Major Gladwin that the Indians might easily be surprised in their camp, totally routed and driven out of the settlement.[16] It was thereupon determined, that Captain Dalzell should march out with 247 men. "Accordingly they marched about half an hour after two in the morning, two deep, along the great road by the river side, two boats along the river up shore, with a patterare in each, with orders to keep up with the

[16] The *Universal Magazine* for October, 1763 (London). This is the official report made by Sir Jeffery Amherst, which arrived at St. James's, October 14. It is dated New York, September 3.

line of march, cover the retreat, and take off the killed and wounded. About a mile and a half from the fort the troops had orders to form into platoons, and, if attacked in the front, to fire by street-firings. They then advanced and, in about a mile further, the advanced-guard commanded by Lieutenant Brown of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, had been fired upon so close to the enemy's breast-works and cover that the fire being very heavy, not only killed and wounded some of his party, but reached the main body, which put the whole into a little confusion; but they soon recovered their order and gave the enemy, or rather their works, it being very dark, a discharge or two from the front commanded by Captain Gray. At the same time the rear, commanded by Captain Grant, was fired upon from a house and some fences, about twenty yards on his left; on which he ordered his own and Captain Hopkins' companies to face to the left, and give a full fire that way. After which, it appearing that the enemy gave way everywhere, Captain Dalzell sent orders to Captain Grant, to take possession of the houses and fences, which he immediately did, and found in one of the houses, two men who told him the enemy had been there long, and were well apprised of our design. Captain Grant then asked them their numbers: They said about three hundred; and that they intended as soon as they had attacked the English in the front, to get between them and the fort; which Captain Grant told Captain Dalzell, who came to him when the firing was over. And in about an hour after he came to him again, and told Captain Grant he was to retire, and ordered him to march in the front, and post himself in an orchard. He then marched, and about half a mile further on his retreat, he had some shots fired on his flank; but got possession of the orchard which was well fenced; and just as he got there he heard a warm firing in the rear, having at the same time, a firing on his own post from the fences and corn-fields behind it. Lieutenant McDougall, who acted as adjutant to the detachment, came up to him, Captain Grant, and told him that Captain Dalzell was killed and Captain Gray very much wounded, on making a push on the enemy, and forcing them out of a strong breast-work of cord-wood, and an intrenchment which they had taken possession of; and that the command then devolved upon him. Lieutenant Bean immediately came up and told him that Captain Rogers had desired him to tell Captain Grant that he had taken possession of a house and that he had better retire with what numbers he had as he, Captain Rogers, could not get off without the boats to cover him, he being hard pushed by the enemy from the enclosures behind him, some of which

scoured the road through which he must retire. Captain Grant then sent Ensign Pauli with twenty men back to attack a party of the enemy which annoyed his own post a little, and galled those who were joining him, from the place where Captain Dalzell was



From a painting by John Holland, in possession of Richard Gladwin Turbutt, Ogston Hall, Derbyshire

GENERAL HENRY GLADWIN

killed, and Captain Gray, Lieutenants Brown and Duke were wounded; which Ensign Pauli did and killed some of the enemy in their flight. Captain Grant at the same time detached all the men he could get and took possession of the inclosures, barns, fences, etc., leading from his own post to the fort, which post he reinforced with the officers and men as they came up. Thinking the retreat then secured, the different parties were ordered to cover one another successively until the whole had joined. But Captain Rogers not finding it right to risque the loss of more men, he chosed to wait for the armed boats, one of which appeared soon,

commanded by Lieutenant Brehm, whom Captain Grant had commanded to go and cover Captain Rogers' retreat, who was in the next house. Lieutenant Brehm, accordingly, went and fired several shots at the enemy; Lieutenant Abbott, with the other boat, wanting ammunition went down with Captain Gray; Lieutenant Brown and some wounded men returned also, which Captain Grant supposes the enemy seeing, did not wait her arrival, but retired on Lieutenant Brehm's firing, and gave Capt. Rogers with the rear an opportunity to come off. So that the whole, from the different posts joined without any confusion and marched to the fort in good order, covered by the armed boats on the water-side and by parties on the country-side, in view of the enemy who had all joined and were much stronger than at the beginning of the affair as was afterwards told us by some prisoners, that made their escape; many having joined them from the other side the river and other places. The whole arrived at the fort about 8 o'clock, commanded by Captain Grant, whose able and skilful retreat was highly commended."

This victory of Bloody Run, as Parent's Creek was ever afterwards called, restored the waning fortunes of Pontiac. Yet never since the siege began was Major Gladwin more hopeful of ultimate success. The Indians, powerless against the palisades, again turned their attention to the vessel that kept open the food communication with the settlers across the river and made occasional trips to Fort Niagara for supplies and ammunition. From one of these latter voyages the Gladwin was returning on the night of September 4th, when, the wind failing, she anchored nine miles below the fort, having on board her commander, Horst; her mate, Jacobs, and a crew of ten men. Six Iroquois, supposed to be friendly with the English, had been landed that morning, and to their brethren was probably due the night attack made by a large force of Indians, whose canoes dropped so silently down the river that a single cannon-shot and one volley of musketry were all the welcome that could be given them. Horst fell in the first onslaught, and Jacobs, seeing that hope was gone, gave command to blow up the vessel. At the word some Wyandottes, who knew the meaning of the command, gave warning to their companions, and all made a dash overboard, swimming to be clear of destruction. Jacobs, no less astonished than gratified at the effect of his words, had no further trouble. Six of the sailors received medals for bravery.

Pontiac now appealed to the French in the Illinois country for aid. "Since our father, Mr. Bellestre departed," he wrote, the In-

dians had no news, nor did any letters come to the French, but the English alone received letters. The English say incessantly that since the French and Spaniards have been overthrown, they own all the country. When our father, Mr. Bellestre, was going off from hence, he told us "My children the English today overthrow your father; as long as they have the upper hand ye will not have what ye stand in need of; but this will not last! We pray our father at Illinois to take pity on us and say, These poor children are willing to raise me up! Why do we that which we are doing today? It is because we are unwilling that the English should possess these lands; this is what causeth thy children to rise up and strike everywhere."

This message was indorsed by the Chippewas and by the French inhabitants at Detroit; the latter complained that they were obliged to submit to Indian exactions. M. Neyeon, the French commandant at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, replied that "the great day had come at last wherein it had pleased the Master of Life to command the Great King of France and him of England to make peace between them, sorry to see the blood spilled so long." So these kings had ordered all their chiefs and warriors to bury the hatchet. He promised that when this was done the Indians would see the road free, the lakes and rivers unstopped, and ammunition and merchandise would abound in their villages; their women and children would be cloaked; they would go to dances and festivals, not cumbered with heavy clothes, but with skirts, blankets and ribbons. "Forget them, my dear children," he commanded, "all evil talks. Leave off from spilling the blood of your brethren, the English. Our hearts are now but one; you cannot, at present, strike the one without having the other for an enemy also."

This message was dated on September 27th. Its contents dashed Pontiac's hopes and on October 12th he sued most submissively for peace. Gladwin, being in need of flour, granted a truce, but made no promise, saying that General Amherst alone had power to pardon. To Amherst the commandant wrote that it would be good policy to leave matters open until the spring, when the Indians would be so reduced for want of powder there would be no danger that they would break out again, "provided some examples are made of our good friends, the French, who set them on." Gladwin then adds, "No advantage can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them (the Indians). Add to this the expense of such a war. If continued, the ruin of our entire peltry trade must follow, and the loss of a prodigious consumption of our merchandise. It will be the means of their retiring, which will re-

inforce other nations on the Mississippi, whom they will push against us, and make them our enemies forever. Consequently it will render it extremely difficult to pass that country, and especially as the French have promised to supply them with everything they want.

"They have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors; but if your excellency still intends to punish them for their barbarities, it may be easier done, without expense to the crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword. But on the contrary if you intend to accommodate matters in spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson."

Colonel Bradstreet, the hero of Fort Frontenac, led the great force which confirmed the British power in the Lake country. Bradstreet's expedition got no further than Sandusky, but a detachment reached Detroit late in August, 1764, and on the last day of that month Colonel Gladwin left for New York.

Gladwin on being relieved in 1764 returned to England. Ten years later we run across him, settled upon a small paternal estate, indulging in farming and rural amusements. Gladly he would have gone back into the army, but had no money to buy a commission befitting his previous rank, nor yet friends in power to obtain one without purchase.[17] He died in Stubbing, near Chesterfield, on

[17] He stayed at home much, because he could not afford to entertain. Nevertheless he went to London and was presented to King George III, to whom he spoke, as he flatters himself, rather as an honest man than a courtier. Yet what a king could not conquer, the bright eyes of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire (Fox's Duchess) subdued. During the autumn of 1777, Gladwin was gallant enough to tell her grace that "the duke saluted better than any of the officers of the Derbyshire militia, though he had but just learnt.' "Colonel Gladwin," she adds, "is a charming man; he is brave as his sword and has the true soldier's spirit which you (the Countess Spencer) like so much. For at this instant he is persuaded that he could conquer America with the Derbyshire militia. He served in America in the last war and was in several dangerous situations, out of which he extricated himself with great courage and conduct. He is very passionate, and a great disciplinarian." While the duchess regarded Gladwin as charming when he was praising her husband's command, he never lost his character as a martinet—the least lover-like of men.

Mrs. Gladwin survived her husband twenty-six years, and died at the age of seventy-four. In middle life she was a beautiful woman of the matronly type. Gladwin's eldest son died in 1844, leaving one daughter. From Gladwin's daughter, Frances, descended Capt. Richard Henry Goodwin Gladwin, who died a few years ago. With him I had a pleasant correspondence during the two or three years before he died. From the second daughter, Dorothy,

June 22, 1791, and on the memorial tablet in Wingerwort Church, you may read that "His courage was conspicuous; and his memorable defense of Fort Detroit against the attack of the Indians will long be recorded in the annals of a grateful country." It was not until four years after Gladwin's death (1796) that the British flag was lowered at Detroit.

The conspiracy of Pontiac was the most formidable Indian uprising ever executed by the red men; and Pontiac himself was the ablest of Indian organizers, with the possible exception of Tecumseh, who proved an apt pupil of the master. He was born in 1620, or thereabouts, on the banks of the Maumee near the mouth of the Auglaize; his father probably was an Ottawa chief and his mother a Chippewa. He was a trained fighter. In 1846 he helped to defend Detroit against the incursions of the northern tribes; in 1755 he again aided the French when they inflicted such a disastrous defeat upon the British under Braddock; when he met Capt. Robert Rogers on the present site of Cleveland he knew that the English had conquered the French, but he hoped for a change in the situation, and it was the reports of French aggressiveness that led him to take action. He never believed that the Indians single-handed were able to withstand the whites; but naturally he preferred the French trader to the English settler. The English were too matter-of-fact, too hard at driving a bargain, too exacting as to payments, and they held themselves too much aloof from the Indians, whom they despised. He never acknowledged the English king as his "father," although reluctantly he would allow the term "uncle." When he heard that France proposed a reconquest of America the time seemed to him ripe to secure for the tribes the lands between the Great Lakes and the Ohio, to be maintained as an Indian hunting-ground—an idea that prevailed in Indian and British diplomacy even to the Treaty of Ghent. Pontiac's plans included the seizure

descended the late Rev. Henry Gladwin Jebb, a most gentle and accomplished scholar and antiquarian, whose repeated invitations to visit the home and haunts of the Gladwins, I never had the opportunity to accept. From Mary, the third daughter, descended R. de Uphaugh, Esq., of Hollingburn, Kent, through whom I came to an acquaintance with the descendants of the hero of the Pontiac war. While this book is in press news comes of the death in action before Calais in October, 1914, of Lieut. Gladwyn, Maurice Revell Turbutt, of the Oxen and Bucks Light Infantry. He was a graduate of Harrow and Magdalene College, Oxford; an architect of taste and ability, and a man actively interested in good works. On both his paternal and maternal sides he was a descendant of Henry Gladwin.

of Detroit, St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, Ouiatenon (on the Wabash), the Miami (Fort Wayne), Sandusky and Forts Niagara, Preque Isle (Erie), Le Boeuf, Venango and Pitt. At all but two of these points Pontiac's plan was carried out. Henry Bouquet saved Fort Pitt by the stubbornly contested and bloody battle of Bushy Run; while Henry Gladwin successfully withstood the strategems and attacks of Pontiac himself at Detroit. Pontiac gave up only when he became convinced that he could hope for no support from the French. He even made an attempt to incite the Mississippi tribes to revolt; and when failure again met him he reluctantly made peace with the English at Detroit on August 17, 1765, George Croghan being the negotiator. Four years later he was murdered by a Kaskaskia Indian, after a drunken carousal. His friend, St. Ange de Bellerive, gave him burial near the new town of St. Louis, and long since his dust has mingled with that of Frenchman and Spaniard, Englishman and American.[18]

[18] In the Parkman Papers I have found five different accounts of Pontiac's death. Immediately after the news spread all kinds of stories began to be circulated in letters and in eastern newspapers. The Parkman papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society rooms are now available to students; those in the Harvard Library continue to be available.

CHAPTER IX

CARVER'S TRAVELS; ROGERS AND SINCLAIR AT MICHILIMACKINAC

No sooner was the war between France and England concluded by the Treaty of Versailles of 1763, than Jonathan Carver, a resident of Montague, Massachusetts, who had been a captain in that war, determined to make a tour of England's newly acquired possessions in order, as he says, to acquaint the British Government with the true state of the dominions they had now become possessed of. According to Carver, the French had purposely put forth false information in regard to the Northwest; and he says, as one proof of his assertions, that although the French constantly maintained a vessel of considerable size on Lake Superior, their maps of that lake were very incorrect; and he says further that he himself observed "part of the hulk of a very large vessel, burnt to the water's edge, just at the opening from the Straits of St. Mary's into the lake." If this statement is true, all knowledge of the first vessel that sailed the upper lakes has been lost.

Like all his predecessors for more than a century and half, Carver hoped and expected to find the northwest passage to the Pacific, "whereby information might be conveyed to China and the English settlement in the East Indies with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan would allow." Moreover he looked forward to the time when "mighty Kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching to the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies."

In the June of 1766 Carver set out from Boston and proceeded by way of Albany and Niagara to Michilimackinac (Mackinaw City) where he found a strongly stockaded fort usually defended by a garrison of a hundred men; and about thirty houses, including those of the governor and the commissary. A few traders made their headquarters there.

The governor, or commandant, at the time of Carver's visit was Major Robert Rogers, who gave him a letter of credit, drawn on English and Canadian traders doing business in the Mississippi Valley, calling for a supply of presents suitable for Indian chiefs.

Setting out on September 3d, with the traders, in fifteen days he accomplished the journey to Fort La Bay, situated at the southern extremity of the waters termed by the French the Bay of Puants, but by the English, Green Bay, because of the early advent of summer verdure in that region. There he found a stockade which at the time of the Pontiac war was garrisoned by an officer and thirty men. At that time Menominee Indians made prisoners of the British force and since then there had been no garrison; as a consequence the stockade was going to pieces. The Ottawas and Chippewas had divided the country between them, the former taking the region east of a line drawn from the southern end of Lake Michigan to Michilimackinac; and the Chippewas taking the lands to the west. On meeting at the trading post each tribe camped on its own side of the line.

From Green Bay Carver proceeded to the Mississippi, and at Prairie du Chien he found about three hundred Indian families well housed after the manner of the tribes. "The town," he says, "is a great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the remote branches of the Mississippi annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them furs to dispose of to the traders." Yet with the craft of the Indian they held a great council to determine whether they would sell to the traders or whether they would take their goods to market in Louisiana or at Michilimackinac. Thus early appear combinations in restraint of trade!

Carver made his way to the Falls of St. Anthony, discovered and named more than three-quarters of a century previously by Father Louis Hennepin; and he spent the winter among friendly Indians in the upper Mississippi region. At the end of July, 1767, he arrived at the Grand Portage, on the northwest shore of Lake Superior. Here the traders from Michilimackinac were accustomed to carry their canoes and baggage nine miles till they came to a number of small lakes, leading to the sources of the Mississippi; and here Carver met a large party of Crees who had come to meet the traders, on their way to the Northwest. The struggle of the Michilimackinac traders was to keep the Indians from going to the Hudson Bay Company posts on the shores of that water; and such was the length and difficulty of the northern journey that they were

able seriously to encroach upon the territories of the great monoply. Having failed to obtain from the traders goods with which to make friends with the Indians, Carver set out on his return journey and about the 1st of October reached Sault Ste. Marie, where he found a small post or fort at the foot of the rapids, on the right bank. The fort was known as Cadot's, from its proprietor, a French Canadian trader. Carver had noted the presence of copper along the shores of Lake Superior; he had heard of Alexander Henry's attempt at mining and he laid the failure of the adventure to the distracted condition of the country rather than to the real cause—a mistake as to both place and method. Carver thought it would be easy to handle the copper in canoes through St. Mary's River to St. Joseph's Island at the mouth of the stream; thence it might be put on board larger vessels and taken to Niagara Falls, where one more portage would be necessary in order to convey the product to Quebec. He expressed himself satisfied that Lake Superior copper could enter European markets as cheaply as copper from any other country. The trout and white fish also engaged the traveler's attention; and he anticipated that a considerable trade would be developed in cured fish. He reached Michilimackinac in November and passed the winter there.

On the way down the lakes in June, 1768, Carver made observations of Thunder Bay, so called by reason of the lightnings that play about its rocky shores—lightnings which, he opines, must be the result from the attraction of the electrical particles by an uncommon amount of sulphurous matter or some mineral contained in the adjacent hills. He speaks also of "Saganamn Bay about eighty miles in length and eighteen or twenty miles broad." He comments on a reported periodic change in lake levels amounting to about three feet, the time between periods being seven and a half years.

He returned in the "Gladwin" schooner, a vessel of about eighty tons burthen. In Lake St. Claire, the party left the ship, and proceeded in boats to Detroit. This lake is about ninety miles in circumference, he says, and by the way of Huron River (St. Clair) which runs from the south corner of Lake Huron, receives the waters of the three great lakes, Superior, Michigan and Huron. Its form is rather round, and in some places it is deep enough for the navigation of large vessels, but towards the middle of it there is a bar of sand, which prevents those that are loaded from passing over it. Such as are in ballast only may find water sufficient to carry them quite through; the cargoes, however, of such as are

freighted must be taken out, and after being transported across the bar in boats, re-shipped again.

"The river," says Carver, "that runs from Lake Ste. Claire to Lake Erie (or rather the Straight, for thus it might be termed from the name) is called Detroit, which is in French, the Straight. It runs nearly south, has a gentle current, and depth of water sufficient for ships of considerable burthen. The Town of Detroit is situated on the western banks of this river, about nine miles below Lake Ste. Claire.

"Almost opposite on the eastern shore, is the village of the ancient Hurons; a missionary of the order of Carthusian Friars, by permission of the bishop of Canada, resides among them.

"The banks of the Detroit River, both above and below these towns are covered with settlements that extend more than twenty miles; the country being exceedingly fruitful, and proper for the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, oats and peas. It has also many spots of fine pasturage; but as the inhabitants, who are chiefly French that submitted to the English government, after the conquest of these parts by General Amherst, are more attentive to Indian trade than to farming, it is but badly cultivated.

"The town of Detroit contains upwards of one hundred houses. The streets are somewhat regular, and have a range of very convenient and handsome barracks, with a spacious parade at the south end. On the west side lies the King's garden, belonging to the governor, which is very well laid out and kept in order. The fortifications of the town consist of a strong stockade, made of round piles, fixed firmly in the ground, and lined with palisades. These are defended by some small bastions, on which are mounted a few indifferent cannon of an inconsiderable size, just sufficient for its defence against the Indians, or an enemy not provided with artillery.

"The garrison, in time of peace, consists of two hundred men, commanded by a field officer who acts as chief magistrate under the governor of Canada. Mr. Turnbull, captain of the 60th regiment, or Royal American, was commandant when I happened to be there. This gentleman was deservedly esteemed and respected, both by the inhabitants and traders, for the propriety of his conduct."

It was during his stay at Detroit that Carver heard the details of the Pontiac conspiracy which have been adverted to in the previous chapter. From Detroit he proceeded across Lakes Erie and Ontario and thence to Boston, where he arrived in October, 1768, having been gone a year and five months and having journeyed about seven thousand miles according to his own calculation.

Thence he went in 1769 to London, where he was well received, on the whole. His expenses were paid, although it was admitted that Robert Rogers at Michilimackinac exceeded his authority in employing him. He was the first traveller in the Northwest during the British occupancy, and he made England acquainted with its resources. In England he married a second time without going through the formality of the divorce from the wife he left in Montague; and there was a daughter by each marriage. His American wife died in Brandon, Vermont, in 1802, having survived her husband during twenty-two years. He died a pauper, in 1780.[1]

Carver explored the country north and west of Lake Superior, the region which more than a century before Radisson had made known to both France and England. There remained the Illinois country between the lakes and Ohio. As Carter points out [2] Canada on the north end of the French possessions and New Orleans on the extreme south contained the bulk of the population. There were small trading posts at Vincennes on the Wabash, at St. Joseph near Lake Michigan, and important settlements numbering about two thousand people, along the eastern bank of the Mississippi in the present State of Illinois. The largest town in all the western region was Detroit. By secret treaty France had divested herself of the territory west of the Mississippi before coming to terms with England in 1763; but it was mainly with New Orleans that the Illinois settlements maintained trade relations.

Various schemes for English colonies in the Northwest were laid before the British Board of Trade, and on October 1, 1767, Lord Shelbourne presented to the Lords of Trade a plan for three colonies, one centering at Detroit, another near the mouth of the Ohio, and the third near the mouth of the Illinois River. The Government hoped in this way to reduce expenses, which were to be shifted to the new proprietors, of whom there were to be 100 for each colony, and each proprietor was to receive 20,000 acres of land to sell to settlers. Before these schemes could be perfected the antagonisms between the crown and the colonies had broken out, and all such matters were held in abeyance.

We may well follow through the strange career of Major Rogers. His dealings with Pontiac, both at the time of the sur-

[1] "Jonathan Carver; Additional Data"; by John Thomas Lee. Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings for 1912, p. 87.

[2] "Great Britain and the Illinois Country"; by Charles Edwin Carter; Washington, 1910.

render of Detroit and at the battle of Bloody Run, where he saved the remnant of Dalzell's force were the last creditable acts of his life. Some time about 1761 he had married at Portsmouth, N. H., Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Arthur Brown, rector of St. Johns Church in that town; and between 1762 and 1765 he dealt largely in real estate, buying some properties and securing others by virtue of his military services. Among his possessions was 3,000 acres in Southern Vermont, conveyed to him as "a reduced officer" by Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire. To his father-in-law he conveyed 500 acres in Rumford (now Concord), N. H., together with three negro and one Indian slaves. The real estate descended to his grandchildren. In 1778 his wife obtained from the Legislature of New Hampshire a divorce, on the ground of desertion and infidelity; she subsequently married a Captain Roach, noted for picturesque blasphemy and hard drinking, and after a sad life went to her recompense in 1812. In 1765 Rogers went to England, where he published his "Journals" and his "Concise Account of North-America," both of which volumes had a large sale.[3]

On June 10, 1766, General Gage, at the king's command, but entirely against his own will, appointed Major Rogers commandant at Michilimackinac, much to the disgust of Sir William Johnson. Rogers was made subordinate to the commandant at Detroit, and a commissary was appointed to take charge of the stores at his post. Both Gage and Johnson had found him spoiled by flattery, unduly ambitious, dishonest and a liar. At Michilimackinac he secretly engaged in Indian trade, he incurred expenses without authority (such as employing Jonathan Carver to make explorations) and he quarrelled with his subordinates. Finally, growing desperate, he first tried to have his post made independent and then, failing that, he plotted to rob the traders and the king and turn the post over to the Spanish on the Mississippi. Sent to Montreal in irons, in September, 1768, to be tried for high treason he escaped conviction, and went to England. There he became the lion of the town, was entertained by the nobility and was permitted to kiss the king's hand. The arrears of his salary were paid and he was reimbursed

[3] "Journals of Major Robert Rogers"; containing an account of several excursions he made under the generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America during the late war, etc. London; printed for the author and sold by J. Millen, 1765. American edition edited by Dr. F. B. Hough; published at Albany, 1883; contains an introduction and official papers.

"A Concise Account of North America"; containing a description of the several British Colonies on that continent, etc. London; printed for the author and sold by J. Millen, 1765.

ENGLISH MAP OF ST. MARY'S RIVER AND THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC

for all his expenses. His modesty was such that he asked merely to be made a baronet with a grant of £600 a year and a majority in the army. Having failed to obtain these rewards he shook the dust of England from his feet and returned to America in July, 1777, as a major on half-pay. The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, had him arrested as a British spy, but released him on parole. He broke his parole by offering his services to General Gage; then he returned to Hanover, New Hampshire, where he endeavored to obtain a commission to secure a land-grant for Dartmouth College. He left Hanover without paying his tavern bill; and from Medford, Massachusetts, he wrote to Washington, offering his services, which offer was declined. New Hampshire recommended his arrest; but he escaped to the British and commanded a company at Mamaronec, New York, where his force was routed by the Americans. He was proscribed by New Hampshire in 1778; he returned to England, where he died in 1800, after twenty-two years of disreputable life.[4]

The Quebec Act, passed by Parliament to take effect in October, 1774, was a much more popular piece of legislation than the authors of the Declaration of Independence suspected when they named that act as one of the grievances which should arouse the antagonism of the Canadians and impel them to make common cause with their brethren in the Colonies. As a matter of fact the Quebec Act as administered was popular with the French, who formed the great body of settlers in Canada; because it preserved to them their customs, and to a habitan custom was more than law.

The Proclamation of 1763 had left the Northwest, like Mahomed's coffin, somewhere in the air. None of the English legislators knew definitely whether Detroit was located in Quebec or in Louisiana, or whether it occupied a limbo between the two. They were certain, however, that the region abounded in bears. The Quebec Act extended that province to the Mississippi on the west

[4] Joseph B. Walker, the chronicler and apologist of Rogers, ventures the opinion that when the historian gives place to the novelist and the poet, Rogers desperate achievements will render as romantic the borders of Lake George as have the daring deeds of Rob Roy McGregor, rehearsed by Walter Scott, made enchanting the shores of Loch Lomond. The writer coincides with Mr. Walker; during the past summer he heard the tale of Rogers exploits told on a Lake George steamer; and now comes the Caxton Club of Chicago with a de luxe edition of "Ponteach; or the Savages of America, a tragedy; London; printed for the author and sold by J. Millen, 1776," the club being instigated so to do by Prof. C. W. Alvord, of the history department of the University of Illinois.

From the Mich. P. & H. Col.

BOUNDARIES UNDER THE QUEBEC ACT

and the Ohio on the south. Canada was to be ruled by a governor and council. George III also appointed a lieutenant-governor to have civil control in each of the four departments into which the western country was divided; and the lieutenant-governor was to be superintendent of Indian affairs at his post.

The appointments were made in April, 1775; and the selections were dictated more by influence than by ability, a criticism that continues to apply when such opportunities present themselves even to this day. For the Illinois country Matthew Johnson was selected; Edward Abbott was sent to St. Vincennes, Patrick Sinclair to Michilimackinac and Henry Hamilton to Detroit. Incidentally we shall have something to do with the first two of this quartette; but our main interest is centered in Sinclair and Hamilton.

Patrick Sinclair was born in 1746, at Lybster, in Caithness, Scotland, of good family. He received a fair education; in July, 1758, he entered the British army by the purchase of a commission as ensign in the Black Watch Regiment of Highlanders. He saw service in the West Indies, New York City and Oswego; and as a lieutenant he served under General Amherst at the capture of Montreal. From 1763 to 1769, if we can rely on his own account, he served in the naval department on the Great Lakes; and we are certain that he was in Detroit in 1767, when the merchants of that town presented to him a silver bowl "in remembrance," so the inscription reads, "of the encouragement experienced upon all occasions by the merchants in the Indian countries from Capt. Patrick Sinclair of the Naval Department, not as a reward for his services, but a public testimony of their gratitude this is presented instead of a more adequate acknowledgment which his disinterested disposition renders unpracticable. Dated 23rd September, 1767." The merchants of Mackinac emulated their Detroit rivals by presenting a punch-bowl to the British master of lake transportation.

Sinclair's duties were to maintain and provision the boats, see to their arming and protection against the Indians, and so dispose the shipping as to serve the various garrisons, and also Indian traders and merchants, who of necessity depended upon these boats to bring in their goods and carry out their furs.[5] The boats then in use consisted of canoes, batteaux, snows, sloops and schooners.

[5] The nearest modern approach to Patrick Sinclair in his official capacity is to be found in Hon. William Livingstone, of Detroit, for many years president of the Lake Carriers' Association, which organization represents the vessel owners of the Great Lakes in their dealings with the Government, the crews and the shippers.

The birch-bark canoe had large carrying capacity in proportion to its weight and was adapted to the carriage of persons but not freight. The batteau, a light boat worked with oars, long in proportion to its breadth and wider in the middle than at the ends, was adapted for carrying freight, and was used between the posts in transporting both freight and passengers. The snow had two masts and was rigged much like a brig. The schooner Gladwin, famous for her successful attempt in bringing aid to the besieged Detroit garrison was of eighty tons burden. Up to 1780, the largest boat on the lakes was the brig Gage of 154 tons, built in 1774.

Sinclair states that he was the only person who had ever explored the navigation of the lakes for vessels of burden "by taking exact soundings of them and the rivers and straits which join them with the bearings of the headlands, islands, bays, etc." In 1764 Sinclair erected a small fort south of the mouth of the Pine River in the present St. Clair County; the buildings consisted of two barracks, one for sailors and one for soldiers; two block-houses for cannon and small arms, and a wharf for drawing out and careening vessels, all enclosed within a stockade. This post, about midway between lakes Huron and St. Clair, enabled him to control the river as regards the Indians, and also furnished a place for trade with them. This establishment was ordered and approved by Colonel Bradstreet when he came to Detroit in August, 1764.

Sinclair got along with the Indians very satisfactorily; however, in 1767, the Chippewas or Mississaguas murdered his servant and the murderers were apprehended and sent to Albany for trial but were finally released, greatly to his indignation. In 1767 the operation of boats on the lakes was delivered to private contractors, and Sinclair's duties and official position terminated; but it required some time to close out his affairs, and he did not return to England until the spring of 1768. He had made the improvements on the St. Clair mainly at his own expense, and in March, 1769, he applied to General Gage, then commanding the British forces in America, to be reimbursed for his outlays of £200. Gage replied that the Government had not ordered the construction and therefore Sinclair could do with the improvements what he saw fit. Sinclair had obtained from the Indians a deed to a tract of land upon the St. Clair. This deed was dated July 27, 1768, and was signed by Massigiash and Ottawa, chiefs of the Chippewa nation, in the presence of fifteen Indians of that nation and of George Turnbull, captain of the Second Battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment. The land is described as being "on the northwest side of the River Huron,

between Lake Huron and Lake Sinclair, being one mile above the mouth of a small river commonly called Pine River and ending one mile and a half below the mouth of said Pine River." The consideration stated is "the love and regard we bear for our friend Lieutenant Patrick Sinclair and for the love and esteem the whole of our said nation has for him, for the many charitable acts he has done for us, our wives and children."

Deeds from the Indians, except under special license and through certain officials, were invalid. This deed, therefore, although executed with considerable formality, and in the presence of the highest British officials in the vicinity, did not operate to convey any legal title and this was recognized by Sinclair himself in 1774, in a petition to the Government to be reimbursed for his expenditures on the property. These lands marked on the east side of Michigan the southern line of the great pine section of the lower peninsula. During the period of his station at Detroit, Sinclair used the fort, buildings and pinery.

In May, 1771, Sinclair applied to the Earl of Hillsborough for the grant of a house at Detroit belonging to the crown, in lieu of his buildings at Pine River; the matter was referred to General Gage and nothing came of the petition. He was promoted to captain in 1773; then he was retired and returned to Lybster. No sooner was he at home than he began his efforts to get back into the service. Sir Charles Thompson, a friend of the king, wrote Lord Dartmouth recommending him for appointment in Pennsylvania or New York. On April 7, 1775, he was commissioned by King George III, "as lieutenant-governor and superintendent of the post of Missillimackinac." His seat of operations was to be Fort Mackinac, while his post, Michilimackinac, included the territory of all the Indians who came to that point to trade.

Anxious to arrive at his post of duty promptly, Sinclair sailed for Baltimore, where he arrived July 26, 1775, and reached New York August 1. On August 4, the Provincial Congress of New York, then in session, thought it unwise to permit him to go to his post, lest he prejudice the Indians against the Colonies. He was taken in custody and sent on parole to Long Island, where he remained until the following March, when, upon his application to be permitted to retire to Europe, the Continental Congress granted his petition and he returned to England that summer.

He reached America in the fall of 1777, landing at Philadelphia, whither he went with letters to Sir William Howe. He spent the winter with Lord Howe and when the English fleet left for England

in May, 1778, Captain Sinclair went as far as Halifax. It was not until June, 1779, that he arrived at Quebec and was ready to present himself and his commission to the governor and receive his instructions. At this time Sir Frederick Haldimand was the governor general.

Haldimand did not relish the idea of Sinclair's exercising military as well as civil powers, and so put him off on various pretences for over a month—in the meantime writing to DePeyster, the commandant at Michilimackinac, that he intended to delay Sinclair until the ships' arrival from England in mid-summer, hoping perhaps to receive by then some authority to reduce or negative the instructions in Lord Germaine's letter. The ships arrived, but nothing came to favor his wishes: he thereupon wrote to England, commenting upon the union of the civil and military authority in one person, but the reply received the following year made plain that the action of the government in this respect was fully considered and would not be altered.

In the meantime Haldimand issued a set of instructions for Sinclair in which, disobeying the express terms of Lord Germaine's letter, he authorized Sinclair to act as commandant only until a senior officer of the garrison stationed there should arrive; and he impressed upon him that only such senior officer had power over the troops to be sent beyond garrison limits; and in addition the perquisites attached to the commander of the post were to go to the officer.

These instructions proved distasteful to Sinclair who addressed a spirited remonstrance to the governor. Sinclair proposed to return to England rather than occupy a position which might be humiliating; but in the end the matter was compromised, the instructions were modified, and it was represented to him that an early opportunity would be given to purchase a commission which would entitle him to outrank anyone who would be sent to the garrison.

With these assurances he left Quebec the last of August, 1779, for his post, and arrived at Fort Mackinac, October 4, 1779, probably by way of the Ottawa River, four and one-half years after the date of his commission. He had crossed the ocean three times; and while until this date he had not been able to exercise any authority under his commission, he drew his annual salary of £200 with due punctuality. Three days after his arrival, Major DePeyster left for Detroit.[6]

[6] "Patrick Sinclair; Builder of Fort Mackinac"; by W. L. Jenks, in Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. 39. Mr. Jenks has discovered much of interest and

Frederick Haldimand who, in 1778, succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as governor-general of Canada, was born in Switzerland in 1718, and therefore was sixty years old when he came to administer the delicate and complicated affairs of that country. His training as a soldier had been long and arduous; he served in Sardinia, Russia and Holland before entering the British service in 1754; and during the Seven Years war he was wounded at Ticonderoga and participated in the capture of Montreal. After making an excellent record as an administrator in Florida and New York, he was promoted to the Canadian post where his good sense and fine abilities, combined with much agreeableness of manner and no little social adaptability, won for him a considerable place in the history of that country. At the same time he found favor with the home government. He will appear often during the next decade. Such were the conditions in the Northwest when the American Revolution began to make itself felt west of the Alleghenies.

value in regard to the career of Sinclair, and I have followed his painstaking and accurate account.

CHAPTER X

BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

Henry Hamilton was appointed by King George the Third, through the favor of the Earl of Dartmouth, lieutenant-governor and superintendent at Detroit. He reached his new station November 9, 1775, his journey having been interrupted by the siege of Montreal then being conducted by the Americans under General Montgomery. Hamilton disguised as a Canadian passed through Montgomery's lines and after four days of travel in a wooden canoe, and "unprovided with everything," he reached a point of safety, and thereafter travelled in a manner more in keeping with the dignity of an officer of the king. Even in November Detroit seemed a paradise to the new lieutenant-governor. The harvests had been abundant; the woods in their autumn garb appealed to him; and no other climate he had ever known was so agreeable. The shingled houses of the settlers, each backed by a bounteous orchard and flanked by barns and stables making a continuous row, smiled a welcome to the traveller as he sailed up the river. From the clear depths of the stream a few hours of amusement with the line would draw enough fish to furnish several families; and so fertile was the land, he reported, that even the careless and very ignorant French farmers raised great crops of wheat, corn, barley and buckwheat. The whites numbered 1,500. The English settlers, more industrious and more enterprising than the French, were rapidly absorbing the traffic, were building vessels to navigate the lakes, and were stocking the farms with cattle, horses and sheep.

The traders, he found, cheated the Indians by false weights and measures, by debasing the silver trinkets with copper, and by other artifices so persistently resorted to as to lead to disputes, quarrels, and murders. On arriving at Detroit an Indian hunting party would trade perhaps a third of their peltries for fine clothes, ammunition, paint, tobacco, and like articles. Then a keg of brandy would be purchased; arms and clubs were taken away and hidden, and the orgy would begin, all the Indians in the neighborhood being called in. Some were assigned to stay sober to prevent the drunken

ones from killing one another; yet sometimes as many as five Indians were killed in one night. When the keg was empty, brandy was brought by the kettleful and ladled out with large wooden spoons; and this was kept up until the last skin had been disposed of. Then dejected and maimed and with nothing but their ammunition and tobacco saved, they would start down the river to hunt in the Ohio country, and begin again the same round of alternating toil and debauchery.

The village occupied about two acres and was surrounded by a stockade made of saplings about fifteen feet long, imbedded deeply in the ground, and extending above its surface about twelve feet. The streets were ten or twelve feet wide with the exception of the principal one, Ste. Anne Street, which was about twenty feet wide. The people attended church and pony-races on Sunday. Constant quarrels and law-suits were indulged in. Quebec was a long distance away, and it took a long time to settle a quarrel through the courts; therefore, a simpler method of procedure generally obtained. When a dispute arose between two parties they chose three arbitrators; the award of the arbitrators was enforced by the citizens; and the person who refused to abide by the determination of the arbitrators, was not permitted to engage in trade, nor was he trusted or associated with by the other citizens. This method was employed by the English after 1760, until the establishment of courts, near the end of the British rule. The French people got along well with the Indians, but they were usually prepared for treachery.

The farms in the neighborhood of the village were all owned and cultivated by the Canadians, most of whom owned houses within the palisades or could remove to the village for protection whenever the savages became warlike. Each farmer cultivated only a few acres of land, and raised but little more than was necessary to support himself and his family. The village was small in proportion to the number of farmers, so that there was little opportunity to sell the farm products, and there was no inducement to do good farming.

The exportation of furs was the only business that brought an income to the settlement from abroad. The farmers were also hunters and trappers, and most of them bought furs from the Indians and sold them to the traders in the post. The traders brought from Montreal powder and lead, brandy and beads, fancy dress goods, and ornaments to please the Indians. These were placed on sale or exchanged for furs.

The British monopolized the trade in furs, and the French were driven either to live on their farms, or to join the Indians in the chase. They cultivated small patches of ground during the summer season, but they left everything to the care of the women and younger children as soon as the hunting season began. Even during the summer, a large portion of the farm work was done by the women, while the men spent their time fishing with the Indians, with whom they were on terms of intimacy.

At the outbreak of the Revolution there were few British soldiers stationed at Detroit. There was no fort, but a citadel was located near the intersection of Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street. This citadel consisted of a parade ground with barracks capable of holding two or three hundred soldiers.

Detroit was the depot for the distribution of the great stores of goods that were annually sent up for the Indians by the British Government. There were clothing, cheap blankets of bright colors, knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced hats and similar articles. When the Indians came to the council the squaws would strip them of their clothing in order that they might appear destitute, and thus be able to make demands for new clothing. The drafts drawn by the commandant for these supplies during the year ending September, 1781, were equivalent to $714,510.

In addition probably larger quantities of goods were sent to the merchants, and by them sold to the people and Indians. The Government furnished to the Indians as little rum as possible, but the traders were willing to sell all they could buy. Rum was a necessity to the Indians, and they would get it in any way possible.

The traders formed a "rum trust," agreeing to place all the rum in one store, and employ clerks to dispose of it, the avails being divided among the members of the trust. If another person brought rum into the district they shipped liquor to the place where the rival was established and undersold the intruder. After a time, however, dissatisfaction broke out, and the trust was dissolved.

Two justices of peace were appointed in Detroit, Philippe Dejean and Gabriel Legrand. In 1777, a storehouse belonging to Abbott & Finchley was plundered and burned, and a Frenchman named Jean Coutencinau and a negress named Ann Wiley, or Nancy Wiley, were brought before Dejean for trial charged with the crime. After a jury trial they were acquitted on the charge of arson, but convicted of robbery. The justice exceeded his powers even in trying the parties for the offenses charged, but after the conviction both were sentenced to be hanged. He could get no one

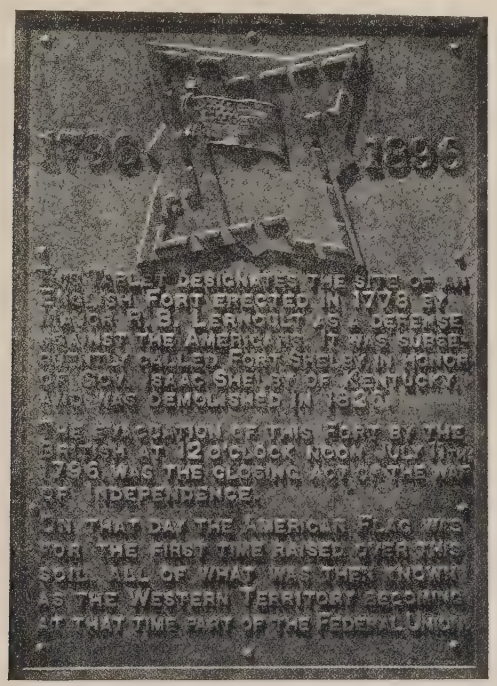
to act as hangman until Hamilton promised the woman he would pardon her if she would act as executioner for the man. Coutencinau was hanged, and the woman was liberated. This act and the hanging of a man named Ellers, in 1775, aroused the citizens, and they complained to Montreal. A grand jury there indicted both Hamilton and Dejean for murder, and a warrant was issued for their arrest.

Echoes from the conflict that was going on along the seaboard reached Detroit from time to time. There were rumors that the Virginians were tampering with the savages; but the new lieutenant-governor expressed himself as being confident that he could protect the whole Indian country from the inroads of the colonists. The French generally were in sympathy with the Virginians; some were secretly in communication with Fort Pitt; and moreover, the Spanish along the Mississippi lost no opportunity to prejudice the Indians against the English, hoping to divert the fur-trade to their own posts.

One day in the latter part of August, 1776, Captain White Eyes, a Delaware chief, and Moutons, an Indian educated in Virginia, appeared at Detroit with a letter and a belt from the agent of the Virginia Congress, soliciting the confederacy of Western Indians to go to a conference at Pittsburgh. Hamilton cut their belts in the presence of the assembled savages, and sent the messengers out of the settlement. The visitors, however, had brought with them a copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 24, 1776, containing the Declaration of Independence. So the birth of the new nation was announced at the capital of the Northwest!

During the next two years there was border warfare in the Ohio country; and on April 5, 1778, Charles Beaubien appeared at Detroit with Daniel Boone and a score of other Kentucky settlers. Starting from the Miamis early in February, Beaubien prevailed upon a band of Shawanese to accompany them on a raid up the Kentucky River, where they were so fortunate as to find Boone and twenty-six of his men making salt at the salt-lick near their fort. The Indians so surprised the settlers that, without the loss of a single man, they brought the party off; but the cautious savages refused to attempt the fort. Boone told Hamilton that because of the Indians the settlers had been unable to sow grain, and by June there would be no food in Kentucky; nor was relief to be expected from Congress. "Their dilemma," says Hamilton, "will probably induce them to trust to the savages, who have shown so much humanity to their prisoners, and come to this place before winter."

Boone, then forty-four years old, had passed his life in the forest, and his bravery and knowledge of woodcraft had won for him the respect of the Indians no less than of the pioneers. Hamilton offered to pay for Boone's ransom, but the Indian family that had adopted him refused to give him up. For five months he endured captivity; but on learning that a large force was to attack Boons-



Tablet on the Federal Building, Detroit, Marking Site of Fort Lernoult

borough he eluded his captors, and in five days travelled 160 miles, having eaten but one meal during his entire journey. His escape caused the Indians to give up their purpose of attacking the settlement.

In June, 1778, a grand council was held at Detroit. Chippewas from Saginaw Bay, Hurons from Sandusky, and Potawatomies from St. Joseph; Mohawks, Delawares, and Senecas, eager for rum and presents; Ottawas and Hurons from the villages across the river, all came at the call of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, who by this time had learned to dance the war-dance, to chant the war-song, and to handle the wampum-belts. Lieut.-Gov. Edward Abbott from

Vincennes also was present, having slipped away to Detroit, so that the Indians should not find him without a supply of gifts when they returned from their winter hunt; and there were the Indian agents Hay and McKee; and Captain Lernoult and Lieutenant Caldwell, of the king's regiment stationed at Detroit; and eight interpreters, among whom was Simon Girty, lately escaped from Fort Pitt.

Girty and McKee were now just beginning their notorious career as partisans. For twenty-five years or more the brothers Simon, James, and George Girty, together with Alexander McKee, played a conspicuous part in the history of the Northwest. The Americans knew and detested Simon Girty; but there were redeeming traits about McKee. Major De Peyster associated with him on terms of intimacy, but he would have no social intercourse with the Girtys.

Simon Girty came from Ireland before 1737; he made his home on the banks of the Susquehanna and engaged in Indian trade. Marrying Mary Newton at Fort Duquesne, his second son, Simon, was born in 1741, James was born two years later, and George in 1745. In 1751 the elder Girty was killed in a drunken revel by an Indian known as The Fish, who in turn was slain by John Turner, and as a reward the latter received the hand of the widow.[1] In 1756, when the entire family were taken prisoners by the Indians and the French under Neyon de Villiere, Turner, as the slayer of The Fish, was put to death by torture, in the presence of his family. After repeatedly witnessing the most revolting cruelties practised on prisoners, the family was separated, Simon being adopted by the Senecas, James by the Shawanese, and George by the Delawares; but in 1759 they were reunited at the surrender of prisoners after the treaty of Easton. As opportunity offered, the Girty boys put to use their understanding of Indian dialects, acting as interpreters, traders, or hunters, their headquarters being at Pittsburgh. Simon, finding Doctor Conolly a congenial spirit, espoused Virginia's side of the boundary dispute, and was arrested on some charge, at the instance of Arthur St. Clair, the leader of the Pennsylvanians. When Lord Dunmore reached Pittsburgh he made Simon Girty one of his scouts, and Girty it was who received from Logan the cele-

[1] "History of the Girtys"; being a concise account of the Girty Brothers, Thomas, Simon, James and George, and of their half-brother, James Turner; also of the part taken by them in the Lord Dunmore's war, in the Western Border war of the Revolution and in the Indian war, 1790-1795. By Consul Wilshire Butterfield, Cincinnati; Robert Clarke & Co., 1890.

brated message which Thomas Jefferson made popular as a specimen of Indian eloquence.

After the Dunmore war, Girty was a second-lieutenant in Conolly's militia, until the outbreak of the Revolution drove out both Dunmore and Conolly. Congress having created an Indian department, Girty was employed as an interpreter by the agent, George Morgan, and in that capacity probably was present at the conference held at Fort Pitt, on July 6, 1775, when the Virginian commandant, Captain Neville, secured the promise of Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanese that they would remain neutral, provided their rights, both to the sovereignty and to the lands of their country, were not invaded by either the Americans or the British. Girty lost his place as interpreter; but the Continental general, Edward Hand, on taking possession of Fort Pitt, early in 1777, commissioned him a second-lieutenant and employed him actively among the Indians. Girty's loyalty was suspected, although his work was efficient. In 1778 he came under the influence of Alexander McKee, who had been Sir William Johnson's deputy during the two years prior to the superintendent's death in 1774. McKee was a native of Pennsylvania, a trader of wealth and position; but possibly because of his position as crown deputy, suspicion attached to him, and he had been placed on parole by General Hand. Joined with McKee was another Pennsylvania trader, Matthew Elliott, an Irishman by birth, who was on such friendly terms with the Shawanese that they made him their messenger to Lord Dunmore when they sued for peace after their defeat at Point Pleasant. On the 28th of March, 1778, just as General Hand was about to send a force to arrest him, McKee together with Elliott, Girty, and a few others, escaped to Detroit. Their desertion from the American cause carried consternation throughout the frontier regions, from the Alleghany to the Mississippi. The British could not have selected three more effective tools for their purposes of border warfare.

The council was opened with prayers; Hamilton congratulated the assembled Indians on their success in their raids, on the number of their prisoners, and the far greater number of scalps. They had driven the rebels from the Indian hunting-grounds, and had forced them to the coast, where they had fallen into the hands of the king's troops. He announced the appointment of Haldimand, "well known through that country as the chief warrior at New York, a brave officer, a wise man, esteemed by all who knew him." He took from the Indians the silver medals given to them by the French, and hung about their necks those furnished by the English; and in the

name of the king he put the axe into the hands of his Indian children, "in order to drive the rebels from their land, while his ships-of-war and armies cleared them from the sea."

The Indians made answer after their own fashion that they would consider the matters in their councils. Forced to be satisfied with this answer, Hamilton covered the council-fire, and invited his guests to partake of one of those riotous feasts the cost of which wrung the heart of the economical Haldimand.

The names of the tribes summoned by Hamilton to the council at Detroit well indicate the fact that a great change had come over the Indian world during the century and three-quarters since Champlain espoused the losing cause of the Hurons against the Iroquois. The Iroquois federation known to the white men (for there were several others previously) was formed about 1570, some thirty years subsequent to the beginning of the Huron confederation. Originally the Iroquois consisted of the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga and (after 1722) Tuscarora tribes. Having obtained firearms from the Dutch, they extended their conquests from their own territory in Central New York to the Ottawa on the north, and to the Tennessee on the southwest, and from the Kennebec in Maine to the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. Even the regions of the Mississippi were not altogether safe from their incursions; and yet at no time did their warriors number more than 5,000. On the north they were stopped by the Chippewas and on the south by the Cherokees and the Catawbas. During the Seven Years war the Iroquois fought on the side of the English, although several small settlements of Mohawks and Onondagas established by the French on the St. Lawrence, remained friendly to the latter nation.

At the beginning of the Revolution the league of the Iroquois as a body voted to take no part in the struggle, but allowed each tribe to decide for itself which cause it would espouse. The Oneida and about half of the Tuscarora favored the Americans. The Mohawks and Cayugas received as their reward for their loyalty to the British lands on the Grand River in Ontario, where they now reside. Other Iroquois tribes occupy reservations in New York, while the Senecas are settled near Green Bay. It is probable that at no time before the Revolution did the whole number of Iroquois exceed 16,000 persons, their greatest population having been attained about 1685; whereas they now number over sixteen thousand one hundred, of whom 10,500 are settled in Canada and 5,300 in New York.

The Chippewa (so called from the puckered-up seam on their moccasins) ranged along both shores of Lakes Huron and Superior and westward to the Turtle Mountains of North Dakota. Originally they came from the North, and when they reached Michilimackinac in their migrations the Ottawas and the Potawatomies separated themselves from the main body. Nicolet probably, and after him Raymbaut and Jogues certainly, found the Chippewa domiciled at Sault Ste. Marie and at war with the Sioux. During the early portion of the eighteenth century the Chippewa (then generally known as Ojibwa) drove the Iroquois from Ontario and possessed the land. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who married a Chippewa maiden, regarded the warriors of this tribe second only to the Foxes in physique. They were brave and determined in war and friendly in times of peace. At the time of the Pontiac war they numbered about twenty-five thousand; but during the Revolution their numbers had diminished to about fifteen thousand. They took part in all the border wars, including the War of 1812; but since their treaty with the United States in 1815 they have remained peaceful. In 1836 the Chippewas sold their lands in the southern portion of Michigan and removed to Franklin County, Kansas; but there are still more than three thousand in this state, while the whole number is upwards of thirty-two thousand, about equally divided between the United States and British America.

The Potawatomi tribe (people of the place of the fire), together with the Sauks and the Nation of the Fork, occupied the lower peninsula of Michigan until they were driven to the Green Bay region by the Neuter Nation, allies of the Iroquois, while the last named confederacy was winning its ascendancy. The Jesuit fathers encountered them at Sault Ste. Marie (1642), at Chequamagon Point (1667) and at Green Bay (1670). About the time Detroit was founded (1701) they were living on the present sites of Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Joseph; at the time of the Pontiac war (1763) they were spreading down to the Wabash and eastward over Southern Michigan. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they encompassed the head of Lake Michigan from Milwaukee around to the Grand River in Michigan; they had fifty villages, among the largest being on the St. Joseph and the Huron rivers. They were faithful allies first of the French and then of the English; they participated in the Treaty of Greenville in 1796, but 1812 found them again on the British side, where they staid until their treaty with the United States in 1815. At the outbreak of the Revolution the Potawatomi numbered about 2,250; there are now about 2,700,

most of whom live in Oklahoma, fewer than one hundred being domiciled in Calhoun County, while about 175 dwell with the Chippewa and Ottawa on Walpole Island in St. Clair River.

The Sauks were the earliest inhabitants of the lower peninsula of Michigan, and their name is preserved in the word Saginaw (the country of the Sauk). Originally they were of "The People of the Fire." Allouez found them the most savage people he had met; he called them vagabonds of the forest, and said they would kill a Frenchman if they caught him alone, because they objected to his beard. It is probable that the Sauks, the Potawatomi and the Fork tribe all were driven from Michigan by the Neuter Nation, and were kept in the Green Bay region by the Iroquois, who took up the quarrels of their allies. In 1671 the Sauk were drawn into warfare with the Sioux and were nearly annihilated. In 1733 Sieur de Villiers the younger and M. de Repentigny were killed by the Sauks, and their deaths were avenged by the elder de Villiers, at the present site of Appleton, Wisconsin, in a battle which cost the French fifteen killed and wounded, while their allies, the Ottawa and Chippewa, lost a like number. During the Revolution the Sauk frequented St. Louis, where they were received with presents by the Spanish, who readily exchanged their own flags and medals for the English ones surrendered by the Indians. Today there are about one thousand Sauk and Foxes, or less than half their number at the time of the Revolution.

The Ottawas were known to the Indian world as "The Traders," as their name signifies. They dealt in furs, tobacco, herbs, cornmeal and sunflower-oil. The French found them along the shores of Georgian Bay and on the Manitoulin islands. The Iroquois drove them up against the Sioux and the Sioux hurled them back to the Manitoulins, whence they departed to join the Hurons at Marquette's Mission at St. Ignace. When this mission was broken up by the founding of Cadillac's town the Hurons came to the Detroit River, while a portion of the Ottawas settled at Saginaw, where some of the Potawatomi were dwelling. They stayed only three or four years, and then made an abiding place at Waganaski (L'Arbre Croche) near the foot of Lake Michigan, and gradually spread south to the St. Joseph River. Another portion dwelt with the Hurons (now called Wyandots) in the territory from Detroit south to Beaver Creek, in Pennsylvania. Pontiac was of the Ottawa, and they were in all the border wars, including the War of 1812. That portion of the tribe which refused to submit to the United States found lodgment on Walpole Island with the Chippe-

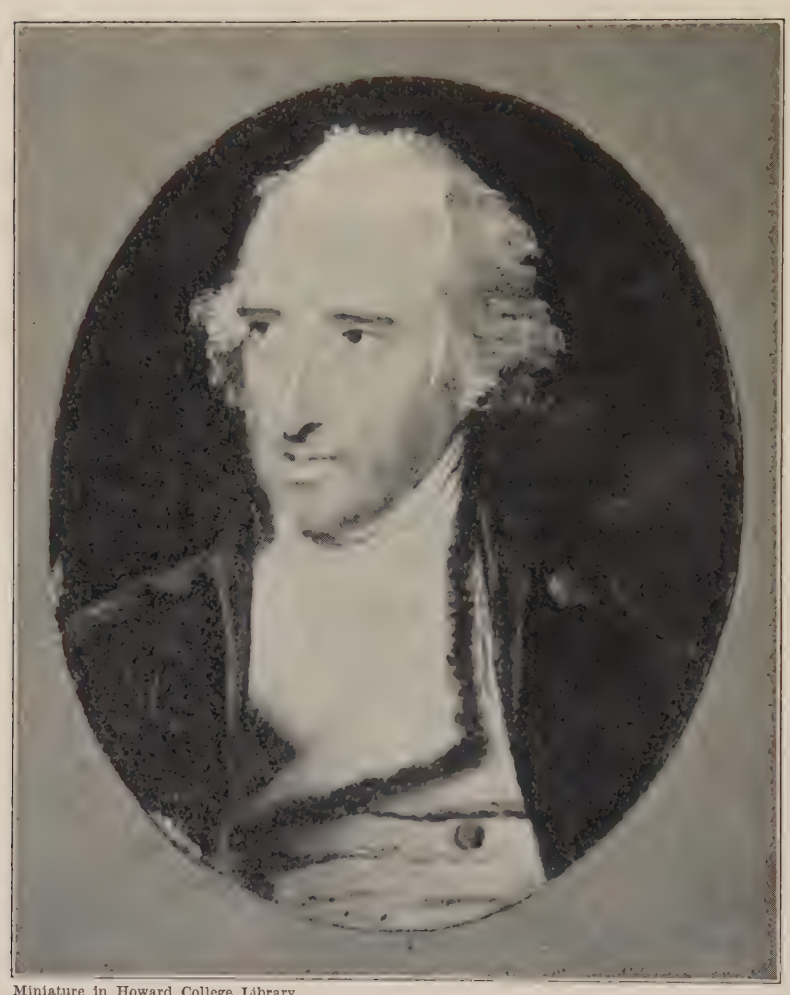
wa and Potawatomi. The last United States treaty made with the Ottawa in Michigan was signed at Detroit on July 31, 1855. There are now about fifty-six hundred Ottawas and Chippewas in Michigan.

The Hurons (so called by the French on account of their bristling hair) were found by Cartier on the St. Lawrence, but in Champlain's time they were dwelling south of Georgian Bay. Their dispersion by the Iroquois and their wanderings have already been noted. After the burning of the mission at St. Ignace in 1702, some of the Hurons removed to Sandusky, others to Detroit, and still others to Sandwich, Ontario. In 1745 their war chief, Orontony, or Nicholas, at Sandusky, conspired to destroy Detroit and the other upper posts, and enlisted in his conspiracy Ottawa, Potawatomi, Fox, Sioux, Sauk, Shawnee, Miami and other tribes. The plot was disclosed by a Huron woman to Longueuil, the French commandant at Detroit, who at once notified the other posts and so nipped the conspiracy in the bud. Orontony died in 1748 and the allies fell apart. About this time the Hurons came to be known as Wyandots, and notwithstanding their small numbers they became the leading tribe in the Ohio Valley. They were active partisans of the British throughout the border wars. After the peace of 1815 they settled in Ohio and Michigan, but four years later they sold a large portion of their Michigan lands, retaining only a small area on the Huron River, where they remained until their removal to Wyandotte County, Kansas, in 1842. During the Revolution the Hurons numbered about fifteen hundred; and there are now in Canada and the United States about one-half that number.[2]

The more astute among the Indians at Hamilton's council must have understood the nature of the man with whom they had to deal. He was not naturally a leader; but he was a dispenser of presents, ammunition and rum, and as such was entitled to consideration if not respect.

The returning Indians disappeared before an express arrived from the Illinois country, saying that a party of rebels, in number about three hundred, having taken prisoner M. de Rocheblave, the commander at Fort Gage, had laid him in irons and had exacted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the Congress. Also the express announced that a detachment had been sent to Cahokia; and that "one Gibault, a French priest, had his horse ready saddled

[2] "Handbook of American Indians," edited by Frederick Webb Hodge; Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 30.



Miniature in Howard College Library

HENRY HAMILTON, LT. GOVERNOR OF DETROIT

to go to St. Vincennes to receive the submission of the inhabitants in the name of the rebels."

Governor Hamilton's warlike spirit took fire. He had been forced to yield to the councils of his superiors in opposition to his plan to reduce Fort Pitt; but to have a band of rebels invade his own territory, lay one of his commandants in irons and confine him in a pig-pen was too much for his British blood.

The conclusion of the Dunmore War, in 1774, again opened Kentucky to settlers, who begun to flock to that region and to take up lands purchased from the Cherokees by Col. Richard Henderson.[3] The Henderson Company set up courts, gave laws, organized a militia—and began a proprietary government known as the Colony of Transylvania. Among the younger men who had been drawn into the war was George Rogers Clark, then about twenty-two years old. He was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, two years before Braddock's defeat, and from his earliest youth had been known by Thomas Jefferson. When the Henderson Company showed its power by attempting to raise rentals, the people elected Clark and Gabriel John Jones members of the Assembly of Virginia. That body had adjourned before the new representatives completed their long journey through the mountains; but Clark had a message for the new governor, Patrick Henry, who was bent on extending the authority of Virginia throughout the lands included within her chartered boundaries.

To the governor, whom Clark found on a sick-bed, the young adventurer expressed the earnest hope that the Virginians of the tide-water would not leave their brothers beyond the mountains to be cut off by prowling savages led by renegade whites. The governor was quite ready to espouse the cause of the Kentuckians, and the two men secured from the reluctant council a grant of powder for the protection of the frontiers. When the assembly convened, Clark and Jones were admitted, and before the session ended they succeeded in having created the County of Kentucky, thus putting an end to the Colony of Transylvania.

On his return, Clark saw what was apparent to all his fellows; that as long as the British held Detroit, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and the connecting forts, so long would England be able to keep up an effective warfare along the rear of the Colonies. Therefore, he sent Moore and Dunn into the Illinois country as spies. Armed

[3] Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774, compiled from the Draper manuscript in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Edited by R. G. Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg; Madison, 1905.

with their report he again presented himself before Governor Henry, and on December 10, 1777, he laid before him a plan of conquest that should balance in the south the great northern victory of Saratoga, over which the whole country was rejoicing. Governor Henry called in George Wythe, George Mason, and Thomas Jefferson, and with their influential aid Clark obtained two sets of orders—one public, ordering him to defend Kentucky; the other secret, ordering an attack on the British post of Kaskaskia. Clothed with this authority, with £1,200 in depreciated paper, and an order on the commandant at Fort Pitt for ammunition and boats, Clark set forth.

On his way down the Ohio he learned of the alliance between France and the Colonies; and this information served him in good stead when he came to deal with the French towns on the Mississippi. From John Duff and a party of hunters whom he met near the mouth of the Tennessee, Clark learned that M. Rocheblave had no apprehensions of an attack against the strong British posts of the Illinois, located in the midst of powerful Indian tribes hostile to the Americans. The audacity of Clark's plan secured its success. Approaching Kaskaskia on the evening of July 4, 1778, Clark sent a portion of his command across the river to the town, while he himself, at the head of a handful of troops, walked quietly in at the open postern gate of Fort Gage. He completely terrified the inhabitants, and then, having led them to expect another expulsion like that of the Acadians, he assured them that Americans "disdained to make war on helpless innocence"; and that it was simply to protect their own wives and children that they had "penetrated to this stronghold of British and Indian barbarity." When the people of Kaskaskia learned that neither their lives nor their property were at stake they offered to go with Major Bowman to inform their relatives and friends at Cahokia of the good tidings. The unexpected coming of the "Big Knives" brought forth huzzas for freedom and for the Americans; and thus, without the shedding of a drop of blood, the Illinois country was conquered for Virginia.

Vincennes now remained. Clark's force was not sufficient to hold the towns he had taken, and at any moment the Indians, led by the English, might cut him off from his base. At this juncture, Father Gibault, a priest whose parish extended from Lake Superior to the Ohio, offered to undertake to convert the people of the Wabash "coast" to the American cause. His proposition was accepted by Clark and was faithfully carried out by the priest. Electing a commandant, the people of O. Post (as Vincennes was commonly

called) ran up over the fort the flag of Virginia. To the surprised Indians they explained that their old father the King of France was come to life again, and wished them to make peace with the Americans. Clark formed a French militia company at Kaskaskia; placed Captain Williams in command of the fort; continued Captain Bowman at Cahokia; and sent Col. William Linn to build at the Falls of the Ohio the fort that has become the City of Louisville. Then he announced his conquest to Virginia and accompanied his message with the captive Rocheblave. In October, 1778, Virginia acknowledged her responsibility by establishing the County of Illinois, embracing all the chartered limits of the Colony of Virginia west of the Ohio River. Col. John Todd was made lieutenant-colonel of the county, and American civil government was established. The news of these conquests quickly spread through the Northwest.

Let us turn now to Mackinac to see how that post had fared during the early years of the Revolution. Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster of the king's regiment of foot set out from Quebec in the May of 1774, with a commission not only to take command of the post, but also to manage affairs pertaining to the Lake Indians, comprising sixteen or more tribes on both sides of the Mississippi, from the Ohio even to Hudson Bay. DePeyster was born in New York City on June 27, 1736; his baptism was attended by his two uncles, Philip Van Cortlandt and Peter Schuyler, and by his aunt, Eve Bayard; and he traced his lineage back to that Johannes De Peyster who came to New Amsterdam in 1633. As a second son, the youth was destined for the army, and was sent to England for his preliminary training. Entering the service in the year of Braddock's defeat, in 1768 he came with his regiment to Canada. Of commanding stature and soldier-like appearance, he possessed an affability of manner that endeared him to his fellow-officers, and also gave him an unusual control over the savages.

Mrs. DePeyster accompanied her husband to Mackinac; she was a daughter of Prevost Blair, of Dumfries, Scotland; and their voyage forms the theme of one of his poems, by courtesy so called. The trip up the St. Lawrence was in an open bateau, they crossed the Ontario in the ship-of-war Ontario, and at Fort Erie they embarked on the sloop-of-war Dunmore, which carried them to their destination. For six years this couple were the first English-speaking people to exemplify at a northern post the blessings of a Christian home.

On June 27, 1776, the Michilimackinac Indians received through Father Matavit, the priest of the Two Mountains, strings of wam-

pum from St. Lawrence River tribes, who announced that Montreal was in possession of the Americans and asked aid to prevent the Indians from being driven out of Canada. Major DePeyster, however, told them to look after their hunting until they heard from Sir Guy Carleton. Next a messenger came from the Six Nations, calling the Lake Indians to a council at Connesedaga; and then DePeyster found traders bearing passes signed by General Worcester and Benjamin Franklin, stipulating that they should furnish no supplies to Michilimackinac. Then he bestirred himself; and on July 4, 1776, he placed Charles de Langlade in charge of a force of savages and Canadian volunteers, with orders "to report to the commander of the king's troops in the neighborhood of Montreal; to annoy the rebels wherever he might meet them, and in everything to conduct himself with his usual prudence and moderation." Montreal having been recovered by the British, and the Indians not being prepared to spend the winter, Carleton gave them presents, and sent them home with orders to return in the spring if wanted. Langlade remained on the St. Lawrence during the winter, and returned north in February with an order to bring back 200 chosen Indians for the Burgoyne expedition. He had no difficulty in finding Indians ready for the fray; his difficulty was "to prevent the whole country from going down." Presents, medals, gorgets, and especially the rum furnished by the British were a foretaste of the plunder that would be theirs after victory.

As a leader of Indians, Charles de Langlade deserves attention. His great-grandfather, Pierre Mouet was the landlord of Maras and was known as Mouet de Maras. He was born of a family located in Castel Sarraisin, in Basse Guyenne, France, where Cadillac died. In 1668 he settled at Three Rivers, then an influential trading-post. The eldest son, Pierre, emulated the father; he was an ensign in the army; and also he had seven children. The sixth child, Augustin, born in 1703, was the first to bear the name of Sieur de Langlade. He made headquarters at Michilimackinac, where he married the widow of Daniel Villeneuve, the sister of the principal chief of the Ottawas, a warrior known as The Fork. In May, 1729, Charles Michel de Langlade was born and baptized. From Father Du Jaunay, Langlade learned to read and write; he was familiar with Indian manners and customs from earliest youth. In 1734, when the French sought the aid of the Upper Lake savages in their war against the English traders north of the Ohio, The Fork refused to take up the hatchet unless he might carry with him his grandson, Charles, then five years old. The boy was to bring luck to the

expedition. The father sent his son with the injunction never to dishonor a brave name. The expedition was only too successful. What share of the success was due to the youthful warrior cannot now be estimated, but the Indians came to look upon young Langlade as one on whom a great Manitou smiled; and from that day his influence over the savages exceeded that of any other white man. Moreover, he was careful never to do anything to diminish his prestige.

Langlade distinguished himself at Piqua and also at Braddock's defeat, where he led the Lake Indians in the ambush and surprise that routed the British regulars. In 1757 Langlade joined Montcalm at the capture of Fort George, where his services were recognized by Vaudreuil, who made him second officer at Michilimackinac. In June, 1759, Langlade led his band to Quebec where he suggested a plan for cutting off Wolfe. M. de Levis was not quick enough to act upon the Canadian's suggestions; had it been otherwise the battle on the Plains of Abraham might not have been fought, although the end would have been the same. Then even fortune favored the English. As it was Langlade fought through the decisive battle at Quebec, where two of his brothers were killed; then, mortified by what he called the cowardly surrender of Quebec, he once more set his face northward. In April, 1760, having been commissioned as a lieutenant he fought with the Chevalier de Levis for Montreal and French supremacy in America. On September 9th, Langlade received from Vaudreuil the announcement of the surrender of Montreal, coupled with the hope of a meeting in France. Langlade's interests, however, kept him in America. Capt. George Etherington, who commanded at Michilimackinac in 1761, administered to both Augustin and Charles de Langlade the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. Langlade was a broad-minded, enterprising man. He had fought his fight and had been whipped. He was ready to acknowledge the victor. On the other hand the English wanted the support of the Langlades. Charles, the Indian, was made superintendent for Green Bay, and also commander of the militia—a trust he never dishonored. The massacre at Michilimackinac, in 1763, might have been averted had his warnings been heeded, but when they were not he did what he could to save those who were not butchered in the first onslaught.

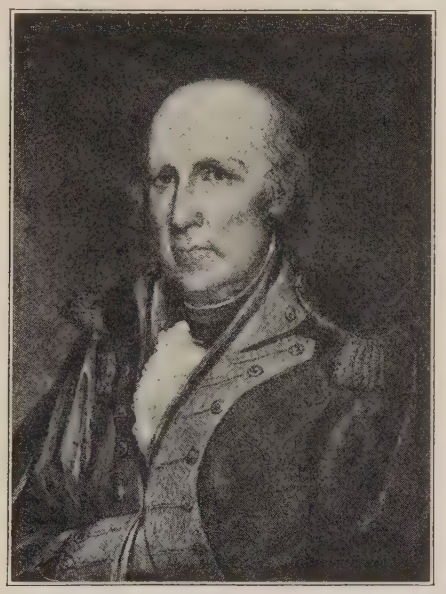
When DePeyster was called upon for a band of Lake Indians to accompany the Burgoyne expedition, he ordered an ox for the barbecue, opened the rum-casks, and served out ammunition to the bloody Sioux from the regions west of Lake Superior, the Chip-

pewas of Sault Ste. Marie, the Sauks and Foxes of the Illinois, the Winnebagoes and Menominees of Wisconsin, and the Ottawas of lower Michigan. In the spring of 1776, the flotilla started from Michilimackinac with Langlade in the lead. It was a brave array that made its way to Georgian Bay, up the French River, across Lake Nipissing, down the Ottawa to the St. Lawrence, and thence to the present town of Whitehall. There the Lake troop joined the St. Lawrence Indians under the command of Langlade's friend, the Chevalier St. Luc la Corne, who had won fame in Abercrombie's disastrous fight at Ticonderoga, and had survived the battles about Quebec. He was destined later to render the Canadians important service as a legislative councillor. Burgoyne, ignominiously beaten at Saratoga, October 14, 1777, charged his failure to the lack of support given by the Canadians and Indians. He was not altogether wrong. The Canadians had no heart in the struggle against the Colonists. They preferred to stay at home and let England fight her battles. And when Burgoyne told the Indians that he would allow neither scalps nor plunder, he took away from the savages all incentive to fight. Le Duc summed up the matter in the sentence: "General Burgoyne is a brave man; but he is as heavy as a German."

In 1778 when DePeyster learned that Hamilton was preparing an expedition to recapture Vincennes, he summoned the Indians to a council at l'Arbre Croche. But the red men sulked in their wigwams at Milwaukee, in spite of Pierre Queret's belts and De Vierville's entreaties. Then Charles de Langlade appeared, and going from village to village, at each town he called the Indians to a dog-feast. He would tear the quivering heart from the animal, affix it to a stake set at the doorway of each lodge, and then passing around the lodge at every door would taste the dog heart, meanwhile chanting the war-song. The Indians sprang to the dance, and next day took their way to l'Arbre Croche and the British council.

While these matters were transpiring at the head of the lakes Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton at Detroit was preparing his expedition to recover the Illinois country. Hamilton has been criticized for acting without authority in undertaking an important expedition without the express orders from Quebec, as well as for barbarity in organizing savage warfare. Yet he undertook to carry out the general desires of those in power in London and all he did met with their approval. Perhaps if he had been an abler man he might have been more successful; but really able British commanders were not frequent in the Revolution. Like all administrators far from the central authority, Hamilton suffered because of ill-balanced appro-

priations. The salaries were insufficient to command officials of ability; and at the same time rank extravagance prevailed in the matter of furnishing Indian supplies. Moreover there was a division of authority that led to inefficiency. The naval control of the Upper Lakes was committed to Colonel Bolton at Niagara, and the troops at Detroit were under the command of the senior military officer; so that Hamilton, although bred in the army, was forced to ask rather than command the support of the naval and military



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

forces. If Colonel Lernoult had not been a man of much good sense things would have been much worse than they were. Sir Guy Carleton nominally controlled the region from Quebec to the Ohio; but Lord George Germain issued directly from Whitehall orders to Lieut.-Col. Barry St. Leger who dealt with the Six Nations; and also to Hamilton, who called the Indian councils at Detroit and sent out parties of the savages against the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Hamilton issued a proclamation inviting "loyal subjects" to join the king's forces, and offered pay and land bounties. When this proclamation was found upon the dead bodies of partisans, naturally the Americans were embittered against him.

It was the October of 1778 when Hamilton assembled regulars,

volunteers and Indians on the common at Detroit. The Articles of War were read and the oath of allegiance was renewed; then the venerable priest gave his blessing to the Catholics present, conditioned on their strict adherence to their oath. "The subsequent behavior of these people," says Hamilton, "has occasioned my recalling this circumstance."

Before the flotilla had reached Lake Erie the wind, suddenly shifting to the north, brought a flurry of snow and fringed the shores with ice. In a hard rain-storm they made the traverse of Lake Erie to the Miami (now the Maumee), and landed on an oozy beach, where they spent the night without tent or fire. The force consisted of 114 whites and about sixty Indians. They made their way to the headwaters of the Wabash, down which stream they floated amid the running ice. Seventy-one days out from Detroit, as they were approaching Vincennes, Hamilton sent Major Jehu Hay in advance, and to him, on December 17th, Captain Helm surrendered the fort, with its two iron three-pounders and a small stock of ammunition. The gate had no lock and the squalid barracks were without a well of water. Captain Helm had no force to support him and he could do nothing but surrender. Clark had never seen Fort Vincennes.

Hamilton now considered whether he should complete his work by recapturing Kaskaskia and Cahokia; but he wisely decided to let well enough alone. So he repaired the fort, called the fickle French to renew their allegiance and sent off war-parties to waylay and murder the Virginians on the Ohio. Hamilton's force had been increased by accessions of Indians to 500 persons, and he had not supplies for a more extended campaign. On the contrary he was forced to send some of his Indians to hunt. Also the spring freshets were at hand, and soon Vincennes would be cut off from the Illinois posts by miles of overflowed lands. These flooded lands were the defense of both the Illinois and of Vincennes. Unfortunately for Hamilton he had to deal with men who made obstacles their weapons.

George Rogers Clark we already know something about. For a helper he had Francis Vigo, a Sardinian who had early enlisted as a private in a Spanish regiment, and was sent to New Orleans. Procuring an honorable discharge, he engaged in the fur-trade on the Arkansas, and after St. Louis was founded he removed to that post and became a prosperous trader on the Missouri. Vigo went to Clark at Kaskaskia and offered of his means and influence to advance the cause of liberty as represented by the Americans. Clark

gladly accepted the offer and sent Vigo to Vincennes with supplies for Captain Helm. Accompanied by a single servant Vigo set out with a pack of goods, but on reaching the River Embarrass he was seized by Indians, his goods were stolen, and as a prisoner he was taken before Hamilton. As a Spanish non-combatant Vigo was not subject to capture. Hamilton having some suspicions of his errand, exacted a promise that he would do nothing injurious to British interests "on his way to St. Louis." This Vigo kept to the letter of his promise. He went directly to St. Louis and thence to Kaskaskia where he laid before Clark the information that led to his campaign against Hamilton.

Vigo's report confirmed Clark in his belief that either he must capture Hamilton or else Hamilton would take him. He decided upon one of those desperate chances that in war almost invariably succeed. First equipping a flatboat with supplies, he sent it around to the Wabash, with forty-six men under the command of his cousin, Lieut. John Rogers. Also he gathered a force of French militia to eke out his own scanty numbers. Altogether he had 170 men when he set out February 5th, to capture a British command in a rebuilt fort armed with cannon, supplied for a siege, and with a garrison equal at least to half the number of the besiegers. Striking north to reach the St. Louis trail, Clark's men made their slow way, with the rain pelting their faces and soaking their clothes, and the mud often knee-deep. At night Clark cheered their drooping spirits by feasts of buffalo-meat and other game shot during the day, and by songs and war-dances after the Indian fashion. Twelve days out they came to the Embarrass River. The country was under water, excepting a small hillock where they passed the night without food or fire.

Next day they heard Hamilton's morning gun; men were sent to find boats; and after spending a day and a night in the water they returned to report that no dry land could be discovered. For two days they were without food of any kind, but on the third day they killed a deer; two more days followed without provisions; but Clark's good-nature and tact kept the French from turning back and the Virginians from being discouraged. The morning and evening guns at Fort Sackville, as Hamilton called the fort, came over the waters; and still the rains descended and the floods increased. On the 21st of February things had come to a serious pass. Realizing that all depended on his own courage and fortitude, he immediately took a handful of powder and smeared his face after the manner of the Indians. It was the signal for the onslaught, and when he

plunged into the flood the others followed. He struck up a backwoods song and that too was taken up; and before the song was suffered to die out all reached Sugar Camp and a half acre of dry land. Next morning at sunrise they again dashed into the waters; but this time instead of a song there was a stern command to Major Bowman to shoot the first who turned back. The water was waist-high; and when Clark lost his footing he ordered canoes to ply back and forth, supporting the men till all had come safely to land. Then they captured a canoeful of squaws with a quarter of a buffalo, corn, tallow and kettles. While the strong ones walked their weaker brothers up and down the shore in order to restore circulation, broth was made and the hungry were fed. Then the sun came out to dry the soaked clothing, and put heart into the men. In sight stood Fort Sackville.

Then Clark captured some duck-hunters, from whom he learned that Hamilton had no thought of attack, and that the French and the Indians in the town were well disposed towards the Virginians. Clark sent to the people of Vincennes a message saying that he proposed to take the town that night; he warned friendly ones to keep in their houses, and advised the adherents of the British to seek the fort, to join "the hair-buyer general" and to fight like men. The French took the hint and stayed at home. No news of Clark's approach was given to Hamilton, and the first patter of bullets against the palisades was thought to be the usual friendly salute from a party of savages returning from the hunt. Having stolen up to good positions behind houses, ditches, and the banks of the river, Clark's men kept up an intermittent fire throughout the night of the 23d, wounding six of the garrison. The cannon balls from the fort flew over the heads of the Virginians, doing no damage. When daylight came, Clark's riflemen picked off the gunners as they served the cannon. At 9 in the morning Clark sent a peremptory demand for the surrender of the fort. "If I am obliged to storm," says Clark, "you may depend on such treatment as is justly due a murderer." These strong words expressed mildly the feelings of the Virginians toward those who had employed Indians to murder settlers. Virginians might massacre savages for revenge but they never employed Indians against the British; and Clark had refused the offer of the Tobacco's Son and his warriors to take part in the assault of Fort Sackville.

Hamilton found his men ready "to stick by him as the shirt to his back"; therefore he replied that he was "not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of a British subject"; but in the afternoon

the two commanders arranged a meeting at the log-church near the fort. Hamilton was willing to retire with his garrison to Pensacola; Clark insisted on unconditional surrender, saying that his men were eager to avenge the murder of their relatives and friends, and that nothing less than immediate surrender would satisfy them. As for himself, Clark said that he knew that the greater part of the Indian partisans from Detroit were in the fort, and he wanted an excuse either to put them to death or otherwise treat them as he saw fit. The choice, therefore, was between massacre and surrender at discretion. While the parley was in progress, Clark's men had captured some fifteen or sixteen Indians. He made them sing their death-song and had them tomahawked one by one, by way of warning. On consultation with his officers, Clark was led to modify his demands; and late that night articles of capitulation were signed.

At 10 o'clock on the morning of February 25th, the garrison marched out with fixed bayonets. The colors not having been hoisted that morning, Hamilton was spared the humiliation of hauling them down. Hamilton made the best of a bad situation. The French at Vincennes were favorable to the Americans because France was in alliance with the Colonies; and there was some prospect that the French rule might be reestablished. Hamilton could rely only on the few regulars whom he had brought with him. The fickle Indians were always on the side of the winners.

Having taken possession of the fort, Clark ordered a salute of thirteen guns in honor of the Colonies. Then Captain Helm brought in Justice Dejean, captured with a party from Detroit, and an abundance of stores and clothing. On March 8th, the prisoners, twenty-seven in number, began their journey to Williamsburg, a distance of 1,200 miles. Hamilton, used to all the comforts of life, found the crowded boat, the lack of shelter from the rain, the long day at the oars, the scanty allowance of bear's flesh and Indian-meal, and the long march to the James River, a source of bitter misery. On June 15th, the captives were met at Chesterfield with an order from Governor Thomas Jefferson to take Hamilton in irons to Williamsburg. Arriving there, hungry, thirsty, in wet clothes, the British lieutenant-governor from Detroit stood at the door of the executive palace while the mob gathered to escort him to jail. Justice Dejean also was in fetters, and the two were thrust into a narrow cell already occupied by five drunken criminals. On August 31st, Major Hay and the other prisoners arrived, and the officers were made to share Hamilton's "dungeon."

Gratified, but not elated, by his success at Vincennes, Clark now

sat down to count the cost of continuing his expedition to Detroit, where, as he learned, there were but eighty men in the garrison, and the people were well disposed towards the Americans. At this juncture the flat-boat Willing appeared, coming up the Wabash with the reinforcements and supplies from Kaskaskia. On board was Morris, a messenger from Governor Jefferson, who sent assurance that more troops would be forthcoming from Virginia. Clark appointed a rendezvous at Vincennes in July, preparatory to a dash for Detroit. In anticipation of this new venture he first terrorized the Detroit militia, then he gave them boats, arms and provisions. He told them that he was anxious to restore them to the families from whom they had been torn, and afterwards he sent them home to spread the news of the kindly disposition of the Virginians. Next he gave the Indians to understand that if they were disposed to keep the peace, they would fare the better for so doing; but if they did not behave themselves they would suffer for their misconduct. This method of procedure caused Clark to be feared from New Orleans to Lake Superior. Lieutenant Brashead was made commandant of the fort (renamed Fort Patrick Henry) and Captain Helm was placed in charge of civil affairs. Then Clark embarked on the Willing and started for Kaskaskia.

The conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark, acting under the authority of the Colony of Virginia, became the basis of the American claims to the Great Lakes as a national boundary when the Treaty of 1783 came to be negotiated. The question naturally arises, first, as to the permanent character of Clark's occupation; and, secondly, as to why he did not press forward to capture Detroit. It should be understood that Clark was dependent on the resources as well as the troops that Virginia could furnish, and Virginia had much to do in supplying her quota for the Continental army. Moreover, Governor Jefferson was forced to rely upon General Washington, and to establish some kind of cooperation with the Continental forces. Again, the question of Hamilton being held as a prisoner by Virginia, and so not subject to exchange for British captives, came up as a matter of difference between the two Virginians. What shape these questions took is best known from the correspondence.

On January 29, 1780, Governor Jefferson wrote from Williamsburg to Gen. George Rogers Clark: "We shall use all our endeavours to furnish your men with necessary clothing, but long experience renders it proper to warn you that our supplies will be precarious. You cannot therefore be too attentive to the providing them in your

own quarter as far as skins will enable you to do it. In short, I must confide in you to take such care of the men under you as an economical householder would of his own family, doing everything within himself as far as he can, and calling for as few supplies as possible. The less you depend for supplies from this quarter the less will you be disappointed by those impediments which distances and a precarious foreign commerce throw in the way. For these reasons it will be eligible to withdraw as many of your men as you can from the west side of the Ohio, leaving only so many as may be necessary for keeping the Illinois settlements in spirits and for their real defence. We must faithfully attend to their protection, but we must accommodate our measures for doing this to our means. Perhaps this idea may render doubtful the expediency of employing your men in building a fort at Kaskaskia. Such fort might perhaps be necessary for the settlers to withdraw into in time of danger. But might it not also render a surprise the more dangerous by giving the enemy a means of holding a settlement which otherwise they could only distress by a sudden visit and be obliged to abandon. Of this you must be ultimately the judge.

"We approve very much of a mild conduct toward the inhabitants of the French villages. It would be well to be introducing our laws to their knowledge and to impress them strongly with the advantage of a free government. The training their militia and getting it into subordination to proper officers should be particularly attended to. We wish them to consider us as brothers and to participate with us the benefits of our rights and laws. We would have you cultivate peace and cordial friendship with the several tribes of Indians (the Shawanese excepted). Endeavour that those who are in friendship with us live in peace also with one another. Against those who are our enemies let loose the friendly tribes. The Kikapous should be encouraged against the hostile tribes of Chickasaws and Choctaws and the others against the Shawanese. With the latter be cautious of the terms of peace you admit. An evacuation of their country and removal utterly out of interference with us would be the most satisfactory.

"Ammunition should be furnished gratis to those warriors who go actually on exhibitions against the hostile tribes. As to the English, notwithstanding their base example we wish not to expose them to the inhumanity of a savage enemy. Let this reproach remain on them. But for ourselves we would not have our national character tarnished with such a practice. If indeed they strike the Indians these will have a natural right to punish the agressors and

with none to hinder them. It will then be no act of ours. But to invite them to a participation of the war is what we would avoid by all possible means.

"If the English would admit them to trade and by that means get those wants supplied which we cannot supply I should think it might, provided they require from them no terms of departing from their neutrality. If they will not permit this I think the Indians might be urged to break off all correspondence with them, to forbid

ARENT SCHUYLER DEPEYSTER

their emmisaries from coming among them and to send them to you if they disregarded the prohibition. It would be well to communicate honestly to them our present want of those articles necessary for them, and our inability to get them, to encourage them to struggle with the difficulties as we do till peace, when they may be confidently assured we will spare nothing to put their trade on a comfortable and just footing. In the meantime we must endeavour to furnish them with ammunition to provide skins to clothe themselves. With a disposition to do them every friendly office and to gain their love we would yet wish to avoid their visits. Except those who come with Captain Lintol we have found them very hard to please, expensive and troublesome and they are moreover ex-

posed to danger in passing our western countries. It will be well therefore (especially during the war) to waive their visits in as inoffensive a way as possible.

"In a letter to you on the 1st instant I supposed you would in the ensuing summer engage either in the Shawanese war or against Detroit, leaving the choice of these and all other objects to yourself. I must also refer to you whether it will be best to build the fort at the mouth of Ohio before you begin your campaign or after you shall have ended it. Perhaps indeed the delays of obtaining leave from the Cherokees or of making a purchase from them may oblige you to postpone it till the fall."

That Governor Jefferson had the project of the capture of Detroit firmly fixed in his mind is shown by a letter to General Washington, dated February 10, 1780, in which he says: "It is possible that you may have heard in the course of the past summer an expedition was meditated by Colo: Clarke against Detroit, that he had proceeded so far as to rendezvous a considerable body of Indians, I believe four or five thousand,[4] at St. Vincennes: but being disappointed in the number of whites he expected and not choosing to rely principally on the Indians was obliged to decline it. We have a tolerable prospect of reenforcing him this Spring to the number which he thinks sufficient for the enterprise. We have informed him of this and left him to decide between this object and that of giving vigorous chastisement to those tribes of Indians whose eternal hostilities have proved them incapable of living on friendly terms with us. It is our opinion his inclination will lead him to determine on the former.

"The reason I am laying before your Excellency this matter is that it has been intimated to me that Colo: Broadhead[5] is meditating a similar expedition. I wished therefore to make you acquainted with what we had in contemplation. The enterprising & energetic genius of Clarke is not altogether unknown to you. You also know (what I am a stranger to) the abilities of Broadhead & the particular force with which you will be able to arm him for such an expedition. We wish the most hopeful means should be used for removing so uneasy a thorn from our side. As yourself alone are acquainted with all the circumstances necessary for well informed decision, I am to ask the favour of your Excellency

[4] This number is over estimated.

[5] Col. Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, commandant at Fort Pitt, who was succeeded in 1781 by Col. John Gibson.

if you think Broadhead's undertaking it most likely to produce success, that you will be so kind as to intimate to us to divert Clarke to the other object which is also important to this State. It will of course have wait with you in forming your determination, that our prospect of strengthening Clarke's hands sufficiently is not absolutely certain. It may be necessary, perhaps, to inform you that these two officers cannot act together, which excluded the hopes of ensuring success by a joint expedition."

Hamilton complained bitterly of being confined in a "dungeon"; and Washington endeavored to have him exchanged; but Governor Jefferson was obdurate. The case against Hamilton is summed up in Jefferson's letter from Richmond of September 26, 1780. "I was honored yesterday with your favor of the 5th instant on the subject of prisoners and particularly Lt. Gov'r Hamilton. You are not unapprised of the influence of this officer with the Indians, his activity & embittered zeal against us. You also perhaps know how precarious is our tenure of the Illinois country and how critical is the situation of the new counties on the Ohio. These circumstances determined us to detain Gov'r Hamilton & Maj'r Hay within our power when we delivered up the other prisoners. On a later representation from the people of Kentucky, by a person sent here from that country, & expressions of what they had reason to apprehend from these two prisoners in the event of their liberation, we assured them they would not be parted with though we were giving up our other prisoners. Lt. Colo: Dubusson, an aid to Baron de Kalb lately came here on his parole with an offer from Lt. Rawdon, to exchange him for Hamilton. Colo: Towles is now here with a like proposition for himself, from Gen'l Phillips, very strongly urged by the General. These and other overtures do not lessen our opinion of the importance of retaining him; and they have been, and will be, uniformly rejected. Should the settlement, indeed, of a cartel become impracticable, without the consent of the States to submit their separate prisoners to its obligation, we will give up these two prisoners, as we would anything rather than be an obstacle to a general good. But no other circumstances would I believe extract them from us. These two gentlemen with a Lt. Colo: Elligood, are the only separate prisoners we have retained, & the last only on his own request and not because we set any store by him. There is, indeed, a Lt. Gov'r Rocheblave of Kaskaskia, who has broken his parole and gone to N. York, whom we must shortly trouble your Excellency to demand for us as soon as we can forward to you the proper documents. Since the 40 prisoners sent to Winchester, as

[illegible]

Maj'r Hay, and some of the same party at Winchester, leave to go there on parole. The two former go by water, the latter by land."

By the end of 1780, matters on the frontier seemed to demand that the expedition against Detroit be undertaken. Reporting the intentions of Virginia, Jefferson again wrote to Washington in December, 1780: "I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the subject of an expedition contemplated by this State against the British post at Detroit and of receiving your answer of Oct: 10th. Since the date of my letter the face of things has so far changed as to leave it no longer optional in us to attempt or decline the expedition, but compels us to decide in the affirmative and to begin our preparations immediately. The army the enemy at present have in the south, the reenforcements still expected there, and their determination to direct their future exertions to that quarter, are not unknown to you. The regular force proposed on our part to counteract those exertions is such, either from the real or supposed inability of this State, as by no means to allow a hope that it may be ineffectual. It is therefore to be expected that the scene of war will be either within our country or very early advanced to it, and that our principal dependence is to be the militia, for which reason it becomes incumbent to keep as great a proportion of our people as possible, free to act in that quarter.

"In the meantime a combination is forming in the westward which, if not diverted, will call thither a principal and most valuable part of our militia. From intelligence received we have reason to expect that a confederacy of British & Indians to the amount of 2,000 men is formed the purpose of spreading destruction and dismay through the whole extent of our frontier in the ensuing spring. Should this take place we shall certainly lose in the South the aids of militia beyond the blue ridge besides the inhabitants who must fall a sacrifice in the course of the savage irruptions. There seems to be but one method of preventing this, which is to give the western enemy employment in their own country. The regular force Colo: Clarke already has, with a proper draught from the militia beyond the Allegany & that of three or four of our most northern countries, will be adequate to the reduction of fort Detroit in the opinion of Colo: Clarke, and he assigns the most probable reasons for that opinion. We have therefore determined to undertake & commit it to his direction. Whether the expence of the enterprise shall be at continental or state expence we will leave to be decided hereafter by Congress, in whose justice we can confide as to the determination. In the meantime we only ask the loan of such necessaries as, being

already at Fort Pitt, will save time and an immense expence of transportation. These are: 4 field pieces, 6 pounders; 3,000 balls suited to them; one mortar; 3,000 shells suited to it; 2 ht'z; Grape shot; necessary implements and furniture for the above; 1,000 spades; 200 pick axes; 1 traveling forge; some boats, ready made, should we not have enough prepared in time; some Ship carpenter's tools.

"These articles shall either be identically or specifically returned; should we prove successful it is not improbable they may be where Congress would choose to keep them. I am therefore to solicit your Excellency's order to the commandant at Fort Pitt for the above articles which shall not be called for until everything is in readiness, after which there can be no danger of their being wanted for the post at which they are: Indeed there are few of the articles essential for the defence of the post. I hope your Excellency will think yourself justified in lending us this aid without awaiting the effect of an application elsewhere as such a delay would render the undertaking abortive by postponing it to the breaking up of the ice in the lake. Independent of the favourable effects which a successful enterprise against Detroit must produce to the United States in general by keeping in quiet the frontier of the northern ones, and leaving our western militia at liberty to aid those of the South, we think of like friendly Office performed by us to the States whenever desired, & almost to the absolute exhausture of our own magazines, gave well founded hopes that we may be accomodated on this occasion. The supplies of military Stores which have been furnished by us to Fort Pitt itself, to the Northern army, and most of all to the Southern, are not altogether unknown to you. I am the more urgent for an immediate order because Colo: Clarke awaits here your Excellency's answer by the express, tho his presence in the Western country to make preparations for the expedition is so very necessary if you enable him to undertake it. To the above I must add a request to you to send for us to Pittsburg persons proper to work the mortars &c. as Colo: Clarke has none such, nor is there one in this State They shall be in the pay of this State from the time they leave you. Any money necessary for their journey shall be repaid at Pittsburg without fail by the 1st of March."

While it was a disappointment to both Clark and Jefferson that the expedition against Detroit was never undertaken, the results were the same as they would have been had the whole Northwest been occupied. What arms failed to do, diplomacy accomplished, and at no expense.

CHAPTER XI

BORDER WARFARE DURING THE REVOLUTION

The fortunes of war certainly favored the Northwest in the matter of British leaders and generals. Especially fortunate for the American cause was the death of Sir William Johnson, which occurred on July 11, 1774, almost a year before the outbreak of the Revolution. Johnson exercised an influence over the Indians that was based less on his official position than on his personal character. He was born in Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, in 1715; his father, a country gentleman, educated him for a commercial career; and in 1738 he came to the Mohawk Valley to manage lands of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren. He settled about twenty-five miles west of the present City of Schenectady, opened trade with the Indians, and by virtue of his instinctive knowledge of and sympathy with Indian nature, he obtained a large influence over the savages. His name was potent everywhere throughout the Indian world. With the Six Nations, among whom he dwelt, his influence had as few bounds as are consistent with Indian nature; and the more distant tribes respected and feared him. He was fifty-nine years old at the time of his death, and already his manner of life had sapped his vigor; but had he lived the allotted span of life the prestige of his name and the persuasiveness of his forest diplomacy would have made him the dictator of the Northwest. George Rogers Clark's game of pussy-wants-a-corner could not have succeeded if there had been anywhere in that region a British leader at once capable and vigorous. As it was, the British cause suffered defeat everywhere, excepting in the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, where inertia rather than patriotism kept the Canadians loyal.

Sir William Johnson was a sachem of the Mohawk tribe and a life member of the governor's council. He had defeated the French and Indians at the Battle of Lake George in 1755, receiving for his success the thanks of Parliament and the title of baronet. From 1756 until his death he was "the sole superintendent of the Six Na-

tions and other northern Indians." In 1859 he was in command of the force that captured Niagara; and in 1763 he kept the Iroquois from engaging in the Pontiac Conspiracy. Indeed he then saw that troubles with the Indians were brewing, but was not able to convince his superiors of the fact. When he died he was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son Sir John Johnson, who had been knighted in 1765; while his nephew, Guy Johnson, succeeded him as superintendent of Indian affairs. The son became the leader of provincial forces at Oriskany, at Cherry Valley and in the Mohawk Valley; and the nephew fought on the British side during the Revolution; but neither of them was masterful enough to become organizers and leaders.

Frederick Haldimand, who ruled the Northwest after the recall of Sir Guy Carleton, had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Swiss Guards. In 1756 he began his service in America as the British commandant at Philadelphia; next he went to Albany as colonel of the Royal Americans; in 1758 he was in the repulse of Abercrombie by Montcalm at Fort Edward; and during the next year he repelled the attack of St. Luc la Corne and his Indians. In 1760, when the French surrendered Montreal, Haldimand there took command; in 1767 he was made a brigadier-general and ordered to Pensacola, and having put that post in condition, he received the reward of a transfer to New York.[1] There the tea-troubles found him; and when he was importuned to call out the troops to suppress rioting he refused to use the militia without a civil magistrate at their head. The people of New York, however, broke into his house, demolished his furniture, and looted his stables.

Then Haldimand was made a major-general and sent to the West Indies, whence he was called to succeed Carleton at Quebec. Reaching his new post on June 30, 1778, he carried on negotiations with Ethan Allen for a reunion of Vermont with the crown of England; and he was active in seating tories on crown-lands in Canada. It was fortunate for the United States and for the people of the frontiers that Haldimand contented himself with administering his government; a more ambitious officer, or an Englishman of vigor and initiative, might have driven the Americans from the

[1] Pensacola consisted of a stockade fort, a few straggling houses and a governor's house. Haldimand widened the streets so as to give a free circulation of air, and made other sanitary improvements, by which he reduced sickness and banished death during the ensuing summer, though the mercury stood at 114 degrees.—Pittman's "Present State of English Settlements on the Mississippi."

Wabash and the Illinois, and thus forced the British boundary back to the Ohio.[2] He was quite satisfied to let the border war drag on, without urging his subordinates to activity, his great concern being that the expenses of feeding and clothing the Indians were enormously out of proportion to the results attained.

Haldimand despaired of being able to prevent the western Indians from deserting the British cause, so active were the American emissaries, and such was the effect on the savages of Clark's capture of Hamilton; and he foresaw that Detroit must share the fate of Vincennes, in case Clark were to advance with a considerable force.

Capt. Richard Beringer Lernoult was left in charge of both civil and military affairs at Detroit when Hamilton started on his expedition to the Wabash. The captain acquitted himself so acceptably that on being ordered to Niagara after two years of service at Detroit, he was promoted to a majority. From the interpreter Isadore Chene, Lernoult learned of Hamilton's disaster a month after Vincennes was captured. "This most unlucky shake," as the captain called it, "with the approach of so large a party of Virginians advancing towards St. Duskie, has greatly damped the spirits of the Indians." Detroit needed more than a palisade, for it was expected the Americans would bring cannon with them, and in that case the town would be at their mercy. Therefore Captain Lernoult set about building a fort on the rise of ground back of the town, the site now occupied by the Federal Building. Captain Bird, an assistant engineer, traced a square on the hill and added half-bastions —not a satisfactory piece of work, he himself admitted;[3] but the best that could be done in the hurry of the occasion. From November, 1778, to the following February, Bird pressed on the work; but when spring came he turned over to Lieutenant Du Vernett the task of completing Fort Lernoult and joined himself to a band of Indians going on the warpath. Possibly he had been stirred by Clark's message that he was glad to hear the British were making new works at Detroit, "as it saves the Americans some expenses in building." He collected at Upper Sandusky a force of about two

[2] See Brymner's Introduction to the Canadian Archives, 1887, and Smith's "Bouquet Expedition" for details of Haldimand's life. There is an excellent life of Haldimand by Jean N. McIlwaith in the Canadian Statesmen Series. His correspondence and diary have been published in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X.

[3] Bird to Brigadier-General Powell, August 13, 1782.—Haldimand Papers in Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. X.

hundred savages, chiefly Shawnese, but when news came that the Kentuckians [4] had attacked the Shawnese towns, burned houses, carried off horses, and wounded five or six Indians [5] the expedition came to an end. This action on the part of the Shawnese, the bravest and most revengeful of all the Western Indians, was characteristic; a rumor running through the forest, or the report of an ambush planned by the whites, threw them into such consternation that months of feasting and idleness were necessary to work them up to the fighting pitch.

During the spring of 1778 a small force of regulars from Fort Pitt had built Fort McIntosh on the site now occupied by the city of Beaver, Pennsylvania; and that autumn Gen. Lachlin McIntosh had advanced to the banks of the Upper Muskingum, called the Tuscarawas, where he had built, near the present site of Bolivar, Fort Laurens, named for the President of Congress. In the spring the Indians stole the fort horses, took the bells from the harness and jangled them along a wood-path. Of the sixteen men who were lured out to bring in the horses, fourteen were killed. That evening 847 savages in war-paint and feathers marched across the prairie exultingly celebrating their victory. Then they disappeared; and Colonel Gibson, thinking the occasion opportune for sending the invalids to Fort Pitt, started a dozen sick men under an escort of fifteen soldiers. Of this party only four escaped an ambush laid within two miles of the fort. A few days later, as General McIntosh was coming up with a relief of 700 men, the pack-horses took fright at the welcoming salute from the fort and carried the provisions off into the woods, and they were not recovered. That autumn the garrison retreated and Fort Laurens disappeared from the American map.[6]

Bird led a party of 150 whites and 1,000 Indians to Kentucky, where he captured two small stockades on the Licking, and then retreated to Detroit. The Kentuckians, enraged at so defiant an onset hurried up the Ohio and struck across to Pickaway, where they battered the palisades with a three-pounder and scattered the

[4] Bird to Lernoult, June 9, 1779.—Haldimand Papers.

[5] This was the raid of John Bowman, Logan, Harrod, and others, against Chillicothe. In the end the Kentuckians were defeated. See Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," Vol. II, p. 97.

[6] Doddridge's "Settlement and Indian Wars of Virginia and Pennsylvania" (Albany, 1867), p. 244 et seq.

Indians, driving them into the forests.[7] Then quiet came for a season.

We turn now to Michilimackinac, where the arrival of Patrick Sinclair has already been reported. Before reaching his station, Sinclair had landed on the turtle-shaped island, fabled abode of fairies and manitous. There, it seemed to Sinclair, was a natural site for fort and trading-post. With him to see was to decide, and to decide was to act. Without waiting for the governor's sanction, he built a blockhouse to command Haldimand Bay, as he named the harbor; and Quebec furnished carpenters and supplies. All through the winter of 1779-80 work was pushed on wharf and stockade; four acres were cleared for the fort, and preparations were made for burning limestone. Haldimand expressed his desire that the post continue to bear the name of Michilimackinac, and that the fort be styled Fort Mackinac. "I have never known any advantage result," he says, "from changing the names of places long inhabited by the same people." [8]

Before Captain Sinclair had been a month in his command he heard of Father Gibault, who had been at Michilimackinac on a mission, Sinclair says, from General Carleton and the Bishop of Quebec, out against whom, even though he was "an individual of the Sacred and respectable Clergy," the captain proposed to direct the Indians. He was particularly offended that Gibault styled himself vicar-general of the Illinois, and he sought to "blast any remains of reputation which the wretch may have been able to preserve among scoundrels almost as worthless as himself." He sought to send a band of Indians down the Mississippi to act against the Spanish settlements, in conjunction with General Campbell's proposed attack on New Orleans and the lower towns. Nor did he forget the post of St. Joseph. That "nest of tares he proposed to sweep clean" for the reception of the American general—a mixture of metaphors more Irish than Scotch.[9]

In October, 1765, St. Ange de Bellerive surrendered Fort Char-

[7] Theodore Roosevelt, in Vol. II of his "Winning of the West," gives a graphic account of this inroad, basing his narrative on the Durrett, Bradford and McAffee manuscripts.

[8] The Sinclair-Haldimand correspondence is given in Vols. IX and X of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

[9] From 1768 to 1775 Father Gibault, as vicar-general of the Illinois country, extended his ministrations to Michilimackinac; his Jesuit predecessor, Father M. L. Lefranc, having been the last settled priest at the post. From 1761 till 1830 no priest was stationed there. See list of priests in Kelton's "Annals of Mackinac Island," p. 45.

tres and withdrew to the territory yielded by France to Spain by the secret treaty of November 3, 1762. He was virtually at the head of an independent government composed of himself as commandant, M. Lefebre as judge, and Joseph Labusciere as notary, all of whom had come from the Illinois country. The French on the English side of the Mississippi were so well satisfied with this St. Louis government that when Captain Sterling died, the people at Fort Chartres appealed to St. Ange to settle their disputes until a new commandant should arrive. Thus it happened that a French-Canadian ruled over both English and Spanish territory. So well did the old man fulfill his trust that in 1767, when the Spanish captain, Rios, and twenty-five men came to St. Louis, they built their fort, St. Charles, fourteen miles up the river. It was not until May 20, 1770, that St. Ange delivered possession of Upper Louisiana to Captain Piernas, and soon afterwards Gibault celebrated at St. Louis the first baptism under the Spanish flag. Under the rule of Spanish commanders, the French town of St. Louis continued steadily to grow, notwithstanding the death, on June 20, 1778, of its founder, Pierre Laclede Liguest. He was succeeded in business by his chief clerk, Auguste Choteau, who became the great trader of the Missouri.[10]

Haldimand had small faith in Sinclair's expedition. Notwithstanding, in May, 1780, a band of 750 traders, servants, and Indians started down the Mississippi to attack the Spanish settlements and the Illinois posts. At Prairie du Chien, they captured boats loaded with provisions; and from the lead mines they brought away seventeen Spanish and American prisoners. Twenty Canadian volunteers from Michilimackinac and a few traders attacked the defenceless town of St. Louis, but as soon as the Spaniards began to defend themselves, the Sauks and Foxes under M. Calve fell back, thereby making the Indians suspicious of treachery; and M. Ducharme and other traders and leadminers followed. Sinclair reports that in the affray sixty-eight on the Spanish side were killed; but only seven persons are actually known to have been killed at St. Louis. The affair gets its entire importance because reverberations of this raid, rolling through the diplomatic caverns of Europe, made a great noise and had important effects, when the Treaty of 1783 came to be negotiated. Sinclair took back with him seven prisoners to work on his new fort on Mackinac Island; but his superior never gave him more credit than was his just due. In fact, Haldimand was too much of

[10] F. L. Billon's "Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations," St. Louis, 1886.

a trained soldier to have respect for civilians who by favor had reached positions of power to which their previous military rank and training did not entitle them.

The part Spain played in Michigan affairs is now to be related. From the days of La Salle and the pious Hennepin, in 1679, there had been a trading-post called St. Joseph, on the river of that name, near the present city of Niles. Just where the first post was located is not altogether certain. La Salle used the route of the St. Joseph River on his way to and from the Mississippi; and gradually a small settlement was made there. The probable spot has recently been marked by a boulder suitably inscribed. Being on the line of travel to the Mississippi, St. Joseph was too important to be abandoned altogether. After the peace of 1763, England placed a small garrison at the post, but after its capture during the Pontiac war it was not re-established, although it continued to be occupied as a trading-post among the Pottawatomies, the leading trader, Louis Chevallier, being the King's representative in the district.[11] In October, 1777, Thomas Brady, Clark's commandant at Cahokia, made raid on the place and seized some merchandise; but on his retreat he and his party were captured. In 1780 St. Joseph contained eight houses and seven shanties, and the entire population consisted of forty-five French persons and four Pawnee slaves.[12]

When Spain declared war against England in 1779, she seized the English posts of Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Mobile; and these stations together with St. Louis, gave her control of the Mississippi Valley. If Spain could establish herself in the Northwest, she would then be in a position to secure the Lake country, or at least to have something to trade with England for Gibraltar, a strategic point in her own territory she had always wanted. In January, 1781, Don Francisco Cruzat[13] the Spanish commander and lieutenant-governor of the western parts and districts of Illinois, sent Don Eugenio Pourre, Don Carlos Tayon, and the interpreter Don Luis Chevallier,[14] with a force of Indians to make a winter journey of 400 miles to capture deserted St. Joseph. The intrepid Spaniards as they toiled northward gathered Indian adherents. On their return they reported that they made prisoners of the few English found at the post.

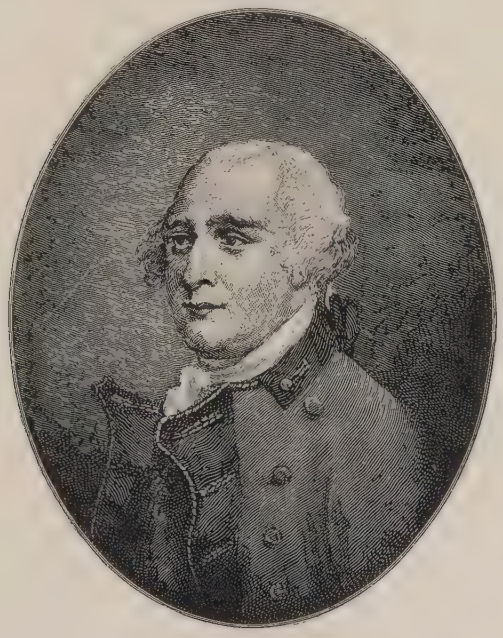
[11] Petition of Chevallier, October 9, 1780.—Haldimand Papers.

[12] Census of St. Joseph, in the letter of C. Anise, dated St. Joseph, June 30, 1780.—Haldimand Papers.

[13] Edward G. Mason, in the Magazine of American History, for May, 1886.

[14] In June, 1780, a detachment of Canadians and Indians removed the white people from St. Joseph to Michilimackinac.

There were no English and probably no French, save perhaps a few trappers. "Don Eugenio Purre took possession, in the name of the king, of that place and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois; in consequence whereof," says the Spanish report,[15] "the standard of his Majesty was there displayed during the whole time. He took the English flag and delivered it on his arrival at St. Louis to Don Francisco Cruzat, the commandant of that post." The



General Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester)

report of this expedition appeared in the Madrid *Gazette* of March 12, 1782, at a time to disturb the discussions of France, Spain, England and America as to the question of boundaries. It served as a basis of Spain's demand that the line be drawn so as to give her the territory now included within the states of Mississippi, Alabama, a part of Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, a large part of Ohio, and all of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The American commissioners contended for, and ultimately obtained, the Mississippi as our western boundary; but this despatch had much to do with the

[15] Wharton's Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Vol. V, p. 363.

combination between France and Spain to obtain the Northwest for the latter nation.

In October, 1779, De Peyster relieved Lernoult at Detroit. De Peyster in his first report to Haldimand was able to announce the surprise and capture of Colonel Rogers' party, on their way from the falls of the Ohio to Fort Pitt, by the Girtys and Elliott with their Shawnese band—"a stroke that must greatly disconcert the rebels at Pittsburg."[16] To Captain McKee,[17] at the Shawnese towns, De Peyster wrote begging the discovery and return of a woman named Peggy West and her young daughter Nancy, both of whom had been taken a year before near Fort Pitt, when the father was killed, and the mother and two daughters were separated. "If sir, it be possible to find the mother and the other sister," writes the commandant, "I will not spare expense; please therefore to employ some active people to go in search of them, assuring the Indians of a good price, and my grateful acknowledgement." One of the girls had been brought to Detroit, where she had found a friend and protector in Mrs. DePeyster. The motherly Scotchwoman had been touched by the child's ill plight, and was moved to find her mother and sister.

The plan of campaign for 1780 provided for a Detroit force to clear the valley of the Miami to the Ohio, while Sinclair's Upper Lake Indians were "amusing Mr. Clark at the falls." M. Chevallier, who had returned to St. Joseph, reported that the Pottawatomies were ready to take the warpath. At this juncture there spread from St. Louis through the Indian country the report that "Ireland had revolted; Jamaica had been captured by Count D'Estaing; New York was blockaded by the French and Americans; the 'Prince of Monfacon' was in the St. Lawrence for the siege of Quebec; Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola had been taken by M. Galvez, governor of New Orleans; and the United States had sent Colonel Clark to establish a stone fort at the entrance of the Ohio River and another at Cahokia."[18] All this the Pottawatomies heard on their way to Vin-

[16] DePeyster to Haldimand, November 1, 1779.

[17] McKee was called captain, but he had no rank. He had been in the Indian service for twenty-two years, and Lord Dunmore offered him a commission in a provincial battalion to be raised near Pittsburgh; but the commissions were intercepted by the Americans.—De Peyster to Haldimand, March 10, 1780.

[18] Mr. Papin, trader at St. Louis, to Mr. Reilhe, his comrade at Michilimackinac, March 23, 1780. In this letter "the United States" is first mentioned in Northwestern correspondence.

cennes, and thereupon the greater number of them turned back;[19] and those who did go on found that but twenty-three Virginians occupied the post. The Delawares and Shawnese, however, daily sent into Detroit scalps and prisoners. They had a great field to act upon; for a thousand families, in order to shun the oppression of Congress, report said, had gone to Kentucky to settle.

In September, 1781, McKee in company with a detachment of Butler's Rangers and Brant's Mingo band, made a descent into Kentucky; but when the Indians learned that Clark was unlikely to disturb their towns that year, they refused to advance to the falls of the Ohio,[20] and contented themselves with petty warfare. McKee's helper Elliott told him that the Moravian Indians were secretly sending intelligence to Fort Pitt and endeavoring to bring the Americans down upon the British. Therefore, he fell upon these peace-loving folk and forced them to find new homes at Upper Sandusky. Six of their teachers went with them, the principal one of whom appeared to McKee to be "a Jesuitical old man, and, if I am not mistaken, employed by the enemy, though he denies it."[21] McKee thought that the Moravian Indians would not be friends to the English so long as their white teachers remained with them.[22]

DePeyster examined the Moravian teachers at Detroit. Captain Pipe, a Delaware, not only spoke a good word for the prisoners, but also deposited fourteen scalps as a token of his sincerity, calling attention to the fresh meat (prisoners) he had sent to prepare his way. DePeyster closely questioned the teachers, who denied having given any information.[23] The Moravians were not strictly truthful in their professions of innocence. On March 14, 1778, their leader, Zeisberger, had sent to Colonel Morgan at Fort Pitt a message from Captain White Eyes (the same who had announced at Detroit the independence of the United States) giving the Americans information that the Wyandots were on the warpath. He also enclosed copies of Hamilton's proclamations—the one inviting loyal subjects of

[19] Chevallier to ——, April 30, 1780. DePeyster to Haldimand, May 17, 1780.

[20] "Haldimand Papers," Captain Thompson to DePeyster, September 26, 1781.

[21] "Haldimand Papers," McKee to DePeyster, September 26, 1781.

[22] Haldimand was deeply chagrined over the failure of this expedition, for he had hoped to destroy Clark's activity. He bitterly reproaches the Indians, though he admits that they acted as was their custom; and he laments the useless expense of clothing and feeding such thankless allies.—Haldimand to ——, November 1, 1781.

[23] "Haldimand Papers," minutes of Council of November 9, 1781.

Great Britain to repair to Detroit, and the other promising safe escort to such as might desire to "change the hardships experienced under their present masters for security and freedom under their lawful sovereign." The proclamations were accompanied by a manifesto signed by eight refugees who, with their families, had sought shelter at Detroit. White Eyes reported that he had just returned from that post, whither Colonel Morgan had sent him, and that nothing was to be apprehended from that quarter. "I observed," says this shrewd Indian, "that the governor wants to restore peace by making war, but I don't see that he is strong enough to do that." Unquestionably the Moravians did all they dared to do in warning the Americans; they were settled in war's pathway, and they were made to suffer from both sides.[24] Had they accepted the invitation of Colonel Brodhead, who, in 1781, urged them to return to Fort Pitt, two frontier tragedies would have been spared.

The followers of John Huss, driven from Bohemia and Moravia, early in the eighteenth century, had found a friend in the pious Count von Zinzendorf, the young son of a Saxon minister of state.[25] On his estates the Moravian brotherhood was organized; and in 1741 Zinzendorf, having been banished from Saxony, came to America and founded the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Successful far beyond other missions, the Moravian churches pushed into the wilderness; and in 1768 they founded in the Tuscarawas and Muskingum valleys Schonbrunn (the shining spring), Lichtenau (the pasture of light), Salem (peace), and Gnadenhutten (the tents of grace), surrounding their huts and rude chapels with smiling fields of corn. Being opposed to war, these Christian Indians were objects of suspicion by both the English and the Americans.

Part of this story David Zeisberger told to DePeyster. The little old missionary, his face seamed by the cares of frontier life, but still smiling and cheerful by reason of inward content, stood before his accuser and made answer for himself and his companions, Sensemann and Edwards. The defiant Heckewelder pleaded his own cause. The missionaries made a favorable impression not only on DePeyster, but also on the townspeople generally. Although he could not speak their language, Father Peter Simple, the priest, offered them the hospitalities of the place; McKee and Elliott paid them a visit; Protestant merchants brought children to be baptized, and some sought them for the marriage ceremony, a formality often

[24] The originals of this correspondence are in the State Department MSS.
[25] Moore's "Northwest Under Three Flags," p. 264.

of necessity postponed until just such an opportunity should occur to legalize an arrangement already entered into. Returning to Sandusky they spent a bitter winter with their little flock; but in March, 1782, the teachers and their families were ordered to Detroit, and were established on Chippewa lands along the banks of the Clinton River, near the southwest corner of the present city of Mount Clemens. There they founded another Gnadenhutten. Supported by provisions from the King's stores, the little band of nineteen persons was increased to half a hundred, all dwelling in well-built houses. With the end of the Revolution and the death of the Chippewa chief who had offered them hospitality, the Moravian converts were driven from their retreat by the heathen nations; and on April 20, 1786, they gathered for the last time before taking to the boats for the Cuyahoga, whence, they returned to the banks of the Thames, not far from the spot where Tecumseh met his fate in the War of 1812.[26]

Scarcely had the Moravians reached their Michigan home than they learned of the terrible massacre of their brothers on the Muskingum.[27] Starvation having threatened the Sandusky settlement, a band of the Moravian exiles returned to the towns of Salem and Gnadenhutten to gather the corn that had been left in the fields during the winter. In March, 1782, a band of eighty or ninety Americans under Col. David Williamson surrounded the unsuspecting corn-gatherers, captured them, voted to put them to death, and in cold blood massacred ninety-six young men, old men, women and children. In reporting the massacre of the Moravian Indians, De Peyster would not pretend to say how it would operate when the Indians had overcome the consternation this unparalleled cruelty had thrown them in; "they daily bring me provisions and beg of me to observe they give aid to their enemies, who acknowledge to have received kind treatment; and I am bold to say that, except in cases where prisoners have been too weak to march, few people have suf-

[26] Capt. Henry A. Ford, in "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. X, p. 107. Zeisberger died at Goshen, in the Tuscarawas Valley, in 1801, at the age of eighty-eight. Heckewelder died at Bethlehem, in 1823, at the age of eighty. Of all the colony at Gnadenhutten, Richard Connor remained behind. Born in Ireland, he came to Maryland, married a white girl who had been a Shawanese prisoner; in 1774 the two had gone to the Moravian towns in search of their captive son, and there they became attached to these peaceful people and went with them to the Clinton, or Huron, as the river was then called. The family has continued in Mt. Clemens and Detroit to this day.

[27] "Haldimand Papers," DePeyster to Haldimand, May 13, 1782.

fered, and we have had many instances of the Indians having carried the sick for several days." Next to the capture of Hamilton, the massacre of the Moravian Indians proved to be the most important event in the Northwest during the Revolution; for that slaughter found its consequences in the Crawford campaign.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Fort Pitt was occupied by John Neville, with a force of Virginia militia; in 1778 Neville was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. Edward Hand, and the post came into the possession of the United States. After Hand came McIntosh, who in turn was succeeded by Colonel Brodhead, under whom, in April, 1781, the Delaware villages on the Muskingum were laid waste. The old territorial quarrels over the site of Fort Pitt now broke out afresh, and a dispute between Colonel Brodhead and his successor, Colonel Gibson, added fuel to the flame; so that the post was in a state of anarchy when, in October, 1781, the Scotch-Irish general, William Irvine, of Carlisle, with the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania line, appeared. General Irvine built a substantial fort and provided for the small post at Wheeling. Pittsburgh in those days, was the center of turbulence and disorder; and the Scotch-Irish living thereabouts were much better at massacring Indians, than they were at regular warfare under proper officers. As a result, there were more Indian forays into the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, and more disastrous expeditions from that post, than happened on the Kentucky frontier. The Indians had respect for Clark, but they had no reason to fear the commandants at Fort Pitt, whose only successes had consisted in burning deserted Indian towns.

General Irvine having reached the conclusion that the best way to defend the frontier was an attack on Detroit, went to Philadelphia to lay the matter before Congress and Washington. He left in command that Col. John Gibson who put into English Logan's message to Lord Dunmore.[28]

On General Irvine's return in March, 1782, the Revolution was

[28] Butterfield's "Crawford's Campaign," p. 33. Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 23, 1740; he was an excellent classical scholar for his day; at eighteen he was in Forbes's expedition for the recovery of Fort Pitt; after the French and Indian war he was a trader at that post; he was captured by the Indians, was adopted by a squaw, and was made acquainted with Indian manners, customs and language; he escaped in time to enter the Dunmore expedition of 1774; he served in the New York and New Jersey campaigns as commander of a Virginia regiment; he was a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention in 1790; was secretary of Indiana from 1800 till that territory became a state; and on April 10, 1822, he died at his daughter's home, on Braddock Field.

at an end; but Indian raids continued unabated, and at Fort Pitt there was talk of an irruption into Ohio and the formation of an independent state. To put a stop to both of these disturbances an expedition against Sandusky [29] made rendezvous near the present site of Steubenville, in May, 1782, and on the 25th began its march of 150 miles, with a force of 480 men, organized into eighteen companies under officers selected by the men. For commander the soldiers elected William Crawford, by five majority over General Williamson, the leader of the ninety men who, during the previous March, had massacred the Moravian Indians. Crawford and Washington had been playmates; they fought together at Braddock's defeat, Crawford surveyed Washington's lands on the Ohio, and in 1770 acted as the latter's host and guide in the journey down to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. In the Revolution the two were together on Long Island, in crossing the Deleware, and at Trenton and Princeton.

No sooner had the Americans crossed the Ohio than the Indian scouts learned from a deserter that a force of 1,000 men was advancing on the Sandusky towns. Immediately the chiefs despatched a runner to demand both ammunition and a detachment of men from Detroit. DePeyster was not slow to comply. On May 15th, he called together the chiefs of the Wyandots, Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas, and, on presenting the warbelts from the Six Nations and the Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes, he urged them to join their brothers of the South in repelling the advance of the white men, "for it is your villages the Indians are coming against." DePeyster apologized for the fact that the strings were dry, explaining that such had been the desire of their brethren, who feared that if rum were given the savages they would "continue drunk in the streets," and not go to war. "Father!" reproachfully cried a Huron chief, "I arise to tell you that I want 'water' to sharpen your axe, and I shall sing the war song although one-half of my people are already killed by the enemy."

Haldimand was not alarmed for the safety of Detroit, and was opposed to yielding to the demands of the Six Nations and Delawares for an expedition to reduce Fort Pitt; but he gave cordial sanction to the Sandusky expedition. "I hope," he wrote to De Peyster, "that the melancholy event at Muskingum will rouse the Indians to

[29] Mr. Butterfield takes pains to prove that the Crawford expedition was against Sandusky, and not against the Moravian remnant, as Heckewelder, Hildreth, and others have asserted. See his "Crawford's Campaign," p. 78.

a firm and vigorous opposition and resentment at Sandusky, or wherever they shall meet the enemy * * * I depend upon your exerting your utmost efforts and abilities as well to convince the Indians of the indispensable necessity there is for their resisting this shock with unanimity and firmness (their future existence as a people depending on it) as in taking every possible precaution for the security of your post, in which I am persuaded I shall not be disappointed." [30] Mounting a body of Rangers under the command of Captain Caldwell, DePeyster sent them, together with McKee and a number of Canadians, to support the savages.

Crawford's force, on June 4th, proceeded to Upper Sandusky, where the leader called a council of war, at which it was decided to continue the advance during that afternoon. If the Indians were not encountered the army was to return. Meanwhile the scouts found an Indian trace, but did not discover the impassable swamp that flanked it. The scouts met the Indians running towards the advancing force, and immediately fell back slowly before the on-coming savages, sending a mounted messenger to warn the general. Highly elated at the prospect of battle, the men ran forward. From a grove in which the little band of Delawares endeavored to make a stand, Crawford dislodged them; and when they attempted to gain the right of the army, Major Leet gallantly prevented. At this juncture the Wyandots appeared, and the Delawares slipped around to attack the Americans in the rear. At nightfall Crawford saw the Indians withdraw; and all the night through the Americans and the savages lay on their arms behind great fires built to guard against a night attack. At daylight the battle was renewed. The Indians were concealed in the tall prairie grass, the Delawares on the south and the Wyandots on the north. Although many of his men were overcome by heat, Crawford was preparing for an attack in force, when suddenly the squadron of Rangers from Detroit appeared on the field. Attack now was changed to defence; and while the officers were deliberating a band of 200 Shawanese swept up from the south. Retreat became imperative. The dead were buried and fires built over their graves; the wounded were placed on horses, and at dark the force moved. The savages, uncertain whether the movement was an advance or retreat, did not attack promptly; and although in the confusion some of the Americans rode into the swamp, yet at daybreak the little army, now 300 in number, had regained Upper San-

[30] "Haldimand Papers." DePeyster's letter of May 14, 1782, and correspondence following.

dusky. Colonel Crawford was missing. The command devolved on Williamson and that officer organized the retreat. On the 6th a stand was made in the present Crawford County, and in the midst of a rain-storm an attack of the savages was repelled; and on the site of the present town of Crestline the Indians ceased the pursuit. On June 17 the force reached the Ohio, whence they had set out with high hopes twenty-three days before.

At the beginning of the retreat, Colonel Crawford having missed his son John, his son-in-law Major Harrison, and his nephews Major Rose and William Crawford, halted to wait until they should come up. The army having passed without them, his wearied horse was unequal to the task of overtaking the fugitives, and in company with Doctor Knight and others he pushed on. The next day they met Capt. Josh Biggs and Lieutenant Ashley, with whom they made camp; but on the 11th of June Crawford and Knight were captured by a band of Delawares, Biggs and Ashley making their escape only to be killed the next day. Taken to the nearby camp of the savages, they found there nine prisoners. The two officers were handed over to the Delaware chiefs, Captain Pipe and Wingennud. Knight was reserved for the torture-fire of a neighboring town, but made his escape. For Crawford a stake fifteen feet high was driven into the ground, and about it a fire of hickory wood was laid in a circle some six yards from the post. By way of preparation the remaining prisoners were sent off to be tomahawked by squaws and boys. Colonel Crawford was stripped naked, and the savages beat him with sticks. Next his tormentors fastened him to the stake by a short rope, and began to fire powder into his bruised body. From the cordon of flames squaws snatched coals and hot ashes to throw at him, until, in his agony, he walked round and round the stake on a pathway of fire.

Among the spectators stood Simon Girty, who had often been a guest at Crawford's on the Ohio. Crawford begged him to shoot and end the terrible agony; but the renegade made taunting answer, "I have no gun." For three hours the torture continued. Then the friend and companion of the commander-in-chief of the American armies, fell on his face; an Indian quickly rushed in and scalped him, and a squaw threw burning coals on his mutilated head. Stung into life again, he once more arose and started around the deadly post. But his end was at hand. The exhausted body dropped into the flames.

DePeyster looked upon the torture of Crawford and the massacre of prisoners as retaliation on nearly the same body of troops that

perpetuated the slaughter of the Christian Indians, and that had similar intentions upon Sandusky.[31] Haldimand, deeply shocked by the report DePeyster sent of the torture of Crawford, had "not a doubt that every possible argument was used to prevent that unhappy event, and that it alone proceeded from the massacre of the Moravian Indians, a circumstance that will not extenuate the guilt in the eyes of Congress. When you see a fit occasion, express in the proper terms the concern I feel at having followed so base an example, and the abhorrence I have had throughout the war at acts of cruelty, which, until this instance, they have so humanely avoided." The correspondence between Haldimand and DePeyster shows that these officers of the King were sincerely impressed by the twin horrors that marked the last year of the Revolution in the Northwest; and they put their ideas into orders directed to the Indians.

In June news came to Detroit that peace was likely to follow the cessation of arms which had taken place. On August 15th DePeyster despatched an express to Captain Caldwell and to Brant and McKee, operating on the Ohio, ordering them to cease from offensive work, although news had come that another expedition was fitting out at Fort McIntosh and at Wheeling, "under the command of the blood-thirsty Colonel Williamson, who so much distinguished himself in the massacre of the Christian Indians." The messenger, however, was too late to reach Captain Caldwell. On August 15th that officer, with thirty picked Rangers and about two hundred Lake Indians, besides some Delawares and Shawanese, made an unsuccessful attack on Bryan's Station, in Kentucky, ending in the battle of Blue Licks, at which ill-advised encounter Clark's county lieutenant of the Illinois, Col. John Todd, and seventy of his command were killed, with a loss to their enemy of a single Ranger and six Indians!

The terrible slaughter of Blue Licks (occasioned by Maj. Hugh McCarry usurping leadership in spite of Boone's advice to await reinforcements), brought Clark once more to the command; and on November 10th his mounted riflemen, 1,050 strong, struck the Miami towns, burning crops, capturing prisoners, recapturing whites, and destroying the establishments of the British traders. With this attack the War of the Revolution ended in the Northwest.[32]

[31] "Haldimand Papers." DePeyster to Haldimand, June 23 and August 18, 1782.

[32] "Haldimand Papers." DePeyster to McKee, August 6, 1782. DePeyster to Brigadier-General Powell, August 27th.

For an account of the battle of Blue Licks, see Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," Vol. II, p. 207.

In a paper prepared for the Wisconsin Historical Society, and printed in

The war between England and America was indeed ended; but for the Northwest the peace that had come to the Atlantic coast was long years in the future. DePeyster, looking the situation squarely in the face, wrote to Haldimand: "I have a very difficult card to play at this post and its dependencies, which differs widely from the situation of affairs at Michilimackinac, Niagara, and others in the upper district of Canada. It is evident that the back settlers will continue to make war upon the Shawanese, Delawares, and Wyandots, even after a truce shall be agreed to betwixt Great Britain and her revolted colonies. In which case, while we continue to support the Indians with troops (which they are calling loud for), or only with arms, ammunition, and necessaries, we shall incur the odium of encouraging incursions into the back settlements—for it is evident that when the Indians are on foot, occasioned by the constant alarms they receive from the enemies entering their country, they will occasionally enter the settlements, and bring off prisoners and scalps—so that while in alliance with a people we are bound to support, a defensive war will, in spite of human prudence, almost always terminate in an offensive one."

The war was over. From Detroit DePeyster sent to the lower country such of the captives as wished to leave; but there were Germans who had settled with their families near Detroit or on the present Belle Isle; there were also women whose children were with

the "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Reports," Vol. III, the late Judge Charles I. Walker, of Detroit, was the first one to call the attention of historians to the valuable documents at Quebec, as sources of Northwestern history during the Revolutionary period; he made as careful study of these documents as circumstances would permit, and this led to the publication of considerable portions of the "Bouquet and Haldimand Papers" by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Judge Walker made a valuable collection of publications relating to the Northwest, and when failing eyesight forced him to give up his own studies, he generously placed his collection in the Detroit Public Library. Dr. W. J. Poole's chapter on "The West" from 1763 to 1783, in volume VI of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," and Andrew McFarland Davis's chapter on "The Indians and the Border Warfare of the Revolution" in the same volume, are valuable not alone in themselves, but also for their references to other writings. Of all writers on Western history, the most untiring searcher for truth amid the multitude of legends and traditions was Mr. Consul Willshire Butterfield, who was born in Oswego County, New York in 1824, and who for fifty years pursued his inquiries into the history of the Ohio Valley. He died in South Omaha, Nebraska, in October, 1899. His biography of George Rogers Clark appeared after his death.

the Indians. The women and children DePeyster "fixed in decent houses, where they will be taken care of without being of the least expense to government," [33] and he did all he could do to bring peace to the distracted country.

[33] "Haldimand Papers." DePeyster to Powell, August 27, 1782.

CHAPTER XII

MARKING NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

The end of the Revolution found Kentucky firmly occupied by a considerable body of settlers. Pittsburgh was held by the Americans; the eastern bank of the Mississippi was in possession of the Virginians, but the inhabitants were French, and the Spanish held the growing town of St. Louis. Thanks to Clark's intrepidity the Virginians still occupied Vincennes; but no attempt was made to reach Detroit, the real capital of the Northwest. The Indians hunted between the Great Lakes and the Ohio; and they were dependent on the British for supplies of ammunition and rum; for the Americans were settlers rather than traders, and there was small market for furs among them, whereas the British were supplying the European markets with that commodity.

During the Revolution France, smarting under the conquest of Canada, had aided the Americans, in the hope, perhaps, that in the final adjustments she might recover some of her lost territory. Spain also was opposed to England and she hoped to gain something she could trade for Gibraltar. Moreover Spain had dreams of establishing along the Mississippi a great colonial possession. Her minister, Florida Blanca, sought to make the Gulf of Mexico a Spanish lake and to acquire the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River. These plans and purposes, which now seem so preposterous, were firmly held by the Spaniards for many years and often proved embarrassing to the new nation. It is to the credit of the French minister, Vergennes, that while he did not openly oppose the ambitions of Spain, he sought by every means in his power to further the plans of the United States to acquire a compact territory suited to defense against England and Spain. None of the three desired to see a strong nation grow up on the western continent. Such was the condition of affairs when Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and John Adams began the peace negotiations at Versailles.

During the war Franklin had successfully negotiated loans in France for the benefit of the Colonies, and had also brought about the French alliance which amounted to the recognition of the new nation.

John Jay was minister to Spain, where he had been treated with such scant courtesy as to send him away in an angry mood. John Adams had been sent abroad to treat for peace; and for sufficent reasons Congress had added Franklin and Jay to the mission.[1]

Besides the recognition of the independence of the United States, as a first consideration, Congress claimed a participation in the Newfoundland fisheries, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the boundaries of the Great Lakes on the north and the Mississippi on the west. These demands were afterwards modified. Vergennes was willing to give to the new nation room and the opportunity to grow; but he was not in favor of the American idea of making a conquest of Canada, much as he desired to humiliate his rival. He strongly favored the project to confine the boundaries to the Ohio, leaving to England all of Canada as it existed under the Quebec Act of 1774. Vergennes had agreed, as the price of Spain's help against England, to make no peace that did not involve the surrender of Gibraltar; and to leave Spain free to exact from the United States a renunciation of the navigation of the Mississippi, and of the entire Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Alleghanies.

Spain, in order to protect her interests in the Philippines and in the hope of recovering Gibraltar, gave to France for the use of the United States a million francs, to encourage the colonies in their struggle against England; but when the Colonies became a nation, Spain immediately began to consider the danger to her own North American possessions that would result from building up a strong government east of the Mississippi. Frederick the Great of Prussia was willing to aid America up to the point of getting into a war with England; in Russia Catharine II, welcomed the war as an opportunity to build a neutral commerce, but she had no sympathy with the object of the Americans to form a new nation; and the same state of affairs prevailed also in the Netherlands.

After the surrender at Yorktown, the House of Commons on March 4, 1782, voted to consider as enemies to the king and coun-

[1] See the introduction of Wharton's "Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States" and John Jay's chapter on the peace negotiations in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. VII. Since this chapter was in type, an admirable pamphlet on "The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution," by P. C. Phillips, has appeared. Mr. Phillips' researches among the French archives have established the fact of the friendliness of Vergennes and the grasping ambitions of Spain, combined with a lack of decision which always made her efforts ineffectual.

try those who should attempt the further prosecution of the war with America; and Lord North gave way to Rockingham, whose cabinet was made up largely of the friends of this country, including Fox and Burke. The peace negotiations were conducted mainly by Lord Shelburne, first as the colonial secretary and afterwards as the leader of the ministry. Shelburne finally became persuaded that it was for the best interests of England herself to give to the United States such rights and boundaries as would insure the development of a prosperous nation with which Great Britain might trade on fair terms. He was led to these conclusions not only by Jay and Adams and Franklin, but also by the attitude of Vergennes.

Franklin's knowledge, his experience, and his adroit address, enabled him to perform services such as no other American could have rendered. He undertook to deal separately and secretly with Shelburne, proposing to give compensation to the tories in return for the cession of Canada; but as negotiations progressed he was inclined to lay much stress on the instruction to consult France, and it was with reluctance that he yielded to his colleagues when they concluded that the time had come to arrange matters first with England.

John Adams was so lacking in the spirit of accommodation that he never could have accomplished all that Franklin secured; and yet his persistency enabled him to obtain much. Adams' rough aggressiveness caused the French minister Luzerne to have Congress associate with him as peace commissioners Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson—a division of responsibility entirely agreeable to Adams. While Franklin and Jay were spending the better part of the year 1782 in negotiations with Oswald, the British representative, Adams successfully negotiated a treaty with Holland; and, fresh from this diplomatic triumph, in October he arrived in Paris to give to Jay full support. He had no particular liking for France hence it violated no feelings on his part to come to terms with England.

Franklin and Oswald, the British commissioner, tried to arrive at a basis for negotiations. John Jay was accomplishing nothing in Spain. Franklin called him to Paris. Jay was familiar with the usages of society and was a strenuous American. From his advent in Paris till the signing of the preliminary articles of peace, Jay worked incessantly for five long months, bearing the brunt of the negotiations. He dared to disregard the instruction of Congress to deal only with the consent of France, insisted on making the acknowledgement of independence a prerequisite to negotiations, stood out

for the widest possible boundaries, the most ample rights to the fisheries, and the navigation of the Mississippi. He persuaded Shelburne that it was for the interest of England to make a treaty that would be not only just but also conciliatory. He had concurrence of both Adams, who had but a month's part in the negotiations, and Franklin. "Our worthy friend, Mr. Jay" writes Adams, "returns to his country like a bee to his hive, with both legs loaded with merit and honor."

The European fear of wide American boundaries was natural. The loss of the fur trade, the diversion of the product of the mines of New Mexico, and the use of the fisheries as a commercial and naval training school, impelled France and Spain to set the Alleghanies as the barrier which the Americans should not be allowed to cross. In order to accomplish their purpose, these two nations secretly sought the participation of England. Thereupon, Jay sent Vaughan, an intimate friend of Shelburne, to London with the draft of a treaty comprising boundaries, the navigation of the Mississippi and the fisheries. England was anxious to keep the Ohio country as a place of settling the loyalists, or of compensating them for their losses by the sale of the lands. On this point Shelburne was not strenuous. He was decided on the payment of debts owed to British merchants by Americans, and the reestablishment of the tories in their privileges and properties. On the first point there was no dispute; on the second, the commissioners were powerless to do more than to agree that Congress would recommend such action to the several states, which alone had the jurisdiction over matters of internal policy.

Oswald found that Jay's clear-cut [2] and definite demands must be met, because Franklin was determined to support his colleagues at every point. Jay's experience in Spain had aroused in him a resentment towards that nation; and he had no particularly friendly feeling for France. Jay was in sympathy with the best political thought of England, but was not in sympathy with the government. Oswald found him polite, easy, well informed, but decidedly independent; and was disappointed in meeting such decided ideas so firmly held. In the end, however, the British negotiator came under Jay's influence, and became an earnest advocate with Shelburne and Townshend of Jay's views.

[2] Adams to Barclay, quoted in George Pellew's "John Jay, American Statesmen Series," p. 228.

In the correspondence[3] that passed between Oswald and his principals it appears that when the treaty of 1763 was proposed as a basis of negotiation, Jay maintained that Great Britain had then treated France with too little consideration. Oswald replied that it ill became an American to object to the enforced surrender of Canada, by means of which cession the American frontiers were protected from incursions of savages instigated by France. Jay retorted that the colonies were then a part of the British domain, and were therefore to be protected in common with other portions of the realm. Jay now proposed the cession of all that portion of Canada newly included in the Quebec Act of 1774—that is, all the territory west of the Ottawa River and south of the lands of the Hudson Bay Company. The back lands, he said, were already occupied in part by the Americans, who were pushing over the mountains into that fertile territory. For England to retain the Ohio country would simply be to invite trouble. Oswald, Jay argued, was anxious over the honorable withdrawal of the British garrisons at New York and Charleston; let England use these troops to conquer New Orleans, the Spanish post at the mouth of the Mississippi; the United States would prefer England to Spain as a neighbor; then with the free navigation of the great river, Great Britain would be able to control the two outlets of the back lands—New Orleans and Quebec. This reasoning seemed good to Oswald, and he urged Jay's suggestions on his government. Authentic maps and information in regard to the Ohio[4] were not available in Paris, and so the line of the Great Lakes was agreed to.

The American commissioners offered a choice between the line passing through the middle of the Great Lakes, or the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which latter line would have left in Canada Lake Superior, Minnesota, and the northern half of Michigan, while it would have given to the United States the province of Ontario and all of Lakes Erie and Ontario. The more rational line was chosen and marked on Mitchell's map. The two nations divided the naviga-

[3] Copies of this correspondence, known as the "Landsdowne Papers," are in the Library of Congress and also in the State Department.

[4] See Oswald's letters of August 8, September 2, and October 2, 1782. Also the letters in regard to Canada in Vol. VIII of Wharton's "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution," and "The International Boundary Line of Michigan," by Anna May Soule, in "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. XXVI.

Fifteen years ago I first consulted the "Landsdowne Papers," which had never before been used; nor, so far as I can learn, has any other writer given due consideration to this theory of Jay's.

tion privileges and parted their respective territories along the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to the sources of the Mississippi, then a main travelled road to the northern fur markets. Vergennes, apparently upheld the Spanish claims not alone at Paris, but also at London, and even at Philadelphia; and he argued that the country between the Alleghanies and the Ohio should be maintained as Indian territory, under the control of Spain, and that Canada should reach south to the Ohio. Possibly England preferred to give up to the United States territory which she might hope to regain, rather than to yield Spain what she would have to pay for by other and more important surrenders elsewhere. The treaty was agreed to on November 30, 1782, with the provision that the peace should become effectual when England had come to terms with France and Spain.

In the British Parliament, Fox and North combined to drive Shelburne out of power for making such a treaty, and the new ministry sent Hartley to Paris to "perfect and establish the peace, friendship and good understanding so happily commenced by the provisional articles;" and after intermittent negotiations these same provisional articles were adopted on September 3, 1783, as the definitive treaty between England and America. In Congress the negotiators were praised for their achievement, but were blamed for not consulting France.

In 1782 Haldimand, having received orders from Shelburne to discourage hostile measures by the Indians, and to draw them from the frontiers, instructed the commanders under him to carry out those orders; but to Townshend he wrote that the safety of the Province of Canada depended on the way in which the Indians should be managed. "Foreseeing the possibility of the Americans becoming an independent powerful people and retaliating severely upon them, they reproach us with their ruin." So long as the Six Nations remained faithful, Oswego, the key to Canada, was in security; but even the neutrality of those tribes would cause the gravest apprehension. On the friendship of the western Indians depended the safety of the trade and posts at Detroit and in the vicinity; so that the expense attending the Indian alliance, although enormous, must be borne. That was no time to retrench.[5] Two days later, Haldimand urged upon Townshend the absolute necessity that Niagara and Oswego be annexed to Canada. He had no thought of the surrender of Detroit and Mackinac.

Naturally Haldimand was anxious to preserve the fur trade for

[5] Haldimand to Townshend, October 23, 1782.

England. On the conclusion of the peace of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, the fur traders of the Northwest feared that the Americans would gain possession of the extensive and lucrative business which had fallen into British hands when the French surrendered Canada. For five years after the English took possession of Montreal the traders of the Northwest were mostly Frenchmen, without concert of action, and therefore with precarious profits. In 1765 the first English trader made his slow way along the shores of Lake Superior to the Grand Portage, on the northwestern shore of that lake, and thence westward to Lake La Pluye. There the Indians, incensed at being kept so long waiting for supplies of ammunition, rum and trinkets, appropriated the trader's supplies without giving him the customary return of peltries. A year later the same trader met the same fate at the same hands; but the third year perseverance met its proverbial success, and the Indians, contenting themselves with a heavy toll, allowed the trader to proceed to Lake Winnipeg.

In 1769 Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, whose base of supplies was the Montreal firm of Todd & McGill, also suffered disaster among the rapacious Indians about Rainy Lake. However, they had gone into the trading business too deeply to get out. In order to protect their venture they made a strong combination with the other traders who had gone into the northwest country and by 1774 supplies were received by the Indians so regularly that not only were the old stations occupied, but also a number of new posts unknown to the French were established. The success of the Frobishers drew many adventurers into the field, who so demoralized business that the cautious Montreal firms no longer were willing to supply outfits; and by the end of the year 1782 only twelve traders were left in the field.

When the Frobishers learned the terms of the definitive treaty they set about combining all the British interests, with the view of crushing out competition on the part of English adventurers and also of protecting British trade from threatened encroachments on the part of Americans. This step was dictated by ordinary prudence, because the new boundary line was believed to give the Americans the whole route from the Grand Portage to the Lake of the Woods; and, as well, the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac, on which the traders were dependent for provisions. The old connection among the traders was made stronger, and from this time on the North-West Company became the controlling influence in the country bordering upon the Great Lakes.

The first efforts of the company were directed to the discovery of a new route to Lake Winnipeg, so that a line of communication wholly in Canadian territory might be maintained. In June, 1783, Edward Umfreville and Venance St. Germain, both of whom were able to speak the language of the Indians, set out with an exploring party of six Canadians to find such a passage. In return for this discovery, if it should be made, the company asked for a monopoly of the Indian trade for ten years; but this request Governor-General Haldimand did not feel at liberty to grant. He had other plans which would delay at least for a time the necessity of finding a substitute for the Grand Portage.

The trade carried on by the North-West Company was well worthy of high consideration on the part of the government. In 1780 it was worth to England £200,000 [6] in the value of furs brought to her markets, without counting the profits on the manufactures sent into the wilderness. A canoe-load was made up of drygoods to the amount of £300 first sterling cost in England, and 200 gallons of rum and wine, worth £50, to which charges a profit of 50 per cent were added at Montreal. The cost of transportation to Michilimackinac was £160, and to the Grand Portage £90 more. Between Montreal and the Grand Portage a canoe carried four tons of freight; but beyond the latter place a ton and a half was allotted to a canoe manned by five Canadians. No fewer than five hundred men were employed in this trade, one-half of the number covering the country from the mouth of the Ohio northward and westward around Lakes Superior and Huron. Supplies of provisions were taken at Michilimackinac; but in part the traders were expected to live off the country, and many and severe were the hardships endured before winter quarters were reached and all the bitterness forgotten in the long nights of feasting which Washington Irving has so graphically described in the early chapters of "Astoria."

Such was the condition of affairs when, in July, 1783, General Washington wrote to General Haldimand asking him to receive the Baron de Steuben to make provision for the surrender of the eight posts within the newly-acquired territory of the United States. The interview was conducted with all the politeness consistent with a flat refusal on the part of Haldimand either to give up the posts or even to allow Steuben to visit them without explicit orders from his majesty. This policy he maintained throughout his term, and when he left office he wrote to his successor, Brigadier-General St.

[6] Report of Charles Grant. "Canadian Archives," 1888.

Leger: "Different attempts having been made by the American states to get possession of the posts of the upper country, in consequence of the treaty of peace, I have thought it my duty uniformly to oppose the same, until his majesty's orders for that purpose shall be received, and my conduct upon that occasion having been approved, I have only to recommend to you a strict attention to the same." [7]

In refusing to surrender the northwestern posts without explicit orders, Haldimand undoubtedly acted the part of a prudent official; and his action saved the North-West Company from the interruption of their lucrative traffic. There was another action of Haldimand's, undertaken for the very laudable purpose of shutting the Americans out of the fur trade, which worked great hardship to the traders without any apparent advantage.

In a memorandum submitted to the Right Honorable Lord Sidney by General Haldimand in 1785, the latter says: "The navigation of these lakes by the king's vessels only is an object so nearly connected with the entire preservation of the fur trade, that I have withstood various applications for building and navigating private vessels and boats upon the lakes. The rivers and outlets from them to the American states are so numerous that no precautions which could be taken, in that case, would be effectual in preventing a great part of the furs from going directly into the American states, and there is but little doubt that traders will carry their commodities to the best market, whatever may be the consequences; indeed, several instances have already occurred since the peace of their smuggling even from Montreal over Lake Champlain into the states, notwithstanding the vigilance of the civil and military officers. What then would be the case upon the remote lakes may easily be conceived. I would, therefore, recommend by all means that a sufficient number of the king's vessels be kept upon the lakes, and all other craft whatever prohibited, not only from the foregoing reasons, but in all events to preserve a superiority upon the waters of that country.

"Having from motives of economy reduced the Marine Department perhaps in some degree below the establishment that may be found necessary for purposes of transport, such arrangements

[7] "Canadian Archives," 1890, XXXII. The posts were Detroit, Michilimackinac, Erie, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie, Point Au Fer and Dutchman's Point. Governor Clinton of New York requested the surrender of Niagara, and Haldimand declined on May 10, 1784; and Secretary Knox sent Lieut.-Col. William Hull to Haldimand in July, 1784, and was again refused.

should be made as will leave the merchants no room to complain, which I find they are inclined to do as a pretext for their application to navigate in their own vessels, for though some trivial neglects might have happened in the course of the war, they cannot occur in times of peace." [8]

In 1784 Haldimand gave the North-West Company permission to build at Detroit a small vessel for use on Lake Superior. This vessel, measuring thirty-four feet keel, thirteen feet beam, and four feet depth of hold, was built at an expense of £1,843, 13s and 2d, York currency, and was christened the Beaver. When, in the spring of 1785, an attempt was made to get her up the rapids of the St. Mary's River the project proved a failure, and this under the regulations prohibiting private vessels on the lakes. Haldimand returned to London to enjoy a long round of pleasure at balls and the card-table, and also to feel keenly that monarchies as well as republics have a way of forgetting the services of their servants who have ceased to be useful.[9] But he left in command in Canada Barry St. Leger, who was only too ready to accept the situation established by his more brilliant predecessor.

Against the prohibition of private vessels trading on the lakes the North-West Company and the merchants of Detroit made vigorous protest. James McGill, who was one of the owners of the sixteen shares of the company, addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton a letter which throws a great deal of light on the fur trade. He estimates the value of this trade in 1785 at £180,000, of which amount £100,000 value is within the boundaries of the United States as defined by the treaty. The object of the government in attempting to keep the Americans from this trade is, the company admits, a most laudable one; but this object would best be subserved by allowing the merchants to have small decked vessels in which to transport supplies and furs. There was no danger, Mr. McGill argued, that the Americans would invade Canadian territory, for they were not used to navigating small streams in birch-bark canoes, and spending severe Canadian winters among the Indians.

As for the fur trade lying within the American lines, that too must continue to be controlled largely by the British, because the people of the United States consume only deerskins, with some beaver and raccoons, every other article being sent to the London

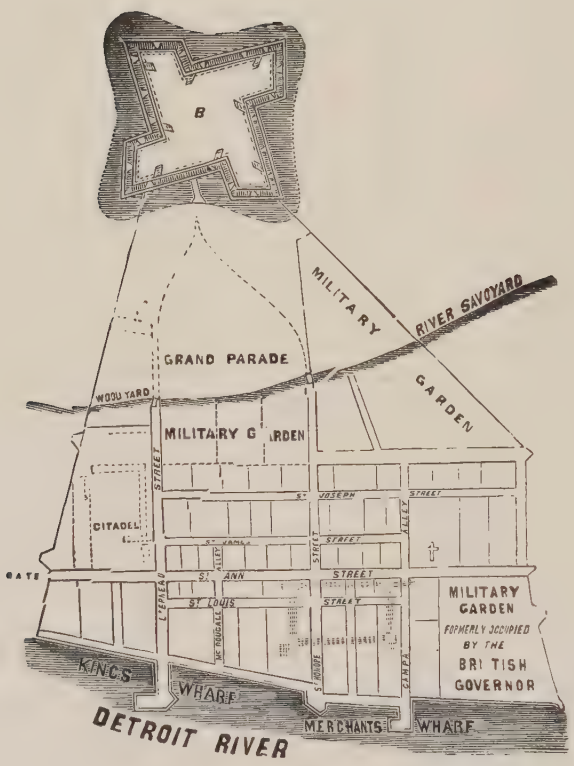
[8] "Canadian Archives," 1890, p. 65.

[9] Haldimand's Diary, "Canadian Archives," 1889. Vol. XXVIII.—No. 3—13.

market, whence also must come the manufactures exchanged for furs. The cost of carriage both ways through Albany being greater than through Montreal, the English would continue to hold the trade by underselling their American competitors. Even should the United States prohibit, under pain of confiscation, British subjects trading in the Indian country, Mr. McGill professed not the least doubt that the English merchants at Detroit would all turn Americans and carry on an illicit business across the border. A newly acquired patriotism would never be allowed to stand in the way of financial gain. Events proved that he was substantially correct in his prophecies.

On the other hand, with a few vessels at their command, the company could be morally certain of having goods in the market by June and July, and their importations from England could be imported the same year, which would "save leakage, embezzlement and waste of property, besides interest of money, which you know is a dreadful moth if once allowed to get to any head." At the time of Mr. McGill's writing the company had 130 bateau-loads of goods on Lake Erie awaiting shipment; and he urged that the four king's ships be commanded to make two trips each to Detroit with merchants' goods, and that the three or four small private vessels also on Lake Erie be permitted to take cargoes for the benefit of their owners and under the command or inspection of a king's officer. Unless such permission be granted, Mr. McGill expressed a fear that the traders would get dispirited and careless, and might even go to the extent of wishing for a change of government in hopes of being bettered, although, he patriotically remarks, "they will certainly be much worse; but such were their sufferings last year, with the untoward prospects for the present one, that I fear few goods will be ordered for the ensuing, or houses of any reputation here found to execute them until this defect is remedied."

A week later than the date of Mr. McGill's letter, Benjamin Frobisher wrote an appealing letter to the Hon. Hugh Finlay for transmission to the lieutenant-governor. It appears that in order completely to clear the lakes of private vessels, Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair had ordered down all the craft on Lake Superior, so that the company was compelled to fall back on canoe service, at a great expense. Lieutenant-Governor Hay had allowed the Beaver to make one trip in order to fill up the absolutely empty granaries at St. Mary's, so that the canoes would have provisions for the return voyage, and Frobisher desired authority to use the Beaver



From the collection of Clarence M. Burton

DETROIT IN 1796

regularly to transport provisions for the company, instead of laying her up at Detroit.

The McGill and Frobisher letters were transmitted by Hamilton to Brigadier-General St. Leger, with the indorsement: "I am sorry to give you repeated trouble on this occasion; but as it is not in my power to give any determinate answer to these demands, they must wait with patience the result of the minister's mandates, which may relieve them from their present state of uncertainty." Hamilton adds that he thinks the request as to the Beaver very reasonable, and that he hopes the ultimatum from England may arrive in time for the next year's business.

Hamilton's indorsement covered also a petition signed by twenty-one firms of Detroit traders, Alex. De Win, Macomb, Meldrum & Park and James Abbott among the number. The Detroit men were so frank in their expressions as to leave no doubt about their meaning. They declared that because private vessels had been prohibited from navigating the lakes, and because the service of transporting merchandise must be performed in the king's vessels, when not wanted for transporting troops, provisions, and stores (which vessels were not adequate to the needs of the merchants, even if no government service were required of them), the merchants of Detroit had year after year suffered unheard-of losses, and now had but too much reason to apprehend the total ruin of their affairs, an event that would cause disaster as well in England as throughout Canada. The interest charges on property detained at the eastern end of Lake Erie for the want of a sufficient number of the king's vessels to transport it had for several years amounted annually to upwards of £3,700; and, although the king's vessels had made several trips up to July 10, not a pound of the merchandise stored during the previous autumn had arrived at Detroit. Again, over one thousand packs of furs and peltries that otherwise would have come to Detroit had been diverted to New Orleans and the French market; also fifty of the bateaux which were too long detained at Detroit during the previous autumn had been frozen up before reaching their destination, and the traders had returned empty-handed.

To these appeals Brigadier-General St. Leger turned a deaf ear, in so far as recommending any increase in the merchant marine or any relaxation of the rules requiring peltries to be transported in the king's ships. He did promise to do what he could to hasten the shipment of goods; but to Lord Sidney in England and to the merchants trading to the upper country he professed himself fully satisfied with the rules made by General Haldimand. For ten years

more the English held the posts, and when Detroit and Michilimackinac were surrendered in 1796, the North-West Company transferred their headquarters to Drummond's Island in the St. Mary's River, where the ruins of their roads and buildings remain to this day.

That the British were able to control the fur trade even after the advent of the Americans is made evident by a letter addressed to Secretary Madison by Chief Justice Woodward of Michigan Territory, and dated in 1807. "From the ocean all the way to these settlements," writes the judge, "there is a continued line of improvements following without deviation the line of navigation. It is seldom more than forty miles in breadth, but its length is at least fifteen hundred miles. These settlements are pleasant, fertile, and even opulent. They present along the whole line an activity little realized in the United States. The commerce in furs, which has been carried on in one channel for two centuries, is the cause of this phenomenon. * * * This commerce belongs to another nation. The Americans have never been able to succeed in it, though the most desirable part of it belongs to their own territory and the whole of it passes along their line."

On the arrival of George Hammond, the first minister of Great Britain to the United States, Secretary Jefferson called his attention to the seventh article of the definitive treaty of peace, wherein it was stipulated that "his Britannic Majesty should, with all convenient speed, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same." Hammond rejoined that the posts were held because of the failure of the United States to secure the restitution of all confiscated estates, rights and properties belonging to British subjects. Mr. Jefferson replied that the states had acted in a spirit of conciliation towards British subjects, and that the treaty simply bound Congress to recommend such a course, that body having no authority to compel the states so to act. In any event, Jefferson argued, Great Britain was not justified in exercising jurisdiction over the country and inhabitants in the vicinity of the posts, and in excluding citizens of the United States from navigation "even on our side of the middle line of the rivers and lakes established as a boundary between the two nations," and thus "intercepting us entirely from the commerce of furs with Indian nations to the northward, a commerce which has ever been of great importance to the United States, not only for its intrinsic value, but as it was a means of cherishing peace with those Indians and of superseding the necessity of that expensive warfare

we have been obliged to carry on with them during the time those posts have been in other hands." [10]

Haldimand's apprehensions as to the results that must follow from the transfer of the sovereignty of the Indian country from England to the United States were justified. England had neglected to provide for her Indian allies. Haldimand undertook to repair this neglect by seating the Mohawks on the Grand River, that flows into Lake Erie some forty miles above the Falls of Niagara; but such a solution was partial and unsatisfactory. On October 22, 1784, the treaty of Fort Stanwix was negotiated with the Six Nations; and although young Red Jacket was opposed to the surrender of lands, Corn-planter threw the weight of age and experience in favor of the Americans. While this treaty was being negotiated, Brant, the great chief of the Six Nations, was in Quebec to secure title to the British grant of 1,200 square miles on the Grand River; and when he learned of the negotiations he visited the western and Lake Indians to form a confederacy for the protection of the Indian lands as far south as the Ohio. The inception of this plan seems to have been entirely with Brant; its support came from England, not quickly, or as a matter of high official policy, but slowly, increasingly, and by the action of subordinates on the ground.[11] Brant went to England to obtain compensation for losses incurred by the Mohawks in their support of the British during the Revolution. Arriving in England in December, 1785, Brant received a flattering welcome. With many of the officers he was already acquainted; and king, queen, and prince, statesman and wit, men of fashion and ladies of quality, all feted him. Declining to kiss the hand of George III, he professed willingness to perform such homage to the queen. When at a masked ball a Turkish diplomat attempted to feel of the texture of his painted nose, supposed to be false, Brant indulged his native Indian humor by giving vent to a war-whoop that curdled the blood in the dancers and sent them fleeing before his tomahawk. He was met by De Peyster; he was dined by Burke, Fox and Sheridan; the Prince of Wales showed him the sights; Haldimand did him honor in army circles; and Sir Guy Carleton, then on the point of returning to America, did not fail to cultivate the lion of the town, whose roar he was afterwards to invoke for

[10] "American State Papers," Foreign Relations, Vol. I, p. 181. Jefferson to Hammond, November 29, 1791.

[11] Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant" gives the best connected account of the intrigues and negotiations from the treaty of 1783 to 1790. It is to be read in connection with the correspondence in the "Haldimand Papers."

purposes of state. Returning to this country in December, 1786, Brant called the chiefs of the Six Nations and of the western and Lake Indians to council.[12]

In November of 1786, the United Indian Nations gathered for their first confederated council in the Huron village near the head of Lake Erie. The purpose was to prepare an address to their "brethren of the thirteen United States of America." This address declares the disappointment of the Indians; they had hoped for a lasting friendship between themselves and their "oldest brethren"; they now gave notice that in future no council would be held legal unless the entire confederacy gave its assent; and that they were ready to make a lasting treaty of peace, and for that purpose would meet the American commissioners in the spring, "to bury in oblivion the mischief that had happened, and speak to each other in the style of friendship." There was but one condition. "Brothers," says the message, "we again request of you, in the most earnest manner, that you will order your surveyor and others that march on lands, to cease from crossing the Ohio until we shall have spoken to you; because the mischief that has recently happened has always originated in that quarter. We shall likewise preserve our people from going over until that time."

Such was the ultimatum. Then came this warning: "Brothers, it will be owing to your arrogance if this laudable plan which we so earnestly wish for is not carried into execution. In that case the result will be very precarious, and if fresh ruptures ensue, we are sure we will be able to exculpate ourselves, and most assuredly, with our united force, be obliged to defend those immunities which the Great Spirit has been pleased to give us; and if we should then be reduced to misfortune, the world will pity us, when they think of the amicable proposals we made to prevent the effusion of unnecessary blood." [13]

That speech was the work of Captain Brant. With the same plain speaking he used towards the Americans, Brant told the king's representative that it was the devotion of the Indians to the cause of the British that had made the Americans their enemies; and that while the British were enjoying the blessings of peace the Indians were still involved in hostilities. Therefore, Brant on behalf

[12] Moore's "Northwest Under Three Flags," p. 300.

[13] Indian Speech to the Congress of the United States, "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. XI, p. 467. The tribes represented were the Six Nations, Hurons, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Cherokees, Wabash Confederates, and Miamis.

of the confederacy, demanded from "the great representative of the king, now arrived on this continent," an answer to the question whether the English would support them in their demand for the Ohio as a boundary. The vital question was referred to Lord Dorchester.[14]

While he was in England, Brant had attempted to learn from the colonial secretary, Lord Sidney, whether Great Britain would support the Indians in making war on the Americans. Lord Sidney evaded the question; and his example was followed by Sir Guy Carleton (now Lord Dorchester), who had arrived at Quebec on November 23, 1786, to resume the office of governor of Canada. Major Matthews, on his way to take command at Detroit, wrote to Brant from Niagara that the British, so far from intending to surrender the posts, were, on the contrary, strengthening them, and would hold them so long as the Indians were ready to prevent the Americans from coming against them. Lord Dorchester, wrote the major, was sorry that the Six Nations had promised to aid the Americans because some of their people encroach and make depredations upon parts of the Indian country; but they must see it is his lordship's intention to defend the posts; and while these are preserved, the Indians must find great security therefrom." [15]

Entirely satisfactory to the English commanders was the result of Brant's efforts to unite the Indians in a demand for the Ohio boundary. Sir John Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian affairs, expressed this satisfaction in a letter to Brant, in the course of which this significant passage occurrs: "Do not suffer an idea to hold a place in your mind that it will be for your interests to sit still and see the Americans attempt the posts. It is for your sakes chiefly, if not entirely, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them, they may perhaps be given up; what security would you then have? You would be left at the mercy of a people whose blood calls for revenge; whereas by supporting them you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements, already considerable, and every day increasing by numbers coming in, who find they can't live in the states. Many thousands are preparing to come in. This increase of his Majesty's subjects will serve as a protection for you, should the subjects of the states,

[14] McKee's Report, "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. XI, p. 471.

[15] Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant," Vol. II, p. 270. Matthews to Brant, May 29, 1787.

by endeavoring to make further encroachments on you, disturb your quiet." [16]

Had the British surrendered the northwestern posts, as provided in the treaty of 1783, the Indians would have been dependent on the Americans for those markets which were the surest means of obtaining and maintaining peace. By holding the posts in order to protect the fur trade and to secure the claims of the loyalists, England forced the United States into Indian wars that cost the lives of thousands of our people and long held back immigration and settlement.

Lord Dorchester found additional reason [17] for the retention of the posts in the fact that the United States as a nation was still an experiment; that there were many elements of disunion, and great differences of opinion as to whether the new Government should be a monarchy or a republic; and that France and Spain were watching every opportunity to strengthen and increase their influence and territory in North America.

Lord Dorchester's position was delicate. The English possessions in America were but isolated towns and posts loosely held together by the fur trade.[18] The great majority of the people were French, without ambition or initiative. Out of these unpromising elements Lord Dorchester succeeded in laying the foundations on which Canada is built. Champlain was the father of New France. Lord Dorchester became the father of Canada.[19] To the loyalists

[16] Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant," Vol. II, p. 268.

[17] Dorchester to Sydney, January 16, April 10, 1787; October 14, 1788; and April 11, 1789.—"Canadian Archives," 1890. Under the head of "Relations with the United States after the Peace of 1783," Mr. Brymner has grouped these letters.

[18] Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin's paper on "Western Posts and British Debts," in the American Historical Society Report for 1894.

[19] Lord Dorchester, the third son of Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, of Newry, County Down, Ireland, was born in 1724; he served in Flanders, and was wounded at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. He was quartermaster-general in Wolfe's expedition against Quebec, and was wounded twice in the operations about that city. A fourth wound was received at the capture of Havana. His success in driving the Americans from Canada should have been rewarded by the command of the expedition led by Burgoyne. As Governor of Canada he won the reputation of "having the cleanest hands of any person ever entrusted with public money." As commander of the British forces in New York, he managed the withdrawal of the English troops. He was one of Wolfe's executors and legatees. In 1786 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Dorchester. For a sketch of his life, see The English Political Magazine for 1782, page 351; and Kingsford's "History of Canada," Vol. V, p. 191.

driven from the United States he extended every opportunity to make settlements in Canada. While advocating the Quebec Act before the House of Commons, he stated that the Indians regarded the country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes as their own territory, within which no European monarch had rights. It is not strange, therefore, to find him supporting this position maintained in opposition to the United States by Brant. This theory of Indian monarchy had been asserted against the French and English at the outbreak of the French and Indian war, and against the English and Americans at the beginning of the Revolution; but it never was acquiesced in by the whites. Indeed, the Indians themselves had repudiated it repeatedly by placing themselves under the protection of France or of England. Moreover, the treaty of 1783 left Dorchester no right to interfere beyond the line of the British possessions; although as a practical ruler he doubtless felt himself bound to take advantage of any circumstances that would aid England to regain the western country, in case the settlers should incline to seek an alliance with Spain in order to gain an outlet for their products.

To aid Lord Dorchester, an emissary was sent from England to the northwestern country [20] as a spy. The observations of this "cool and temperate man" proved conclusively that England acted deliberately in supporting the Indians while they carried on the warfare against the armies of the United States. The Indians were but a part of the fur trade, which was to be maintained at every cost. Therefore, the savages should be protected in their hunting grounds. Dorchester apprehended that the United States meant to take the posts by force, and he was prepared to repel war by war.[21]

Making headquarters at Detroit, the British emissary made systematic reports to Dorchester. The emigration to Kentucky and the Ohio regions he declared to exceed the bounds of credibility. "The enterprising people of New England, checked in their commercial pursuits, turn with wonderful facility to this tempting though remote country, and without being deterred by the danger or prevented by the difficulty of finding means of subsistence for themselves and families until they can form an establishment in those distant settlements, they travel in hordes to the Southwest,

[20] Brymner identifies this agent as Maj. George Beckwith, but the facts concerning him are obscure.—See "Canadian Archives," 1890, p. XI, et seq.

[21] Dorchester to Sir John Johnson, December 11, 1786; Dorchester to Sidney, January 16, 1787.—See "Canadian Archives," 1890.

threatening the weak Spanish provinces with early hostilities." Colonel Sherman, of Connecticut, was preparing to cross the Mississippi and establish a post at the mouth of the Missouri. The Kentuckians were forcing the free navigation of the Mississippi, and plans were maturing to reach the Michilimackinac fur trade by way of Lake Michigan. All these schemes were being prosecuted without regard to Congress, a body as yet too feeble to exercise authority over any part of the western country.[22]

The situation in the western country had become critical. Separated from the Atlantic seaboard by a difficult range of mountains, the Northwest was still in possession of numerous bands of hostile Indians fed and clothed by Great Britain. On the north the outlet for the fur trade was by the St. Lawrence. On the west the Kentucky and Illinois countries must find an outlet for their trade by way of the Mississippi. The navigation of that stream was in control of the Spanish, who were using this advantage to alienate the western people. President Washington, himself a large owner of Ohio lands, more closely than any other man then living had been identified with the beginnings of western conquest. Five years before the outbreak of the Revolution, Washington had urged upon Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland the necessity of an enlarged plan for reaching the Ohio, "as a means of becoming the channel of conveyance of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire." [23] Before resigning his commission as commander-in-chief, Washington made a tour of Western New York, in company with Governor Clinton, and the two made a joint purchase of 6,000 acres; for he rightly apprehended that "the Yorkers will delay notime to remove every obstacle in the way of other communication, so soon as the posts of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered." [24] In 1784, Washington spent a month riding through the Ohio country to examine the routes for penetrating the mountains.[25] Returning from his horseback journey of nearly seven hundred

[22] In October, 1786, Clark led a feeble expedition against the Indians in the neighborhood of Vincennes, the people of which place had written to him that they considered themselves British subjects. Clark placed a garrison in fort; but his own habits had now become so bad that he had no control over his men, and both Virginia and Congress were compelled to repudiate his action in seizing property belonging to a Spanish trader.—See English's "Life of George Rogers Clark," Vol. II, p. 796.

[23] House of Representatives Report No. 228, Nineteenth Congress, first session.

[24] Washington's will.

[25] Henry Adams' "Life of Albert Gallatin," p. 57.

miles, Washington laid before Governor Harrison of Virginia a great scheme for bringing the trade from Detroit and the West to tidewater by way of Fort Pitt and the Potomac, a route more than a hundred miles shorter than that by way of Philadelphia, and 300 miles shorter than the Albany route.[26] Calling Harrison's attention to the fact that "the flanks and rear" of the United States were possessed by Spain and England, he argued that unless shorter and easier channels were made for the trade of the West, "the stream of commerce will glide gently down the Mississippi"; while by opening these new communications, all parts of the Union would be cemented together by common interests. Opening the eastern water communications to the Ohio, and the Ohio to Lake Erie, was Washington's method to "draw not only the produce of the western settlers, but also the peltry and fur trade of the lakes to our posts: thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding these people to us by a chain which can never be broken." [27]

In 1782 Henry Hamilton was appointed lieutenant-governor at Quebec and his fellow prisoner, Jehu Hay, was sent to Detroit. Hamilton's sufferings in his Virginia "dungeon" excited a great amount of sympathy for him, both in England and among the tories in America. The position in which he now found himself, however, exceeded his abilities and after a year at Quebec, the government notified him that there was no further need of his services. His friends succeeded, to use his phrase, "in forging for him on the public anvil" an appointment as governor of Bermuda, where his name is still perpetuated in the capital city of those islands. Tradition in Bermuda has it that he was a homely man, of quiet, unpretentious habits, not given to display or ostentation.[28] After four years of service there he was transferred to the governorship of Dominica, where in 1796 he died with public esteem and honors.[29]

[26] Pickell's "History of the Potomac Company," p. 174.

[27] Marshall's "Life of Washington," Vol. V, p. 14.

[28] For this bit of tradition, extant in the family of Chief-Justice Leonard, of Hamilton, Bermuda, as well as for copies of Hamilton's letters and the records of his governorship, I am under obligations to Mrs. Mary K. Bosworth Smith. In a letter to Lieutenant Jacob Schieffelin of New York (the original of which was presented to the Hamilton Library in 1897 by a son of Henry Hamilton Schieffelin), the governor says: "Everything at this place goes on very harmoniously; and tho' I had a strong desire to have remained in Canada, and had many valuable acquaintances there whom I highly esteem, yet I think my lot is cast in a fair ground, and am satisfied." Hamilton was the fourth son of Gustavus Frederick, seventh Viscount Boyne.

[29] There is a short obituary notice in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1796.

Haldimand was not willing to see so faithful and efficient an officer as De Peyster placed under a half-pay lieutenant like Hay. Accordingly the commander-in-chief detained Detroit's new lieutenant-governor until he secured DePeyster's promotion and transfer to Niagara. Hay reached his new station in the July of 1784, much broken in health and spirits; and after a year of peaceful occupation of the governor's palace, on August 2, 1785, he was carried thence to his grave.[30] In September, 1785, DePeyster returned to England with his regiment, and eventually settled in Scotland, in the town of Dumfries. When the Napoleonic wars made it necessary to embody the militia to defend Great Britain's coasts, Colonel DePeyster became commander of the Dumfries Gentlemen Volunteers. In the columns of the local paper he essayed a combat in verse, only to be badly worsted by one of his own soldiers—Robert Burns.[31] In November, 1822, an accident brought him to his death, at the ripe age of eighty-six years.[32] In November, 1784, Haldimand sailed for London, where he was well received by Lord Sidney, and was presented to the king and queen; he was made a Knight of the Bath;[33] and as Sir Frederick Haldimand he died in May, 1791, at his birthplace, Yverdon, Switzerland, leaving an ample fortune to his nephew and his nieces.[34] On March 17, 1785, Patrick Sinclair was released from Newgate Prison, in London, on payment of the Mackinac bills protested by Haldimand.[35]

[30] Ford's "Moravian Settlements at Mt. Clemens," "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. X, p. 107.

[31] See "Burns's Poem on Life," addressed to Colonel DePeyster.

[32] DePeyster's "Miscellanies," p. CLXXI.

[33] Haldimand's Diary, "Canadian Archives," 1889, p. 145.

[34] "Canadian Archives," 1889, p. 25.

[35] Haldimand's Diary, "Canadian Archives," 1889, p. 147; Sinclair to Haldimand, "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. XI, p. 456.

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTHWEST

While George Rogers Clark was engaged in capturing the English posts along the east bank of the Mississippi and on the Wabash and while the British were leading scalping parties of Indians from Detroit and Michilimackinac on raids against the Virginians who had settled in the Kentucky region, the Congress of the Confederation was discussing the ownership of the Western lands. Virginia claimed them by virtue of Clark's conquest; New York claimed them by reason of the treaties with the Iroquois, or Six Nations, by whom the other tribes had been conquered; Connecticut and Massachusetts had claims based on their original charters, which granted indefinite western boundaries. Massachusetts claimed the lower portion of Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota; while portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois would fall to the lot of Connecticut.

Maryland maintained that the western lands belonged not to any individual colony,[1] but were the common possession of the new nation; and she refused to come into the Confederation until the new states made cession of the lands they claimed. As a result the Old Northwest, or the territory northwest of the Ohio, came to be recognized as a national heritage, subject only to certain reservations of lands in Eastern Ohio, which went to Connecticut; and certain others along the Ohio River, which were the compensation Virginia granted to Clark and his soldiers.

Much discussion has arisen over the credit due to particular individuals for the ideas embodied in the justly famous Ordinance

[1] Maryland fought through nearly the whole of the Revolution not only as a sovereign, but as an unconfederated state. She was an ally, not a member of the Confederation. It was not until March 1, 1781, when an arrangement of western lands satisfactory to her was made that Maryland entered the Confederation as the thirteenth and last state. See "Maryland" by William Hand Browne, American Commonwealths, p. 286; also Herbert B. Adams' "Maryland's Influence upon the Land Cessions to the United States," Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, second series; and B. A. Hinsdale's "Old Northwest."

of 1787. It would appear, however, that these ideas were proposed by various men during the years that the plan of government was under discussion as, more or less, an academic question; and that the immediate incentive to the passage of the ordinance was the appearance in New York of representatives of a company of New England veterans of the Revolution, who stood ready to purchase a considerable number of acres of western lands, provided a satisfactory government should be provided by Congress.[2]

On May 7, 1783, officers of the Continental line of the army, to the number of 288, addressed a petition to the President and the delegates of the United States in Congress assembled. The petition shows that on September 20, 1776, and at various later dates, Congress enacted that the officers and soldiers of the American Army who should continue in service until the establishment of peace, would be entitled to grants of land according to their several grades. These petitioning officers had selected a certain tract of land south of Lake Erie, west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio River, not claimed as the property of, or within the jurisdiction of, any particular state. The land they conceived to be "of such extent and quality as to induce Congress to mark it out as suitable to form a district government or colony of the United States, to be admitted, in due time, one of the Confederated States of America." Therefore, the petitioners prayed Congress "to procure those lands from the natives (Indians), and agreed to procure the location and survey of the lands to which they were entitled and of such other lands in the district as other officers and soldiers might wish to take up." They also asked that provision be made for a "further grant of lands to such of the army as wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase, for public securities, as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government and render it of lasting consequence to the American Empire."

This petition, probably prepared by Gen. Rufus Putnam, then of New Windsor, Connecticut, was sent to Washington, together with a personal letter from Putnam, who stated that none of the petitioners would think of going to Philadelphia to urge the con-

[2] The succinct discussion of the legislative history of the Ordinance of 1787 is to be found in Frederick D. Stone's pamphlet. See also J. D. Barrett's "Evolution of the Ordinance of 1887"; J. M. Merriam's "Legislative History of the Ordinance" (American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Vol. V). Dr. W. F. Poole waxed vituperative over the subject, and many others have brought their imaginations to bear upon the matter.

sideration of the matter; but that they had left the petition with him to lay before Congress, and therefore, he was putting it into Washington's hands and asking his patronage. Putnam requested Washington to urge Congress to provide for the defense of the territory in case of war with Great Britain or Spain; to secure the allegiance of the Indians by furnishing them with necessities in exchange for furs, especially guns for hunting and blankets; to place garrisons at Oswego, Niagara, Michilimackinac and the Illinois; and to open communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie as a means of supplying Detroit and the lake posts in case of war. Putnam estimated that provisions might be sent to Detroit cheaper by the Muskingum or Scioto routes than by Albany and the Mohawk; and he proposed that a line of forts, twenty miles apart, be built along the route, each post to be garrisoned by a company of soldiers. The protection such a chain of posts would give to the entire border would be full compensation for the cost. Moreover, adequate defense meant the sale of lands to settlers, and therefore the establishment of the posts was good economy.

The tract suggested contained seventeen and a half million acres, or 756 townships six miles square. In each township lands were to be set aside for the support of the ministry and schools. The petitioners were entitled to 2,000,000 acres by virtue of their army services, without requirements as to settlement; they expected Congress to grant 8,000,000 acres additional (on the New York basis of settlement with soldiers), on condition that the lands be settled; and that the remaining 7,000,000 be reserved for exclusive purchase by soldiers, using public securities at a given price. No action was taken on the petition.

In April, 1784, Putnam again wrote to Washington that either Congress should open the western lands or else the old soldiers would settle elsewhere. He was also concerned over the depreciation in the certificates the soldiers had received in settlement of their accounts, which had sunk to three and six pence on the pound, but which would double in value if made receivable for Ohio lands. The reason why Putnam appealed directly to Washington was that Massachusetts was trying to sell her lands in Maine, and New York was making inducements for New Englanders to take up her vacant lands, therefore he could expect no hope from the delegations [3] from those states.

Washington exerted his influence on behalf of the petition.

[3] For copies of the petition and correspondence, see "The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam," by Rowena Buell; Boston, 1903.

"Every member with whom I conversed," he writes, "acquiesced in the reasonableness of the petition—all yielded, or seemed to yield, to the policy of it, but plead the want of cession of the land—this is made and accepted and yet matters remain in *statu quo*." Washington inclosed a hand-bill offering his own Ohio lands and showed that he too had western interests.

In 1784, Virginia ceded to the United States her right to the western territories. Jefferson presented to Congress a plan for the temporary government of the western territory. It provided for the government of the territory when the lands shall have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants and offered for sale by the United States. The territory was divided into ten states, and each one was authorized to adopt the constitution of any of the original states for its temporary government, subject to such amendments as a legislature might suggest. Each state could send a member to Congress, with the right of debating, but not of voting, and upon gaining a population of 20,000 was to be admitted into the Union under a permanent constitution, and to full representation in Congress when its population should equal that of the least numerous of the original states. The states established should forever remain a part of the United States, and they should be subject to the Articles of Confederation the same as the original states and obliged to pay their share of the Federal debt.

In Jefferson's report the following clause was to be a part of the compact: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." The clause was stricken out by Congress. This ordinance remained in force until it was repealed by the final clause of the Ordinance of 1787.

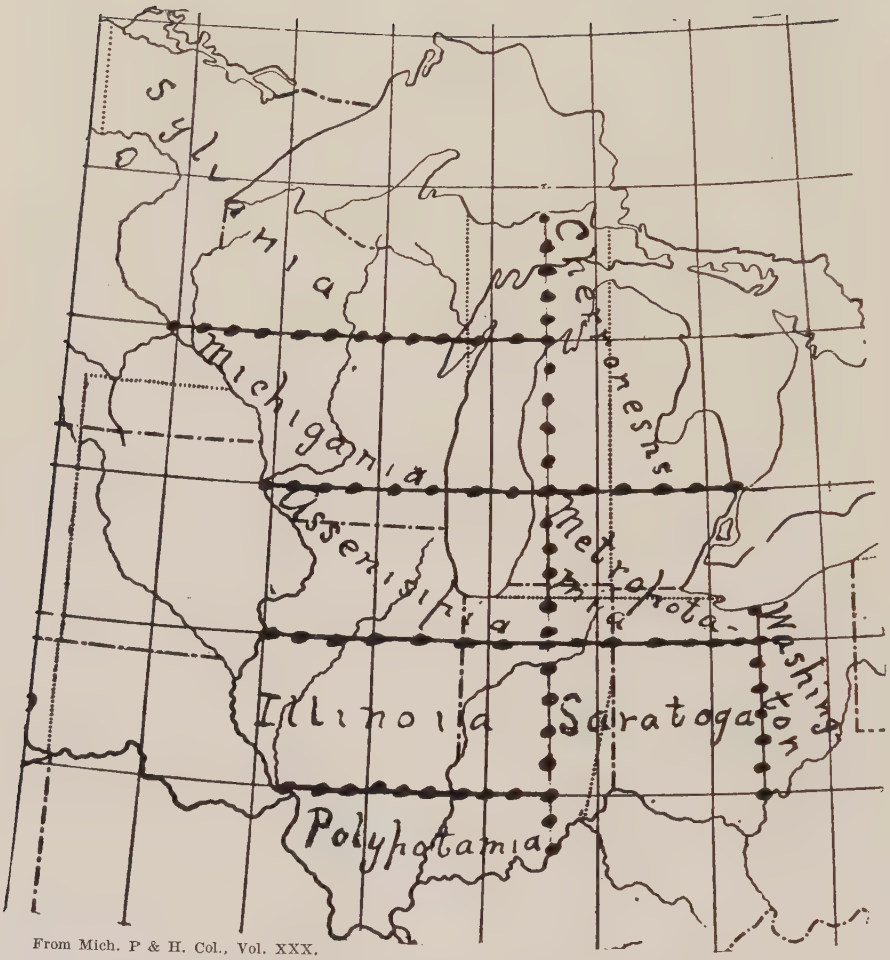
On March 8, 1785, Timothy Pickering wrote to Rufus King in Congress, protesting against the admission of slavery into the western territory. In the same letter he said: "There is no provision made for ministers of the Gospel, nor even for schools and academies, though after the admission of slavery it was right to say nothing about Christianity." On receipt of this letter King offered the following resolution: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolves of Congress of the 23rd of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been personally guilty, and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and

remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23rd of April, 1784."

The resolution was referred to a committee of which King was chairman. Their report went back to Jefferson's proposition of 1784, prohibiting slavery after the year of 1800. It was to be considered on the 14th of April, but a land ordinance was then being framed by Grayson, who wrote to Madison that King would reserve his resolution prohibiting slavery in the new states until the land ordinance was passed. King's resolution received no further attention. The land ordinance reserved the central section of each township for the support of schools, and the one north of it for the support of religion, but as the act passed the provision for the support of religion was omitted.

In 1786 a committee was appointed to report a temporary government for the new states, in which the persons and rights of settlers would be protected, in place of permitting the citizens to select the constitution and laws of one of the older states. Monroe, chairman of the committee, recommended a redivision of the territory as soon as the consent of the individual states that ceded it had been obtained. It proposed that Congress should appoint a governor, a council of five members, and a secretary for the territories or states. It also provided for a court of five members, who should have common-law and chancery jurisdiction, and an existing code of laws was to be adopted to suit the occasion. When a population of a certain size was reached by a state, a house of representatives was to be chosen to act with the governor and council. The plan presented was a mere outline, and it was recommitted. Before it was completed, petitions were received from the inhabitants of the western territory, praying for the establishment of a government that would make provision for both criminal and civil justice. A new ordinance, following Monroe's plan, was reported to Congress on September 21, 1786.

In January, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, two of the signers of the petition to Congress asking for a grant of land in 1783, issued a card in a newspaper inviting Massachusetts soldiers entitled to land in the western territory to meet and organize The Ohio Company, to form a settlement in the Ohio country. The meeting was held on March 1st, and articles of agreement were entered into. One provided for "the purchase of lands in some one of the proposed states northwesterly of the River Ohio, as soon as those lands are surveyed and exposed for sale by the commissioners



From Mich. P & H. Col., Vol. XXX.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S PROPOSED DIVISION OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

of Congress, according to the ordinance passed the 20th of May, 1785, or on any other plan that may be adopted by Congress not less advantageous to the company." It was found that under the land ordinance of May 20, 1785, it would not be possible for the company to purchase a compact body of land, and the price asked by Congress was considered too high. To overcome these difficulties, on March 8, 1787, a committee composed of Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons, Gen. Rufus Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, was appointed to make application to Congress "for a private purchase of land."

Parsons, on the 9th of May, presented his memorial. Before it was acted upon, however, he returned to Connecticut. Then it was agreed that Cutler should act as agent for the company in place of Parsons. On July 5th he arrived in New York, and on the 6th he says: "At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of the Congress chamber in the City Hall by Colonel Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A committee was appointed to agree on terms of negotiation and report to Congress."

The ordinance committee made its report on July 11th. The bill was read a second time on the 12th and a third time on the 13th, when it finally passed.[4] This was the great ordinance. It provided that the territory northwest of the Ohio River while under temporary government should be one district, to be divided into two when found necessary. It provided also for the distribution of estates of residents and non-residents dying intestate, a widow to receive one-third of the personal estate and a life-interest in one-third of the real estate, the remainder being equally divided between the children or their heirs. From Johnson's report was taken the proposition of appointing a governor, council, secretary and court, nearly the same language being used in defining their duties. A house of representatives was also to be chosen when the population of a district reached 5,000. A delegate to Congress, with the right of debating but not of voting, as proposed by Jefferson and Monroe, was conceded to the territories until admitted to full representation.

The ordinance was to be considered as a compact between the original states and the people and states in the territory, and forever to remain unalterable unless by common consent. This idea was taken from Jefferson's report of 1784. The first and second articles

[4] J. D. Stone's "Ordinance of 1787."

secured to the people civil and religious liberty, trial by jury, and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus. No law should ever have force in the territory that should interfere or affect private contracts or engagements previously formed. The third declared that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, and schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged. Good faith should be observed towards the Indians. The fourth article contained a provision securing the free navigation of the waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. The fifth provided for the division of the territory into not less than three nor more than five states. When a state contained 60,000 free inhabitants its delegates were to be admitted into Congress on an equal footing with those of the original states. The sixth article forever prohibiting slavery in the territory was added on the second reading of the bill.

Nathan Dane wrote to Rufus King, then in Philadelphia, July 16, 1787: "We have been employed about several objects, the principal of which have been the act (Ordinance) enclosed and the Ohio purchase; the former is completed and the latter will probably be completed tomorrow. The Ohio Company appeared to purchase a large tract of the Federal lands—about six or seven millions of acres—and we wanted to abolish the old system and get a better one for the government of the country, and we finally found it necessary to adopt the best system we could get. All agreed finally to the enclosed plan except A. Yates. When I drew the ordinance (which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it), I had no idea the states would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts of the Eastern States was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the House favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition. We are in a fair way to fix the terms of our Ohio sale, etc. We have been upon it three days steadily. The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it, and the security necessary to insure the performance of it."

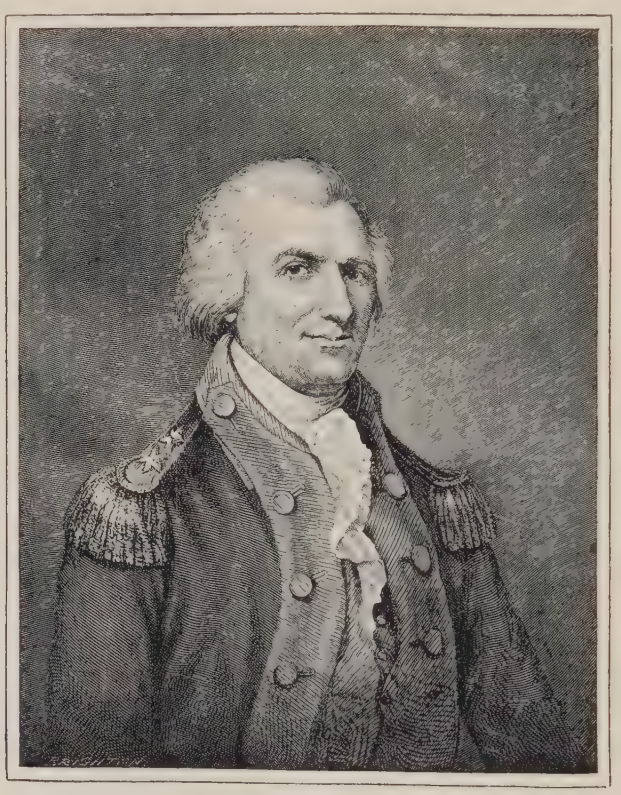
"The ordinance," says Mr. Stone, "was a political growth. Step by step its development can be traced in the proceedings of Congress. Monroe's plan, imperfect as it was in form when reported, provided for a more advanced state of civilization than Jefferson's, and in some respects was an improvement on it. Johnson's ordinance was an elaboration of Monroe's plan. The Ordinance of 1787

contained the most important features of each, together with suggestions that had been made from time to time, and what could be found in the constitutions and laws of the states. There is no necessity of going outside of Congressional circles to account for its production or passage. It was formed in an era of constitution-making. The separation of the colonies from the mother-country had made the people familiar with the principles of civil liberty. Between 1776 and 1787 every one of the States, with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, had formed new constitutions for their government. There was hardly a man in public life who had not assisted in some way in their adoption, and who was not familiar with their principles. Hundreds of essays on government were made public by the newspapers or in pamphlet form. The political atmosphere was impregnated with the subject, and it is doubtful if there ever was a time when the people of a country were more familiar with the principles of government than were the inhabitants of the United States in 1787. To announce what at any other time might be looked upon as an original thought appeared only to echo an axiom. The discussion brought forth legitimate results, and while Congress was creating the Ordinance of 1787, the representatives of the States, assembled in another city, were engaged in the formation of the Federal Constitution."

The passage of the ordinance having been accomplished, Doctor Cutler turned his attention to a law for the sale of lands. There was little difficulty in securing a favorable action, for the ordinance had been based on the land scheme. In order to carry the project through Congress, however, it was expedient to parcel out the offices. The governorship was promised to Gen. Arthur St. Clair, the president of Congress, and Maj. Winthrop Sargent was slated for secretary. Ten days later the land-contract measure was adopted, but because its provisions were not satisfactory, Doctor Cutler threatened to leave New York. Again he was successful, and on July 27th he found himself the possessor of a grant of 1,500,000 acres of land, one-half for the Ohio Company, and one-half for a private speculation, which became known as the Scioto Purchase. Congress retired three and a half millions of outstanding script, and reduced the public debt by that amount.

Congress elected officers of the new territory, October 5th: Arthur St. Clair, governor; James M. Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons, and John Armstrong, judges; and Winthrop Sargent, secretary; subsequently John Cleves Symmes took the place of Mr.

Armstrong, who declined the appointment.[5] August 29th, Doctor Cutler met the directors of the Ohio Company at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern in Boston to report that he had made a contract with the board of treasury for a million dollars' worth of lands at a net price of 75 cents an acre; that the lands were to be located on the Ohio, between the Seven Ranges platted under the direction of Congress and the Virginia lands; that lands had been reserved by the government for school and college purposes, according to the



General Arthur St. Clair

Massachusetts plan; and that bounty-lands might be located within the tract. The next day the plat of a city on the Muskingum was settled upon, and proposals for sawmill and cornmill sites were invited from prospective settlers.[6]

[5] In July, 1789, the first Congress of the United States gave its sanction to the new government.

[6] "Life of Reverend Manasseh Cutler," Vol. I, p. 321.

"It would give you pain and me no pleasure," writes Rufus Putnam, "to detail our march over the mountains, or our delays on account of bad weather, or other misfortunes." Ship carpenters from Danvers, Massachusetts, were sent ahead; but when, on the 14th of February, 1778, the main party from New England arrived at the Youghiogheny they found no boats and no materials to build any, the sawmill frozen up and smallpox prevailing. On April 1st the party embarked, and seven days later they landed on the banks of the Muskingum in the forty-five ton galley Adventure (afterward rechristened the Mayflower), the Adelphia, a three-ton ferry, and three log canoes. The garrison from Fort Harmar on the western bank of the river welcomed the home-makers. Lands were cleared; a hundred acres were planted with corn; the site was selected for the town thirty feet above the Muskingum, on the eastern side of that stream at its junction with the Ohio, where once the Mound Builders had an arrow factory. The name Marietta was chosen as a compliment to Marie Antoinette, the gracious friend of the Colonies.

On the 9th of July Governor St. Clair arrived at the capital. It was a great day for the new colony. The Revolutionary veteran, General Harmar, and his handful of soldiers from the fort were drawn up in line; Rufus Putnam, surveyor, engineer and soldier, was there with Judge Varnum. Gov. Arthur St. Clair was accompanied by Judge Parsons and Secretary Sargent. They advanced to the Campus Martius, where the secretary read the ordinance and the commissions of the officers, and the governor made an address.

Governor St. Clair was born in Caithness, of an ancient Scotch family; the early death of his father had left him to the care of his mother, and after a course of study at the University of Edinburgh and a short indenture as a student of medicine, at the age of twenty-three, he was commissioned an ensign in the Royal Americans, along with Henry Bouquet and Haldimand. He was with General Amherst at the siege of Louisburg; on the Plains of Abraham, he caught up the colors from the hand of their dying defender and bore them where the battle raged fiercest. After the war he married in Boston Phoebe Bayard, the niece of Gov. James Bowdoin.[7]

St. Clair purchased in the Ligonier Valley a large estate to add to the lands he had located under the king's grant, and there settled.

[7] The Louisa St. Clair Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Detroit is named for Mrs. St. Clair; and the Pitts family is among the descendants of Bowdoin.

He became a state surveyor, a justice of the court of quarter-sessions, a member of the proprietary, and afterwards recorder of deeds, clerk of the orphans' court, and prothonotary. At the outbreak of the Revolution, St. Clair acted as secretary at the Indian council at Fort Pitt, and engaged between four and five hundred young men for an expedition against Detroit, but was told that Arnold would soon capture Quebec, and Detroit would fall with the capital, so the expedition would be unnecessary. In December, 1775, President Hancock instructed him to raise a regiment and start for Quebec; he arrived in time to cover Arnold's retreat. Elected a brigadier by Congress, St. Clair joined Washington on his retreat through New Jersey, and until the close of the Revolution was an active, faithful and brilliant commander. Returning to civil life impoverished, he was chosen to the Continental Congress, over the last session of which he presided.

Winthrop Sargent was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts; he graduated from Harvard College, served through the Revolution as captain of artillery and as major on staff duty. He surveyed one of the Seven Ranges laid out in 1786 by order of Congress. Judge Samuel Holden Parsons was a Harvard graduate, and had seen distinguished service in the Revolution, rising to the grade of major-general. Unfortunately he was drowned the next year at the rapids of the Big Beaver. James M. Varnum was a brigadier-general at twenty-eight, a member of the Continental Congress at thirty-one, and a judge at thirty-nine, and was one of the directors of the company during the remaining six months of his life. Rufus Putnam succeeded Varnum, serving until 1796, when he was made surveyor-general, and was succeeded by Joseph Gillman, of Point Harmar. Parsons was succeeded by George Turner, who resigned in 1796, Return Jonathan Meigs succeeding him. No other changes were made before Ohio became a state.

CHAPTER XIV

MICHIGAN POSTS SURRENDERED BY THE ENGLISH

In January, 1789, Governor St. Clair negotiated with the Indians the treaty of Fort Harmar, by which the Lake Indians ratified the treaty of Fort McIntosh of 1785, by the terms of which the Indians kept the country south of Lake Erie, from the Cuyahoga to the Miami, the Indians retaining the right of hunting throughout the entire country north of the Ohio, and the Americans reserving sites for trading posts within the Indian reservation. The lands along the west bank of the Detroit, and a tract twelve miles square at Michilimackinac were granted to the Americans. A copy of this treaty having fallen into Lord Dorchester's hands, he immediately communicated its provisions to Lord Sidney, with the information that those Indian nations not parties to the treaty "seem now determined to remove and prevent all American settlements northwest of the Ohio." A party of Wabash and Miami Indians appeared at Detroit to present the war-pipe to the commanding officer, but were prevented by McKee, who convinced the chiefs of the impropriety of such action.[1]

Dorchester viewed with apprehension the efforts of St. Clair and Congress to gain control over the Indians. Particularly he was annoyed by the gathering of a large body of troops on the Ohio. "The pretence to the public," he wrote to Sidney, "is to repel the Indians; but those who must know better and see that an Indian war does not require so great a force, nor that very large proportion of artillery, are given to understand that part of these forces are to take possession of the frontier, as settled by treaty, to seize the posts and secure the fur trade; a more secret motive, perhaps, is to reduce the state governments and crush all internal opposition."

Dorchester admitted that Detroit could be defended only against Indians, and must depend on their fidelity, together with that of the militia, and on the ability of the commandant; and that Michilimackinac could keep out only Indians.[2]

1 "Haldimand Papers." Dorchester to Sidney, June 25, 1789.

2 "Haldimand Papers." Dorchester to Sidney, March 8, 1790.

The British had no intention of yielding the posts immediately; but in preparation for ultimate surrender, Capt. Gother Mann, of the Royal Engineers, made a tour of the lakes during 1788, for the purpose of an examination of forts and channels. At Detroit he found Fort Lernoult in a fair state of repair, the inhabitants having furnished the pickets for a new palisade about the town; the navy yard, being beyond the defenses, was hopelessly open to attack. He selected as the site for the new post a location opposite Bois Blanc, whence the guns could command the channels on either side of that island. Sinclair's fort on the Island of Michilimackinac he found on too extensive a scale for defense against the Indians, and "far too little against cannon, and most of that ill-judged." At Sault Ste. Marie the lands on the American side of the line were the better; but for business purposes there was room enough on the eastern shore; and, besides, the whitefish resorted to that bank, and the fish-packing business was already extensive.[2] Further, he recommended vessels of fifty tons for the navigation of the upper lakes, that limit being fixed because of the bars at the mouth of the St. Clair River and the rapids at the head of that stream; and he advised against the practice of building flat-bottomed vessels for lake navigation.[3]

In June, 1790, information came to Detroit that the Indians on the Ohio had burned a white prisoner. That same month eight Americans who had escaped from the Indians, and in September thirteen prisoners brought to Detroit by the Ohio raiders, were sent back to Fort Pitt by the British.[4] So aggressive had these Indian attacks become that President Washington decided upon strong measures. A call was made on Kentucky for 1,000 and on Pennsylvania for 500 militia to join the regulars at Fort Washington on the present site of Cincinnati. During the latter part of September, 1790, the militia came in—old and infirm men and even boys, substitutes, many of whom had never fired a gun. They brought guns without locks and barrels without stocks. There were the disputes as to who should command the Kentuckians, but these were calmed by placing the popular Colonel Trotter over the Kentuckians and giving to Colonel Hardin the command of all the militia. On the 3d of October the march to the Miami villages began. General Harmar seems not to have been negligent, but the pack-horses

[3] "Gother Mann to Dorchester," December 6, 1788. Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XII, p. 35.

[4] "Haldimand Papers." Dorchester to Grenville, June 21 and September 25, 1790.

escaped, and general inefficiency begot demoralization. The only reliable force was the little band of 320 regulars[5] of whom the militia were jealous.[6] On October 13th a captured Shawanese Indian reported that the savages were nowhere in force; thereupon Colonel Hardin was sent with 600 hundred light troops to the Miami villages on the present site of Fort Wayne to surprise the Indians. He found only deserted and still burning towns. Colonel Trotter, with a small force, was sent out for a three days' scout, but he returned the first evening. Then Hardin, having obtained permission to discover the enemy, proceeded carelessly. Suddenly he came upon a party of savages; the militia broke and fled at the first fire. The regulars stood their ground, and twenty-four of them, with the nine militiamen, were killed. Of the retreating militia some never stopped until they had crossed the Ohio River.[7] The army burned the houses in five villages and corn to the amount of 20,000 bushels and then began its homeward march. General Harmar detached 400 choice men to return to the burned villages in the hope of finding some Indians. Major Wyllys was absolutely unable to control the militia, who ran off in pursuit of small parties of the enemy and left the brave major and his band of regulars to meet death at the hands of Little Turtle's band. The best of the militia and of the regulars were now killed, and nothing was left but to struggle homeward. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty Indians were engaged in the rout of an army of 1,453 men.[8] Harmar called the expedition a success, but naturally the Indians were encouraged to renewed aggressions on the white settlements along the Ohio.

In a letter to Brant dated February 22, 1791, Sir John Johnson writes that he and Lord Dorchester held that "the Americans had no claim to that part of the country beyond the line established in 1765, at Fort Stanwix, between the Indians and the governors and agents of all the provinces interested, and including the sales made since

[5] "American State Papers, Military Affairs," Vol. I, Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry on General Harmar.

[6] "Perkins' Western Annals" (Cincinnati, 1846), p. 342.

[7] Lieutenant Armstrong says that Hardin ran with the militia. Hardin was personally a brave man, but was not a good officer.

[8] Testimony of Lieutenant Denny. It appears from a letter to Brant, quoted by Smith ("Life of Joseph Brant," Vol. II, p. 294), that the Indian loss was between fifteen and twenty. The Americans lost three regular and ten militia officers, and about five hundred men. Little Turtle was a Miami chief, about thirty-eight years old at this time. He was the leader of the Indian force. Blue Jacket, a Shawnee chief, was joint commander.

the war." Not being able to afford the Indians assistance in arms, Johnson thought the British should offer their mediation to bring about peace on terms just and honorable.[9] Lord Dorchester told a deputation of Indians that the King of England had never given away the Indian lands, because he never possessed them; that the posts would be retained only until England and America could adjust their differences, and that although the Indians had the friendship and good-will of the English, the latter could not embark in war, but only could defend themselves if attacked.[10]

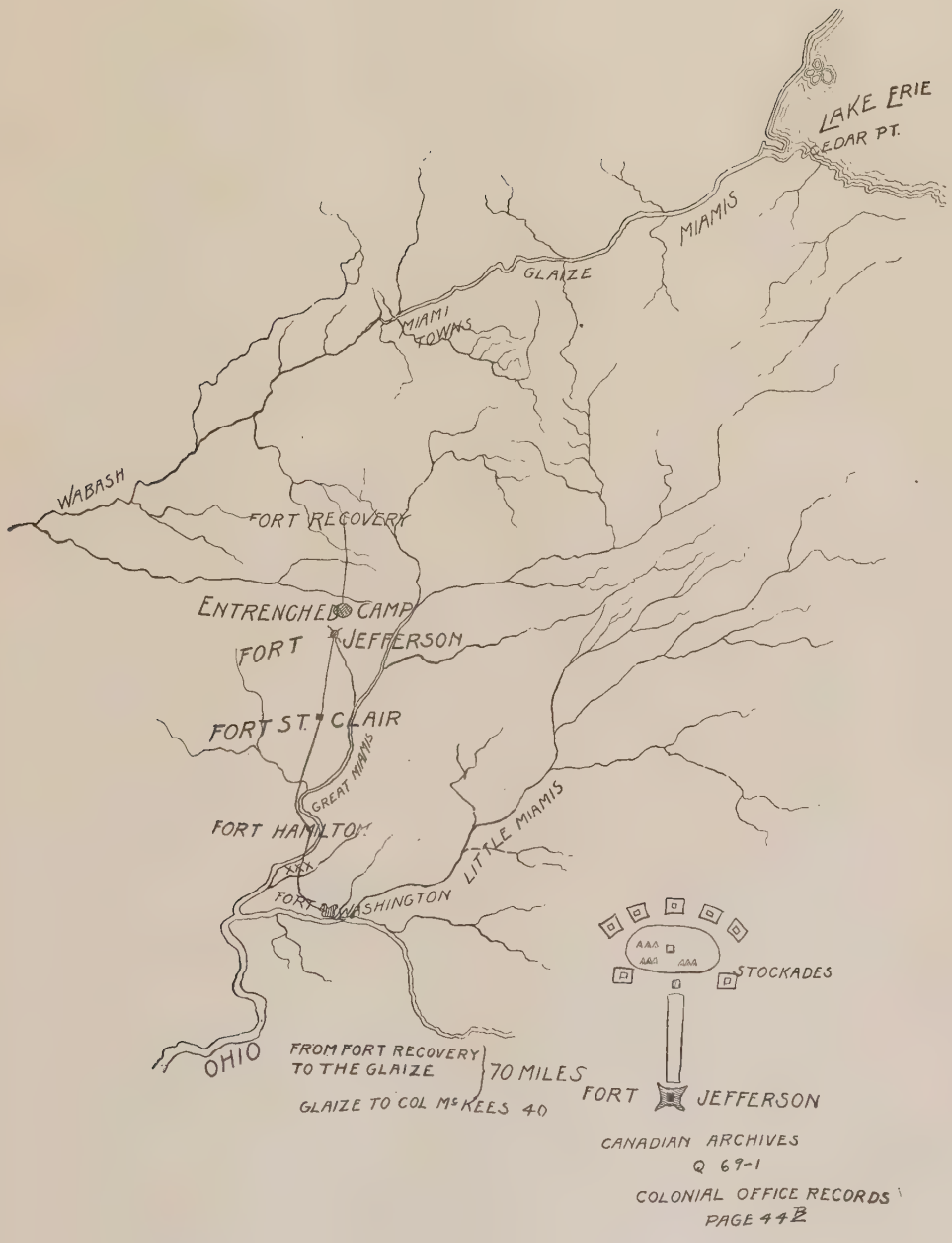
Chagrined and humiliated by Harmar's failure, Washington called Governor St. Clair to Philadelphia, placed him in command of an army to be organized for a new expedition, and, after impressing upon him the peril of ambush and surprise, sent him against the hostile tribes. On March 3, 1791, Congress authorized the formation of the Second Regiment of Infantry and gave the President the power to enlist not more than two thousand men for six months, thus providing for an army of 4,128 non-commissioned officers and privates. A portion of this force was needed for garrison duty at Venango and Forts Harmar, Washington, Knox and Steuben; with the remainder General St. Clair was ordered to march to the site of the Miami towns and there establish himself. General St. Clair being absent on recruiting duty, the command devolved on Major Hamtramck. October 4th the advance movement began under the command of General Butler. It was an army "picked up and recruited from the off-scourings of large towns and cities; enervated by idleness, debaucheries, and every species of vice; it was impossible they could have been made competent to the arduous duties of Indian warfare." [11] The powder was bad, and "the military stores were sent on in the most infamous order." All these matters so worried St. Clair that he was worn out at the beginning of the campaign.

On October 8, when twenty-four miles from Fort Washington, the flank guards fired unsuccessfully upon an Indian; four days later they killed another savage and secured a quantity of peltry and

[9] Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant," Vol. II, p. 297.

[10] Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant," Vol. II, p. 299.

[11] Diary of Col. Winthrop Sargent, adjutant general of the United States army during the campaign of 1791. Colonel Sargent's diary was printed in 1851 in an edition of forty-six copies, with two plates, for George Wymberley-Jones. The diary was then in the possession of Winthrop Sargent, of Philadelphia, a grandson of Colonel Sargent. The above quotations are made from the copy presented to Peter Force by Mr. Wymberley-Jones, and now in the Library of Congress.



Map of Harmer, St. Clair and Wayne Campaigns

four or five horses. By the 17th but one day's rations and one day's allowance of liquor remained and the forage was nearly exhausted. The militia were discontended and insubordinate, and, as the terms of their enlistment were about to expire, they were beginning to prepare to go home. Heavy rains and snow flurries added to the discomfort. The troops were put first upon half rations and afterwards upon quarter rations of bread, and 350 pack-horses with a company of riflemen were sent back for supplies. On the 23d three soldiers were executed, one for shooting an officer and two for desertion.

On November 3d, the army having proceeded ninety-seven miles from Cincinnati, camp was made "on a very handsome piece of rising ground." The army was in two lines, with four pieces of artillery in the center of each; Faulkner's company of riflemen upon the right flank with one troop of horse, and another troop of horse on the left. The militia encamped across the stream, 300 yards away. A chain of sentinels around the camp, at a distance of fifty paces apart, constituted the principal security against surprise. At midnight a small force sent out to prevent the horses from being stolen was driven in by the Indians, but no report was made to headquarters. Occasional shots exchanged during the night led St. Clair to keep the men under arms, and on the morning of the 4th the army was turned out earlier than usual. A half hour before sunrise came the Indian yell, like "an infinitude of horse-bells," followed by an attack on the militia. The levies made no defense, but indulged in "a most ignominious flight." Dashing into the camp of the regulars, the militia threw the forming battalions into confusion; the fugitives even passed through the second line and were checked only by the Indians completely surrounding the camp. The Indians seemed determined to enter the camp, but the array of fixed bayonets cooled their ardor and they dropped behind logs and bushes, and at a distance of seventy yards began to pour a deadly fire into the closed ranks of the soldiers. Probably there were 1,500 Indians, while St. Clair's total army, aside from the militia of 1,380, not more than 1,080—and those raw and undisciplined troops—were available for battle. For two hours men who never before had fired even a blank cartridge stood up against the unseen foe. Butler's Battalion charged with spirit, and "the artillery, if not well served, was bravely fought, every officer and more than two-thirds of the men being killed or wounded. The Second Regiment made three

charges, until but two officers were left alive, and one of the two was wounded.[12]

The savages rushed on the artillery, and twice gained the camp, plundering the tents and scalping the dead and dying; but both times they were driven back. The loss of officers demoralized the men, so that they huddled together and became targets for the savages, and neither threats nor entreaties could restore order. St. Clair, cool and brave in disaster, ordered a retreat. The Indian mania for plunder permitted a remnant to live to tell the tale of disaster. Officers and men threw away arms, ammunition and accoutrements in their flight, and that evening the gates of Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the battlefield, opened to the fugitives. On the 8th, what was left of the army reached Cincinnati.[13]

Three months after St. Clair's defeat, Colonel Sargent visited the battlefield. Although twenty inches of snow covered the ground, at every tread of his horse's feet dead and mangled bodies were brought to view; every twig and bush was cut down by bullets, and the trees were riddled by Indian shot, while the fire of the troops, even of the artillery, appeared to have been ineffective. So far as possible, the mutilated bodies were suitably buried in the frozen ground; and several tons of iron work was recovered, but the artillery had disappeared.

The news of St. Clair's defeat reached the President one December day while he was at dinner. The messenger would give his despatches only to the commander-in-chief; the President read their purport, then quietly returned to the table and afterwards

[12] The regulars and levies lost of men and non-commissioned officers 550 killed and 200 wounded; of officers, 31 killed and 24 wounded, out of 95. The militia had 29 officers and 290 men; their loss was 4 officers killed and 5 wounded, 38 men killed and 29 wounded, besides 14 camp men killed and 13 wounded. The Indians, led by Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, numbered 1,500, of whom but 30 were killed.

[13] See "Causes of the Failure of the Expedition against the Indians, in 1791, under the Command of General St. Clair," American State Papers, Vol. I, "Military Affairs," p. 63. Mr. Fitzsimons, after an inquiry by the House of Representatives, reported the causes of failure to be: Delays in furnishing material, mismanagement and neglect in the quartermaster's and contractor's departments, lateness of the season, and want of discipline and experience of the troops. St. Clair was completely exonerated, "as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnished strong testimonies of his coolness and intrepidity." See report of Mr. Giles, Second Congress, second session.

went through the reception appointed for the evening; and, after all was over, Washington poured forth a torrent of rage and passion. On this occasion he swore. But he determined that St. Clair should not be prejudiced, but should have justice.[14]

Washington now selected for general of the army Anthony Wayne, the grandson of a Yorkshireman who had removed first to County Wicklow, in Ireland (where he fought gallantly at the battle of the Boyne), and then had come with the Scotch-Irish to settle in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Wayne inherited from his Indian-fighting father a love of arms. Entering the Revolutionary service as a colonel in the Pennsylvania line, Wayne and St. Clair were fellow officers in the unsuccessful Canada expedition. At Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth and Stony Point, Wayne led his Pennsylvania troops with gallantry; and after Yorktown he won a major-general's commission in Greene's campaign in Georgia, from which state he was sent to Congress. His credentials were not approved by the House of Representatives, and in April, 1792, at the end of his unsuccessful contest for a seat in the House, Washington appointed him to command the army. Wayne's task was to retrieve the failure of St. Clair. The first necessity was to get into shape the enlarged army that Congress had authorized for the campaign. In May, 1793, Wayne with his legion made camp at Fort Washington, and there kept up the daily drills while awaiting the results of the council being held with the Indians, at the mouth of the Detroit River.

Washington early in 1793 appointed as commissioners to treat with the Lake Indians Gen. Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, who had been Secretary of War; Beverly Randolph, of Virginia; and Col. Timothy Pickering, then Postmaster-General, and shortly afterwards Secretary of War. After a private council with the British agents Colonel Brant,[15] on behalf of the confederated Indians, sent to the commissioners an ultimatum stating that the southern boundary of the Indian lands must be the Ohio River. To this the commissioners made reply that it was impossible to fix the

[14] Irving's "Life of George Washington," Vol. V, p. 103. Ex-President Taft tells a story from John Adams' Diary to the effect that Washington, on one occasion, visited a committee of Congress with John Jay; but when the members of the committee insisted on doing all the talking, he left in a huff, saying as he went, "I'll be d——d if I ever come to Congress again!" "This incident," said Mr. Taft, "shows that Washington was far from being the steel-plate engraving which, as Robert Ingersoll used to say, history had made him out."

[15] "Canadian Archives." Brant to Colonel McKee, May 17, 1793.

Ohio as the boundary, and that the negotiation was therefore at an end.[16] The western nations informed Simcoe that the Americans insisted on keeping the whole Indian country, and in payment offered money, which was useless to Indians. "We expect," they said,[17] "to be forced again to defend ourselves and our country, and we look up to the great God, who is a witness of all that passes here, for His pity and His help." McKee professed that he did all he could to bring about a better result; and that the western Indians would not agree with the Six Nations, but insisted on the Ohio boundary. "The nations that have not sold," he says, "will enjoy without dispute the lands belonging to them; these will form an extensive barrier between the British and American territory. Although I have used no influence to prevent a peace, which would have afforded me gratification, I expect to be blamed by the malevolent." [18]

In September Secretary Knox wrote to Wayne: "Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword, but the efforts have failed under circumstances that leave us nothing to expect but war." The Indians had stipulated for the Ohio boundary line, and that was an impossibility. Wayne replied from Camp Hobson's Choice: "I will advance tomorrow with the force I have." On October 13th the army encamped on a branch of the Miami eighty miles north of Cincinnati, a spot to which Wayne gave the name Greenville, in honor of his commander and friend in the South Carolina campaign. There he passed the winter, sending forward a detachment to build Fort Recovery upon St. Clair's old battlefield.

Secretary Knox instructed Wayne that if it should be found necessary to dislodge the British garrison in Governor Simcoe's fort at the Rapids of the Miami, he was authorized in the name of the President to do so. On the 30th of June, 1794, a force of riflemen was attacked suddenly under the guns of Fort Recovery, but the savages were beaten off. Wayne's army, on August 8th, advanced to the Auglaize to find that the Indians had abandoned their settlements and towns. Thus Wayne gained possession of "the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West," with its very extensive and well cultivated fields and gardens. At the confluence of the two rivers, Wayne set a strong stockade fort bastioned with four good block-houses and called it Fort Defiance.

[16] "Canadian Archives," 1891, p. 54.
[17] Ibid., 1891, p. 55.
[18] Ibid., 1891, p. 55.

Thence he sent to the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, and Wyandottes and their allies an offer of a lasting peace, which "should restore them to their lands and villages and preserve their helpless and distressed women and children from hunger and famine."

Wayne's offer met an evasive response. On August 20th the Indians, assembled near the British post on McKee's farm at the Falls of the Miami, met the American army. The ground was covered with fallen timber, which gave the Indians a great advantage; and the savages attempted to turn the American flank.

From a painting by Robert Hopkin

OLD HAMTRAMCK HOUSE

Wayne ordered his front line to charge with trailed arms, to arouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to let them load again. So sharp was this attack and so precipitate the retreat of the savages that the detachments sent to turn the flanks of the Indians could not catch up with their comrades.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers is one of the most notable victories in the annals of border warfare; and the result placed Wayne's name among the few successful Indian fighters in American history. The Indians were led by Little Turtle and Blue Jacket, who had won success against both Harmar and St. Clair. Little Turtle, however, fought Wayne against his own better judgment. He had watched the thoroughness of that general's prepara-

tions, the deliberation with which he moved, and the care he took to prevent surprise. In vain, however, were his counsels to make peace with "the chief who never sleeps."

For the benefit of the British garrison Wayne burned the standing corn, and the farm buildings of the British Indian agent, Alexander McKee, "the principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages," as Wayne characterized him. The British commandant, Maj. William Campbell, protested against Wayne encamping "almost within reach of the guns of this fort;" to which he replied that his "fullest and most satisfactory answer was announced to you from the muzzle of my small-arms yesterday morning in the action against the hordes of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously for the Americans; but had it continued until the Indians, etc., were drove under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not much have impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command; as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States." After Wayne had ordered the British commandant to withdraw from that post, the American army, its purpose accomplished, began its return march.

General Wayne retired to Greenville. There he was visited by chiefs and warriors, to whom he explained that the United States, having conquered Great Britain, were entitled to the possession of the Lake posts; and that the new nation was anxious to make peace with the Indians, to protect them in the possession of abundant hunting-grounds and to compensate them for the lands needed by the white settlers. The Indians, who had lost a number of their most warlike chiefs, were incensed at the action of the British, both in closing Fort Miamis to them at the time of their great defeat, and also in not coming to their aid with the soldiers from Detroit, as McKee and the other agents had promised. In the midst of these negotiations a copy of the Jay Treaty arrived, and when the Indians found that in that document a date was fixed for the surrender of the posts they no longer hesitated. On August 3, 1795, General Wayne announced that he had concluded "a permanent peace" with the ten great nations dwelling within the Northwest; and nothing now remained but to await the day set for the delivery of the posts.[19]

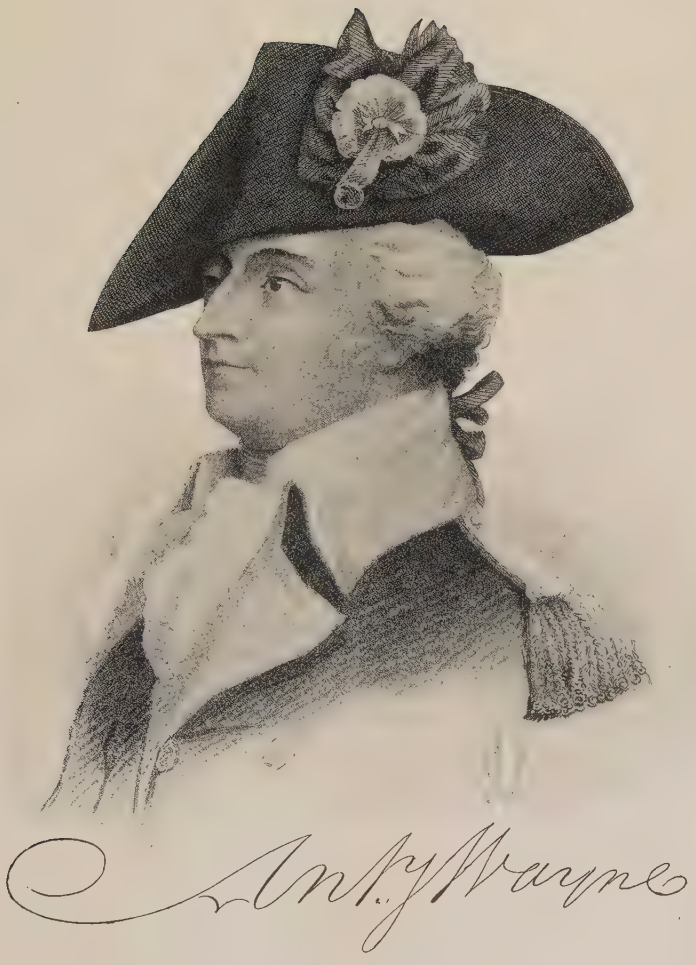
[19] The full proceedings of the Treaty of Greenville are given in Jacob Burnet's "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory" (Cincinnati, 1847), Chapters IX to XII.

Little Turtle, waiting for the other chiefs to sign the treaty, walked up to make his signature, exclaiming, "I am the last to sign; I will be the last to break this treaty." The Americans had good cause to remember and be thankful for his determination. In 1797 he visited the Great Father at Philadelphia. There Washington presented him to Count Volney and General Kosciusko, and the latter gave him a pair of his own pistols beautifully mounted with silver. Tecumseh failed to draw him into the Indian uprisings that marked the beginnings of the War of 1812; he died at Fort Wayne, on July 14, 1812, at the age of sixty years. His name (Meshekunnoghuoh), with as many variations as are credited to Shakespeare, is to be found on the treaties made at Greenville, Fort Wayne and Vincennes, the latter made in 1809.

While General Wayne was preparing for his campaign against the Indians, the Chief Justice of the United States was in London as a special envoy from President Washington to compose the differences between the two countries. There were aggravations on both sides. The French Revolution was shaking every government in the civilized world, and in the United States a party espoused the cause of France. England had joined Austria, Russia, Spain and Sardinia in a war with France, and in her efforts to crush her rival seized American ships trading to French ports. Eleven years had elapsed since the treaty of 1783, and still the posts were not surrendered. On the other hand the states were preventing the collection of debts owed to English merchants.

The treaty provided that the British spoliations on American commerce, the debts due to English creditors and for any reason not collectable in the courts, and the damages due England on account of depredations of French cruisers fitted out in the United States, were to be settled by commissions; the negroes carried away by the British in 1783 were not to be paid for; the Northwestern posts were to be surrendered on or before June 1, 1797, but there was to be free intercourse across the border, and free navigation of the Mississippi; the duties on goods were to be uniform with those paid at the sea-coast ports of entry; all ambiguities in the boundaries were to be removed by a commission of survey. This treaty was ratified by the Senate, and the House, on April 30, 1796, agreed to the appropriation required to carry out its provisions, in spite of the opposition of Madison and Gallatin.[20]

[20] For a discussion of the treaty, see Dr. James B. Angell's article on the "Diplomacy of the United States" in Vol. VII of "The Narrative and Critical History of the United States"; also William Jay's "Life of John Jay" (New York, 1833), Vol. I, p. 322 et seq.



Ant.y Wayne

No sooner had the ratifications of Jay's Treaty been exchanged than, on May 27th, General Wilkinson, in command of Wayne's army at Greenville, sent his aide-de-camp, Captain Schaumburg, to Colonel England at Detroit to demand the surrender of the posts under his command. Colonel England regretted that a lack of orders from Lord Dorchester would prevent him from complying with General Wilkinson's request, and the condition of the new post at the mouth of the Detroit was not sufficiently advanced to enable him to name a date for evacuation.[21]

In June, 1796, Captain Lewis, despatched from Philadelphia on the day that the Senate took final action on the Jay Treaty, presented to Lord Dorchester a demand for the surrender of the Northwest posts, and this time the long delayed orders were given.

Captain Lewis brought to Secretary McHenry the British commander-in-chief's orders addressed to the officers commanding the guard left for the protection of the works and buildings at Forts Miami, Detroit and Michilimackinac [22] and commanding each to vacate his post "to such officer belonging to the forces of the United States as shall produce this authority to you for that purpose, who will precede the troops destined to garrison it by one day, in order that he may have time to view the nature and condition of the works and buildings." Congratulating the President on "the event which adds a large tract of country and wide resources to the territory of the United States," the secretary immediately despatched a special messenger to put General Wayne in possession of the documents.

The orders for the surrender of Fort Miami and of Detroit were sent from General Wilkinson at Greenville to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamtramck, at Camp Deposit. Sending Capt. Henry De Butts to Detroit to purchase a vessel, Hamtramck himself, on June 11th, "actually displayed the American stripes at Fort Miami and embarked the same day with about four hundred men for Detroit." [23]

Captain Moses Porter,[24] despatched by Hamtramck with a detachment of artillery and infantry, comprising sixty-five men, embarked at the mouth of the Maumee in a schooner of fifty tons burden and in a dozen bateaux. Entering the Detroit River on the 11th of July, 1796, they found clustered about the new British

[21] "Mich. P. and H. Coll.," Vol. XII, p. 220.

[22] State Department MSS., Adjutant General George Beckwith's letter of June 2, 1796.

[23] American Telegraph, August 24, 1796. Letter of Gen. James Wilkinson to the secretary of war, dated Greenville, July 16, 1796.

[24] "American Pioneer," Vol. II, p. 394. Hamtramck to Wilkinson.

post at Amherstburg about twenty houses, in all stages of completion. The region was called the District of Malden, and the place was known as "the new British post and town near the Island of Bois Blanc." The most considerable establishment belonged to the Indian agent, Captain Elliott; the lands, comprising 2,000 acres, were cultivated in a manner that would not have been "thought meanly of even in England;" the house, standing about two hundred yards from the river, commanded a view of Lake Erie. At the edge of the water stood the council-house. On Bois Blanc were encamped hundreds of Indians. As the flotilla came within four miles of Detroit the houses became numerous. Sailing up to the wooden wharf, the detachment disembarked and marched up one of the narrow-unpaved streets, with its footway of squared logs laid transversely; thence through one of the two gates on the water side of the strong stockade, and through the town and up the slope to Fort Lernoult, with its bastioned corners from which the cannon had been removed to supply the new post at Malden.[25] As the troops passed up the streets crowds of bare-footed Frenchmen greeted them, and dark-eyed French girls gazed demurely from under the wide brims of their straw hats, anxious to discover whether the homespun-clad newcomers were fitted to take the place of the gorgeous-hued soldiers and sailors whom the fate of war had relegated to the mouth of the river. Old squaws leading their daughters leered at the soldiers; chiefs and warriors of many tribes, hideous in their paint and more hideous in the wounds received in drunken orgies, moved about with what dignity they could command, or sat in the sun smoking their stone pipes, waiting for General Wabang (General To-morrow) to distribute the presents he was ever promising and never bestowing.

At noon[26] the last of Colonel England's troops made their way to the ramparts. The Americans ran up the Stars and Stripes, and a cheer went up from the little band of United States soldiers. Standing among the crowd that watched the change of flags was

[25] Moore's "Northwest Under Three Flags," p. 373.

[26] Columbian Sentinel, Boston, August 24, 1796; extract from a letter of Capt. Henry de Butts to the secretary of war, dated Detroit, July 14th: "It is with great pleasure I do myself the honor of announcing to you that on the 11th instant, about noon, the flag of the United States was displayed on the ramparts of Detroit, a few minutes after the works were evacuated by Colonel England and the British troops under his command, and with additional satisfaction I inform you that the exchange was effected with much propriety and harmony by both parties."

From the Clarence M. Burton Collection

DETROIT AT THE TIME OF AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1796

Reynolds,[27] who lived to see and to rejoice in the day, sixteen years distant, when the flag of England again for a few months waved over that town and people. Detroit was a small part English, the greater part French; its relationships of every kind—social, commercial, religious—were essentially un-American.

On July 16th fifty-eight of the merchants, traders and inhabitants of Michilimackinac united in an address to the retiring British commandant, Maj. William Doyle, commending him for the impartial manner in which he had supported and protected the trade of that place, and for the "invariable propriety" with which he had acted as magistrate. He replied acknowledging for himself and his officers the uniform support they had always experienced from the signers of the address, and wishing every prosperity to the Canadian fur-trade.[28] The actual evacuation of the post took place early in August.[29] Colonel England was a very stout man and after his return to his own country his size attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales, who inquired the name of the fat officer. When told that he was Colonel England, the Prince remarked that he thought he must be Great Britain, at least.

Col. John Francis Hamtramck, with his command arrived at Detroit on the 13th of July. Hamtramck was born in Canada and was one of some seven hundred American sympathizers who crossed the border to join the Revolutionary forces. Entering the army at the age of twenty-one, he won a captaincy during the war; on the organization of the First Regiment of Infantry he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel by Washington in 1790, and as colonel he was with both St. Clair and Wayne in their Indian campaigns, having command of the left wing of the army at the battle of Fallen Timbers. At Detroit he entered at once into the spirit of the situation, and became popular both with his command and with the towns-people. With his wife he occupied a comfortable house in the town, and until his death in 1803, at the early age of forty-

[27] 1812; "The War and Its Moral," by William Coffin (Montreal, 1864), p. 196. Reynolds was born in Detroit in 1781; his father was the British commissary. To Coffin, who visited him at his home in Malden in 1863, he said: "I saw the British flag hauled down from the flag-staff of Detroit at noon, 11th July, 1796. I saw it again hoisted by Brock, at noon of Sunday, 16th August, 1812."

[28] Quebec Gazette, August 25, 1796. A similar address, dated July 6th, was made to Colonel England by the people of Detroit, and was replied to by him.

[29] Albany Gazette, September 30, 1796: "A letter from Detroit, August 15th, says that Michilimackinac is evacuated by the British, and will in the coming two weeks be occupied by our troops."

eight years, he enjoyed a popularity that has kept his memory green to this day.[30]

On August 13th General Wayne reached Detroit to find that before his coming and without orders from Congress, the secretary of the Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent, had visited Detroit and erected the County of Wayne. In the absence from the Territory of Governor St. Clair, Sargent, as acting governor, had started for the North, and on August 15th had drawn the boundaries of Wayne County, from the present site of Cleveland, south to Fort Laurens, thence westward through Fort Wayne and the Chicago portage, thence north through the sources of the streams flowing westerly into Lake Michigan, to the national boundary-line north of Lake Superior. Making Peter Audrain prothonotary at Detroit, Sargent continued his way to Michilimackinac, where he established the civil authority of the Government. St. Clair contented himself by intimating surprise that he had been forestalled in making the journey to the northern limits of his government.[31]

General Wayne was flattered by his reception on the part of both the garrison and the inhabitants of Detroit. He was met by the chiefs and warriors of numerous tribes of Indians, who welcomed their "father" by volleys of musketry, yells, shakes of the

[30] Albany Gazette, September 9, 1796. The birthplace of Hamtramck is unknown. He was born August 14, 1754, and died April 11, 1803, leaving an estate valued at $2,138.47, which descended to his widow, Rebecca Hamtramck. His home was above the old City of Detroit, in the suburb afterwards known as Hamtramck. His body was buried in St. Anne's Cemetery, then occupying the block on Jefferson Avenue, bounded by Jefferson Avenue, Larned, Shelby, and Griswold streets, whence it was removed in 1817 to the new St. Anne's grounds on Congress Street, and in 1866 was removed a second time to Mount Elliott Cemetery. The stone erected by the officers of his command bears record that, "true patriotism and a zealous attachment to rational liberty, joined to a laudable ambition, led him into military service at an early period of his life. He was a soldier before he was a man; he was an active participator in all the dangers, difficulties, and honors of the Revolutionary war; and his heroism and uniform good conduct procured him the attentions and personal thanks of the immortal Washington. The United States in him has lost a valuable officer and a good citizen, and society a useful and pleasant member: to his family the loss is incalculable; and his friends will never forget the memory of Hamtramck."—See "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," Vol. XIII, p. 493; and an address, on the occasion of marking the grave of Col. John Francis Hamtramck, at Mount Elliott Cemetery, Detroit, Michigan, by the Sons of the American Revolution, October 18, 1877, delivered by Mr. R. Storrs Willis.

[31] "St. Clair's Papers." St. Clair to James Ross, September 6, 1796; St. Clair to Roger Wolcott, August 30, 1796.

hand, and other demonstrations of joy, "agreeably to the customs and usages of those hardy sons of this wilderness." He found much to admire in a town that had "formerly filled an interesting place in history." "Here, in the centre of the wilderness of the West," he writes, "you see ships or large vessels of war and merchantmen lying at the wharves or sailing up and down a pleasant river of about one mile wide, as if passing and repassing to and from the ocean. The town itself is a crowded mass of frame or wooden buildings, generally from one to two and a half stories high, many of them well finished and furnished, and inhabited by people of almost all nations. There are a number of wealthy and well-informed merchants and gentlemen, and elegant, fashionable and well-bred women. The streets are so narrow as scarely to admit two carriages to pass each other. The whole place is surrounded with high pickets, with bastions at proper distances, which are endowed with artillery; within the pickets is also a kind of citadel, which serves for barracks, stores, and for part of the troops. You enter the town by one main street, which runs parallel with the river and has a gate at each end, defended by a block-house; these gates are shut every night at sunset, and are not opened again until sunrise, in order to protect the citizens and their property from insult or injury by drunken, disorderly, or hostile Indians. At particular seasons large bodies of Indians assemble at this place. Upon my arrival I found about twelve hundred, whom we have been obliged to feed from principles of humanity as well as policy at this crisis. In the daytime these Indians appear to be perfectly domesticated, and pass and repass along the streets in common with the white inhabitants, but regularly retire at retreat-beating without aversion, from long habit. It is probable that this precaution of clearing the town of the savages and closing the gates originated from the attempt made by the Indians to destroy the garrison and place in the year 1763, under the conduct of the famous chief Pontiac.

"The fort, which has been built since, stands upon an eminence in the rear of the town and citadel, and commands both, as well as all the country in its vicinity. It's a regular earthen work, consisting of four half-bastions with twenty-four platforms and embrasures suited to heavy artillery, with barracks, bomb-proofs, stores, etc., surrounded by a wide, deep ditch, with pickets set perpendicular in the bottom, and a fraise projecting from the beam of the parapet over the ditch. The whole is encompassed by an abatis, but now generally in a state of ruin, from the effect of time only, and not from any wanton destruction; on the contrary, every

precaution was used to prevent any injury or damage to the works or buildings. In fact, all the works and buildings on the American side of the line of demarcation have been surrendered up by the several British commandants to the troops of the United States, agreeably to treaty, and in the most decent, polite, and accommodating manner, in virtue of the arrangements previously made with Lord Dorchester.

"This event must afford the highest pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of government and good order, and in particular to that great and first of men, the President of the United States, and I trust it will produce a conviction to the world that the measures he has uniformly pursued to attain this desirable end were founded in wisdom, and that the best interests of his country have been secured by that unshaken firmness, patriotism, and virtue for which he is universally and justly admired and celebrated; a few Democrats excepted." [32]

General Wayne remained at Detroit until November 17th, when he set sail for Presque Isle. His gout returned in violent form, and it was with difficulty that he was transferred to the block-house. There he remained under the ministrations of Capt. Russell Bissell and Dr. George Balfour until, on December 15th, death came. A log block-house, copied from the one Wayne himself had built there in 1790, marks the spot where he was laid to rest; his remains, however, were removed in 1809 to the churchyard of St. David's, at Radnor, Pennsylvania.[33]

The surrender of the posts by no means involved the surrender of the fur-trade. Mackinac was an important station of the Northwest Company of Montreal, and several independent traders were there; but on the surrender of Sinclair's Fort the British established themselves near by, on the Island of St. Joseph, between Lakes Huron and Superior; and although a number of American traders came to take the vacant places, the intelligence, the trade connections, and the capital of an Astor were necessary before competition with the Montreal merchants could become effective.[34] Detroit at the time of the surrender contained upward of twelve hundred

[32] Pennsylvania Historical Society's collections of Wayne MSS.; Gen. Anthony Wayne to Isaac Wayne; Detroit, September 10, 1796.

[33] Stille's "Life of Wayne," p. 344.

[34] For the romantic side of the fur trade at Mackinac, see Constance Fenimore Woolson's novel, "Anne"; the most charming stories of the lake region are contained in Miss Woolson's "Castle Nowhere: Lake-country Sketches," New York, Harper & Brothers.

people; but many of the traders removed to the new British post at the mouth of the river, and many of those who remained hesitated to become American citizens.

Simon Girty, as an employee of the British Indian Department, continued to urge the savages to withstand the encroachments of the Americans on the territory north of the Ohio. Girty continued to be employed as the King's interpreter; he had family troubles caused by his drunkenness; he lived through the War of 1812, but by reason of blindness he could take no part in the struggle and on February 18, 1818, he died in the arms of his wife and was buried on his farm in Malden.[35]

The British retained command of the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, and of the Ottawa River route to and from the upper country; their new fort at Malden and the block-house on Bois Blanc Island commanded the channels of the Detroit River.

[35] Butterfield's "History of the Girtys," p. 322.

CHAPTER XV

MICHIGAN BECOMES A POLITICAL UNIT

The Northwest posts having been surrendered to the United States, a very large amount of land came into the possession of the Government. Those were the days of speculation in western lands; and quite naturally the opportunity to secure a considerable tract between Lakes Michigan and Huron for speculative purposes was not to be neglected. Ebenezer Allen and Charles Whitney, of Vermont, and Robert Randall, of Philadelphia, arranged with the John Askins, senior and junior, Jonathan Schieffelin, William and David Robertson, Robert Jones, and Richard Patterson, of Detroit, to obtain from the United States by purchase all the lands now embraced in the lower peninsula of Michigan. They were prepared to pay in money from half a million to a million dollars, and they would take it upon themselves to quiet the Indian title. In order to smooth the way of the purchase in Congress, they formed a stock-company, with forty-one shares, five for the Detroit parties, twelve for the three promoters, and the remainder for members of Congress, who might take their shares in cash, if they so desired. The scheme was clumsy and the easterners were stupid in handling the congressional end of it. Consequently the attempt to corrupt members of Congress was not taken seriously. At the time the country had no name, the title "Michigan" being of later date.

Whitney first sounded Daniel Buck, a member from his own State of Vermont, one of the most prominent citizens of that commonwealth; next he approached Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, who had been a member of the Continental Congress and who had served in the United States Congress from the organization of that body. He was afterwards a United States senator and when he died in 1813 he was a justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Among the southern members whom he sought to interest was William Branch Giles, of Virginia, also a member of Congress from its beginning and afterwards a senator. Either the promoters saw nothing wrong with the scheme, or else they were ill-acquainted with human nature. At any rate, the members

approached put their heads together to expose and defeat the plot; and in so doing they established one of the precedents of the National House of Representatives.[1]

During the first session of the Fourth Congress, on December 28, 1795, information having been given to the House by William Smith, of South Carolina, William V. Murray, of Maryland, and William B. Giles, of Virginia, that a person of the name of Robert Randall had made to them certain overtures to obtain their support to a memorial intended to be presented by Randall on behalf of himself and others for the grant of a tract of land containing eighteen or twenty million acres bordering on Lakes Erie, Michigan and Huron, for which support the said members were promised to receive a consideration or emolument in lands or money; and the House having regarded the information as contempt to, and a breach of the privileges of that body, in an unwarrantable attempt to corrupt the integrity of its members, the speaker was ordered to issue his warrant directing the sergeant-at-arms to take Randall into custody. Then Daniel Buck, of Vermont, announced that Charles Whitney had made similar overtures to him; and thereupon the arrest of Whitney was directed. On January 4th, Randall and Whitney were arraigned and were interrogated by the speaker, with the result that Randall, by a vote of 78 to 17, was adjudged guilty of "a high contempt of this House and a breech of privilege." On January 7th, Whitney's case was taken up and he was discharged by a vote of 52 to 30. On the 13th, Randall petitioned to be released, and the House so ordered. Whitney's case was distinguished from Randall's, because Whitney had made his offer to a member who had not yet taken his seat. In the discussion of this first case of attempted bribery of members of the House, it was decided that the body had an inherent right to protect itself, and that the speaker's warrant was sufficient to take the prisoner from the hands of the city marshal, who had him in charge. Thus Michigan as an entity, even before being named, came to figure in the National Legislature.

The Northwest Territory began to break up into political divisions soon after the surrender of the frontier posts by the British in 1796. Five thousand inhabitants were required as a preliminary to the establishment of a representative government; and by 1798 that number had been attained. The first General Assembly con-

[1] See "Plot for Obtaining the Lower Peninsula," by J. V. Campbell, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. VIII, p. 406; Biographical Congressional Directory; and Hines' "Parliamentary Precedents."

vened at Cincinnati, September 24, 1799; among the twenty-two members of the House of Representatives, Michigan (Wayne County) was represented by Charles Chabert de Joncaire and Solomon Sibley. James May was elected to the first General Assembly, but before that body convened a second delegate was assigned to Wayne County and a new election was held. Peter Audrain, the prothonotary of Wayne County, has left a circumstantial account of this second election.

The candidates were Chabert, Visgar, Wiswell, Louison Beaufait, and I. Marie Beaubien. The polls opened at 11 o'clock on the morning of January 14, 1799, at the house of John Dodemead. Before reading the proclamation the sheriff called into private consultation Justices Ernest and McNiff and three lawyers, Messrs. Brush, Freeman and Powers. Vattell's Law of Nations was sent for, and on being consulted by the learned legal gentlemen, "the election was proclaimed opened" and Mr. Beaufait stepped up to cast the first vote. Being asked for whom he voted, he replied, "For James May and Louis Beaufait, my son." He was told that he could not vote for Mr. May, because the latter had gone to Cincinnati to contest the first election; and that his vote for Beaufait would be accepted on condition that he substituted another name for that of May. Thereupon Mr. Beaufait "left the room, apparently much hurt." Messrs. Voyez and Girardin met the same fate; and when the latter demanded a written certificate of refusal the request was denied as unnecessary. At 1 o'clock the election was adjourned until 3, after fourteen May votes had been refused. The inhabitants at River Rouge sent word by Joseph Cisna that they were coming up to vote for May and Wiswell, and when "Old Cisna" was told about the situation "he was amazingly displeased with the sheriff and judges."

The next day the polls were opened about 10 o'clock, but few people attended owing to the rainy weather, which had prevailed for five days. The roads were too bad to allow the people from River Raisin to come to vote; but the people from the Rouge came in a flock and voted for Wiswell and Chabert, as did Captains Marsac and Rivard. During the afternoon the judges announced that Beaufait and Chabert were not eligible because they had not resided in the district three years; but that Visgar and Wiswell were eligible. As a matter of fact, Wiswell, although American-born, owned no real property in the district, while Visgar had property, was an American, but had taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. It appears that when Governor St. Clair ordered

verbal votes to be taken he thought "to guard the poor ignorant Canadians from deception and ensure them the noble privilege of freely giving their votes for whomever they should prefer;" but the judges took it upon themselves to rule on the eligibility of candidates before the vote was taken. Evidently Vattell has much to answer for.

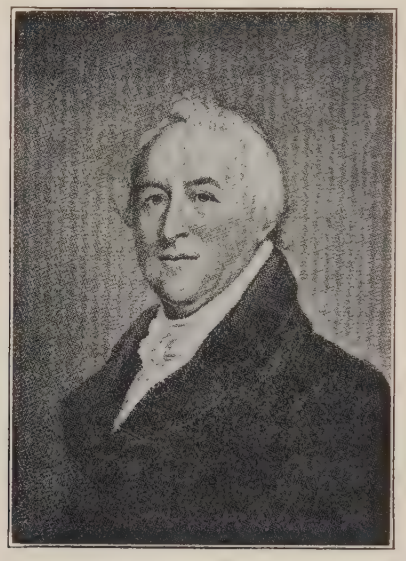
Before the polls closed Justice McNiff came out and advised the friends of Wiswell to go in search of votes for him; otherwise he would be defeated, as the Frenchmen were ahead. So Old Cisna went about for votes and brought in a few, having offered $100 for ten votes. When the election closed there was difficulty in determining the result; because Colonel Chabert having been informed that he was ineligible for lack of sufficient years of residence, told the judges that he would contend no longer and would not serve. Wiswell also had informed the judges that he declined to be a candidate. Wiswell and Visgar, however, were declared elected; whereupon Visgar told the judge and sheriff that he would not go with Wiswell, and demanded to know which candidate was the highest in number of votes. On being told that Colonel Chabert was, Visgar said that he would go with Chabert, who on being interrogated declared that he was willing to go with Wiswell. The judges, however, declined to give Chabert a certificate. "They called for wine and thus the business ended." In the end, Wiswell did not qualify, but Chabert went to Cincinnati and served with Solomon Sibley, although what right the latter had to a seat does not appear.[2]

Having reached Cincinnati, the Wayne County representatives found that in the council of five members, four were from Ohio counties, and the other represented Vincennes. William Henry

[2] Peter Audrain's letter is given in full in Utley and Cutcheon's "Michigan as a Province, Territory and State, the Twenty-fourth Member of the Federal Union;" 1706. Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush, the earliest members of the bar in Michigan, came from Ohio. Judge Sibley came from Marietta. His wife, whom he married after coming to Detroit, was a daughter of Col. Ebenezer Sproat, of Middleboro, Mass., and a granddaughter of Commodore Abraham Whipple, the first American to obtain naval success over British ships. Judge Sibley was appointed a member of the Council of the Northwest Territory; he was twice elected a delegate to Congress and was a judge of the Supreme Court of the territory. Judge James V. Campbell says that "he was one of the wisest and ablest men that ever lived in Michigan." His numerous descendants are not unworthy of the name. Colonel Brush became territorial attorney-general and a colonel of militia.

Harrison was chosen by the Assembly to represent the Territory in Congress.

By these changes in government leaven was added to the meal; politics began to have their effect in the Northwest, shaping the development of its institutions and adding zest to the life of its people. Hence came the clash of individual ambitions, the struggles of parties, the evolution of political principles and the development of a highly organized and thoroughly democratic government. There was no accumulated wealth, no endowed institutions, no



William Hull

organized culture; the units in this social structure were moving with the rapidity of molecules in matter, and out of the turmoil came great men as leaders of movements profoundly affecting the entire country. These creative forces acting through individuals to form a democracy in the truest sense of the word make the Old Northwest a subject of study at once fascinating, engrossing and labor-rewarding.

On May 7, 1800, the Northwest Territory was divided. The line of division ran through the center of the lower peninsula of Michigan to the Straits of Mackinac, thereby placing the western half in the Territory of Indiana. Detroit continued in the Northwest Territory until 1802, when the State of Ohio was created and all of Michigan became the County of Wayne of the Territory of

Indiana. Three years later, in spite of the protests of Indiana, the Territory of Michigan was created.

William Hull, selected by President Jefferson, to be the first governor of the new Territory of Michigan, reached the eastern borders of his dominions on the 1st day of July, 1805. As the little schooner that carried him and his fortunes made its way up the island-strewn river towards the century-old town of Detroit, the Governor's expectant gaze was greeted by the sight of a single row of low white farm houses, with sharply pitched roofs pierced by small dormer windows. About the houses were great pear trees, the like of which are to be found nowhere else and whose very origin is unknown; and orchards of Lombardy apples whose fame was to spread throughout the country. High fences of round cedar posts guarded the farms from the cattle and especially from the droves of squealing French ponies that dashed up and down the narrow road leading along the river bank; these picket fences also served as a sort of a fortification in the case of Indian attacks, and often proved a defense not to be despised.

So near together were the houses that neighbors could call from porch to porch; but the farms, although only from two to five acres wide, stretched far back into the boundless forest. The neatness of the whitewashed fences and dwellings must have accorded well with the New England ideas of Governor Hull; but his Puritan soul doubtless revolted from the moss-grown crucifixes on barn and gatepost, and the shrines of the Virgin by the roadside. The points of land that here and there jutted out into the river were adorned as well as made useful by picturesque windmills, whose great sails swung lazily around on the summer wind.[3]

[3] Bela Hubbard in "Memorials of a Half-Century" (New York, 1887), says that as late as 1835 "several windmills gave animation to the picture, as their white arms swayed in the breeze that seldom fails to ripple these waters, like the pinions of some huge birds." These mills were of timber, the lower story being filled in and encased in stone. The manor windmill to which in early days the settler was required to carry his grist fell into disuse and in time disappeared. Orchards often embracing several hundred cherry, pear, and apple trees gave beauty and value to nearly every farm. The French said that their ancestors obtained fruit trees from Montreal, to which place they were brought from Normandy or Provence, but beyond that their traditions did not extend. Mr. Hubbard, an authority on trees, thinks that the seeds had been brought from France and had been planted about the time the town was founded. Among the apples that originated at Detroit are the snow-apple, the Calville both red and white, and the Detroit Red, once well known. There were also gray-apples, russets and pearmains, surpassing the Newfoundland apples and second only to those of New Jersey for cider

The French farmers living along both the American and the Canadian banks were, as Governor Hull soon found out, at one with their surroundings. The broad river which flowed past their doors not only furnished a plenteous harvest for their nets and a convenient means of communication with town and church; but it was also to them the world's highway. Its opalescent waters, coming from the rich fur regions of the North, which furnished the staple of commerce, flowed round about the high mountain of Montreal, where their market was; and on under the cliffs of Quebec, whence the ships sailed to France.

What the governor expected to see was a compact town, well fortified against incursions of Indians, and surrounded by pleasant fields. He anticipated the greeting of a joyous people coming from happy homes to welcome the representative of free government. What his wondering eyes did behold was a mass of blackened embers where once a town had been, and a broad common covered with tents and booths. From these improvised dwellings came a crowd of thin-faced, bronzed, bare-footed men clad in colored shirts, and trousers held at the waist by a leather belt.[4] With them came a troop of plump and handsome black-eyed French girls, their short gowns, or habits, falling over long, gaily-figured petticoats, and their faces protected from the July suns by broad-brimmed straw hats of home manufacture. From the days of Cadillac till about 1850 there was little, if any, change in the style of clothing worn by the French people of Detroit; and a garment was fashionable until worn out.

On disembarking with his fellow New Englander, Stanley Gris-

purposes. So large and productive were the pear trees that one tree usually sufficed for an entire family. The writer remembers a number of these pear trees that survived as late as 1880. The origin of these trees is a mystery, such trees are not to be found on the lower St. Lawrence or in Normandy.

[4] A congratulatory address on his appointment as governor was presented to him by Francis Navarre, John Anderson and Lewis Bond, representing the citizens of Sargent Township, and by James Henry, Elijah Brush, George McDougall, Chabert Joncaire and George Meldrum, representing the citizens of Detroit. To these addresses the Governor made reply that he looked to contributions by citizens of the states for the relief of the sufferers from the fire and to a liberal land policy on the part of the Federal Government; and he congratulated the people on the opportunity to secure a "judicious and enlarged plan to be adopted in erecting a city on the desolated ground, the sight of which is so afflicting at the present moment." He assured them of civil and religious liberty, of the right of trial by jury and the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus.—"Territorial Government, in Michigan," State Dept. MSS. edited by Charles Moore, Mich. P. & H., Col. Vol. XXIV, p. 526.

wold, the Territorial Secretary, Governor Hull was met by Judge Woodward, who had arrived from Washington on the previous day; and by Judge Bates, who had been acting as Government land commissioner and was located in Detroit. A temporary lodging was found for the new officials, but so crowded were the accommodations that it was more than a week before the Governor found quarters for the winter in the small house of a farmer, a mile above the ruins.[5]

The origin of the fire which completely destroyed Detroit remains a mystery. Governor Hull wrote to Secretary Madison that common report said the lumber dealers had burned the town in order to force up the price of their stocks, and that color was given to this idea by the unusual fact that contracts had been made at the mills for all the lumber that could be sawed during the season. In truth, the wonder is that Cadillac's town had not been burned long before. Its streets were lanes; its wooden houses were crowded together in order that they might be surrounded by the palisades; and, a fire once started, the buildings burned so quickly that the people were able to save only a part of their property, by rushing with it into the convenient river and there sinking it.

In so far as could be foreseen the appointment of William Hull as governor of Michigan Territory was an excellent one. Among the younger officers of the Revolutionary army none was more highly esteemed than Colonel Hull. A graduate of Yale, he entered the army in 1775 at the age of twenty-two, as the captain of a Connecticut regiment; he witnessed the evacuation of Boston by the British; he was wounded at White Plains; on the day after the Battle of Trenton he was promoted by General Washington for bravery; he endured the bitterness of Valley Forge; for conspicuous gallantry at Stony Point he received the thanks of General Wayne, of General Washington, and of Congress; "for his judicious arrangements in the plan of operations and intrepidity and valor in execution" in an attack on the enemy at Morrissina he had been again thanked in general orders by Washington and also by Congress. After the war he found political favor in the Massachusetts community in which he lived, and at the time Jefferson called him to be governor of Michigan he was judge of the Court of Common Pleas. At the age of fifty-one,

[5] William Hull was born in Derby, Conn., June 24, 1753; he graduated at Yale College in 1772 and was admitted to the bar in 1775. He died at Newton, Mass., November 29, 1825. For a detailed statement of his Revolutionary services, see his defense before the court-martial in "Report of the Trial of Brig. General William Hull," New York, 1814.

with large experience both of military and of civil life, Governor Hull seemed to be the man of all others wisely to shape the fortunes of the wilderness Territory and to win respect and confidence for the Government. Such, however, was far from being the case.

Quite the most important figure in the history of Michigan during territorial days was the chief justice, Augustus Brevoort Woodward. When the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia convened for its first session in the half-finished Capitol, on March 23, 1801, Woodward was among the lawyers who presented themselves. Unusually tall, slender, with sallow complexion, and with something of the air of the scholar, Mr. Woodward was attired in a manner to attract attention. A swallow-tail coat of blue with brass buttons, a buff waistcoat, widely open to allow the protrusion of a mass of ruffles, a flamboyant red cravat, and a plentiful head of hair fresh from the loving ministrations of the first tonsorial artist of "the metropolis of the United States," all combined to produce a striking figure.

Woodward was born in Philadelphia, and in 1795 he was living in Rockbridge, Virginia, where he had worked out a plan for an executive council to advise with the President of the United States; and his paper on this subject is now reckoned as one of the first discussions of the President's Cabinet, a body not then evolved. Shortly thereafter, he first met Jefferson at Monticello, and began a friendship that lasted for more than a quarter of a century. In 1797 Woodward crossed the mountains to locate himself in the then thriving town of Alexandria, from which vantage ground he could contemplate the opportunities offered by the proprietors of lands in the Federal City. He purchased lots in Washington, on which he gave a deed of trust for the entire purchase price of $25,000. On the records he is described as a resident of Greenbrier County, Virginia, which might or might not have been the case.

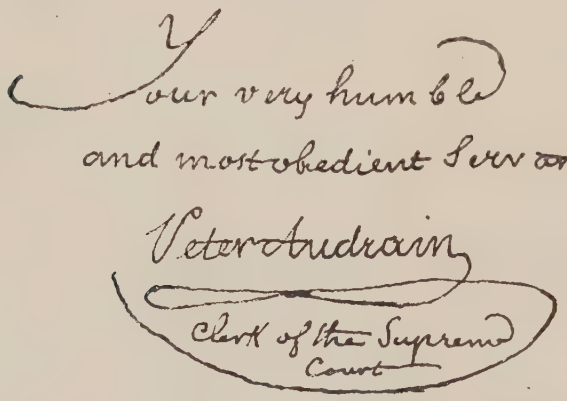
He loved the Federal City, and to her service he brought a voluminously stored mind, an education broad and liberal for that day and generation, and a pen at once trenchant, good tempered, and indefatigable. He was a master of English, could quote the Latin poets, understood the structure of the Greek language and was familiar with the writings of the French philosophers of his day. In statesmanship he was a disciple of Bentham; he believed in tearing down old abuses in order to build new and enduring structures on the broad foundation of the greatest good to the greatest number. For Thomas Jefferson he had a veneration akin to idolatry, and language was all too poor to afford words adequate to the reverence he felt for the Sage of Monticello.

In a series of eight papers on "The Government of the Territory of the District of Columbia," Mr. Woodward proclaimed himself as belonging neither with the party that shouted for the repeal of that clause in the Constitution which gave Congress exclusive jurisdiction over "the ten miles square," nor yet was he willing to be numbered with those who stood ready to be deprived of all the rights of citizenship. He favored excluding the individual states from legislation over the district, but he contended vigorously for a distinct representation in the Federal councils, and for a local government energetic and free. Small wonder is it that Woodward, the lawyer, the real estate dealer, and the pleader for the liberties of the people was elected to a seat in the first council of the City of Washington. His prolific pen gave vent to his feelings of joy and responsibility; and with an address to the electors of Washington, published in the *National Intelligencer* of June 14, 1802, he entered upon his public career. From the frequency with which his name appears in the early court reports it may be inferred that he enjoyed his full share of the legal business of the city.

On his appointment as one of the judges of Michigan Territory, Woodward closed out his various real estate speculations in Washington by conveying the properties to the men who had endorsed his notes. We may imagine Judge Woodward, his commission safely bestowed in saddlebags large enough to hold all his temporal belongings, setting out on a fine May morning for his new sphere of usefulness. Jogging along Braddock's Road, past the old house of the Cresaps, he would cross the Alleghanies possibly in company with settlers and their cattle, dogs and slaves, bound for the blue-grass regions of Kentucky; or with a less numerous body of New Englanders coming by the Forbes road through Pennsylvania to cast their lot with friends and relatives who had planted on the banks of the Muskingum the colony of freemen that two years before had become the State of Ohio. Resting at hospitable Pittsburgh, once a Virginia town under the domination of Lord Dunmore and his tool, Doctor Conolly, the judge would part company with the settlers bound for the rich regions on the banks of Ohio, and set his face northward towards the lake country. Even here the Virginia judge could have the proud satisfaction of knowing that although New York and Connecticut and Massachusetts had given up to the nation their shadowy claims to the region northwest of the Ohio, it was the conquest of the Virginian, George Rogers Clark, that planted the flag of Congress in British territory, with the result of drawing the boundaries of the new nation through the Great Lakes instead of through the Ohio

River. Passing near to the place that witnessed the torture of Washington's friend and playmate Crawford (the tragedy that marked the end of the Revolution in the Northwest), Judge Woodward probably visited Fallen Timbers, the battlefield on which Mad Anthony Wayne broke the power of the British-paid Indians and forced the surrender of the northwest posts nine years before. Woodward arrived but one day before the Governor.

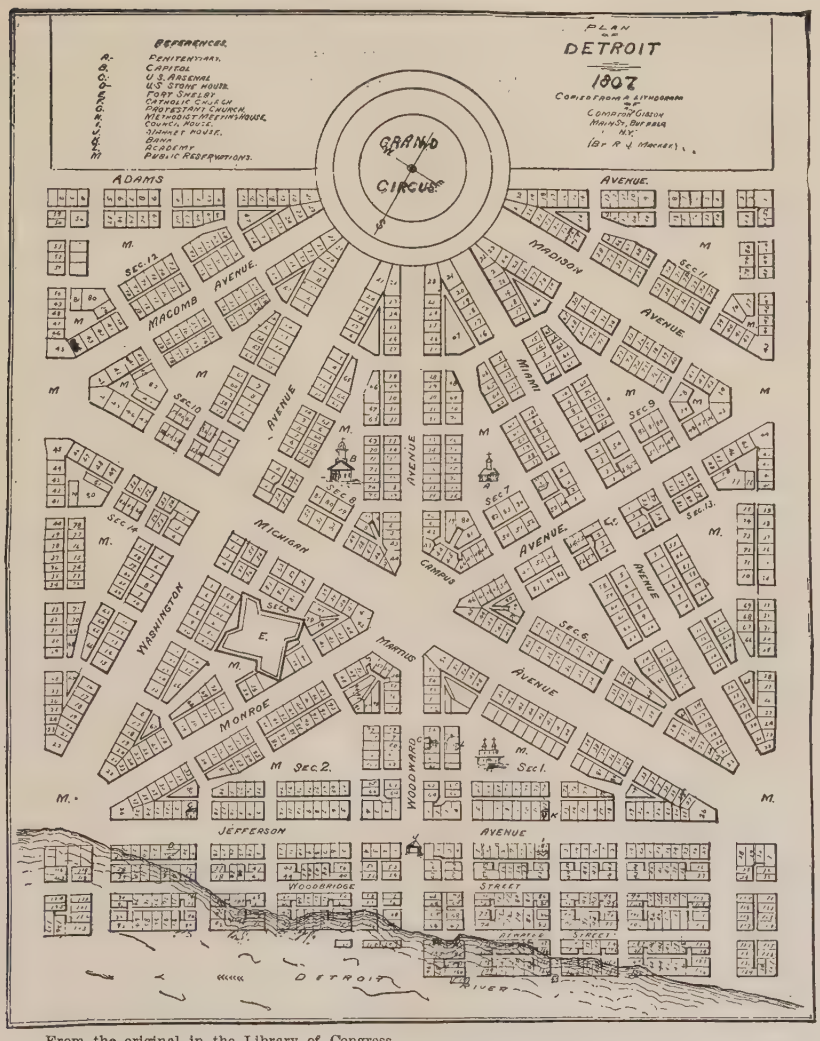
On reaching Detroit, Governor Hull found that the citizens "had laid out a new town nearly on a similar plan with the old one, and had included the common, which they claimed under a grant from the



SIGNATURE OF PETER AUDRAIN

French government, and having used it as a common pasture since the settlement of the country." The people represented the necessity of haste in order to provide shelters before winter; but when they were assured of prompt action they gave way. A plan was immediately prepared and a surveyor was set at work in laying out the streets, squares, and lots. The principal part of the grounds embraced in the plan unquestionably belonged to the United States; but many of the lots in the old town were cut up by the streets, thus necessitating an exchange for lots belonging to the Government. Other lots were to be sold to settlers. Governor Hull counted on the approval of Congress to this arrangement because it would attain two objects: First, a town or city laid out on a regular plan; and secondly, the accommodation of those people who had suffered by the fire. He also anticipated a third advantage in the increased value of the Government's lots.[6]

[6] State Dept. MSS. printed in Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXVII; Hull to Madison, August 3, 1805. It is evident that at first matters went smoothly,



From the original in the Library of Congress

WOODWARD PLAN OF DETROIT, MADE IN 1807

The origin of the plan of Detroit has been the subject of much speculation and no little misunderstanding. Governor Hull undertook to transmit the plan to Washington for the approval of Congress. He spoke of it as having the approval of the legislative body,

because Hull reports that he received great assistance from "the talents, zeal and industry of Judge Woodward," while he patronizingly says that Judge Bates is a young man of good understanding, great purity of mind, and wants nothing but experience to render him eminently useful.

and to this day it is known officially as "The Governor and Judges' Plan of Detroit." Like all city plans which provide for a distant future, it was subject to ridicule by those whose vision did not extend beyond the immediate present; and especially was it maligned by travelers who contrasted the meager present with the glorified future shadowed forth in broad avenues, streets radiating from common centers, numerous small parks and open spaces, and public squares for large gatherings of people in war or in peace. Judge Campbell, writing in 1876, says: "Doubtless the chief justice had already drawn in imagination the curious plan which his sanguine fancy, looking forward seven or eight centuries, saw filled out with the completest city ever devised. Less than half a century saw more than three-fold its space completely built, but the symmetrical scheme was not as fair in other eyes as in his own. Colonel McKenney, in his 'Tour to the Lakes,' aptly describes it as representing a spider's web with all its lines arranged with reference to a principal center. The affection of its author for his device was extreme, and his pride in it excessive; and much of the trouble that afterwards arose and had its influence on the peace of the Territory came from the want of respect among his colleagues for this darling child of his genius, which was shorn of its fair proportions and dislocated." [7] And Judge Cooley, ten years later, says that "to some extent it (the plan) was modeled upon that of the national capital, and although he succeeded in securing its adoption, it was the subject of much contemporaneous ridicule, not only for what seemed to the people its whimsical character, but also for its magnificent distances. The plan was ridiculed while it was tolerated, but it was not strictly adhered to, and the departures from it, from time to time, annoyed its author and were a frequent incitement to ill temper and controversy." [8]

Although as the subject of ridicule the plan is always ascribed to Woodward, its authorship is often misunderstood and even questioned by those who now approve it. It is generally believed and frequently stated that Detroit was actually planned by L'Enfant, after he planned the City of Washington. In a letter to Joseph Watson, dated January 26, 1811, Woodward states that on July 5, 1805, he had "the honor to be appointed by the Governor, in concurrence with one of the judges, a committee to take into consideration matters that might arise relative to the town, and report an opinion thereon to the Governor and Judges. "In obedience to their direc-

[7] "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan," p. 241.

[8] "Michigan," American Commonwealth's Series; Boston, 1905, p. 154.

tions," he says, "I had the honor to report a mode of laying out the town, which, being taken into consideration, was adopted, and that with the vote of the Governor. . . . In December, 1808, during my absence, the Governor introduced a report containing the following expressions—'it should be considered as having arisen from his devotion to his darling child, the plan of the City of Detroit. It is deeply to be regretted that he ever had influence sufficient to have brought that plan into existence.'" [9]

From the correspondence it appears that the mode of laying out Detroit originated with Judge Woodward, while the actual work was done by a hired surveyor; also that during his incumbency in office he fought valiantly to maintain the integrity of the plan, which was often attacked and sometimes mutilated out of malice towards him, as well as through the natural propensity of mankind to despoil what they cannot understand. Nor are his historians without a certain sympathy with the common view. Indeed, it is only within a decade that the immense service Woodward did for Detroit in maintaining the chief elements of his plan is coming to be appreciated. It is now generally acknowledged that, next to Washington, Detroit is the best planned city in the United States, in so far as the center of the city is concerned. Had the Woodward plan been adhered to in laying out the additional subdivisions no qualification of the foregoing statement would be necessary.

The distinguished merit of the plan makes its source a matter of interest. Judge Woodward's acquaintance with Washington civic affairs has been adverted to. The L'Enfant plan for the capital city had been accepted eight years before Woodward's arrival in Washington, and printed copies of the plan had been scattered broadcast through this country and Europe in order to secure purchasers for Washington lots. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution; Law, a wealthy Englishman; and a Holland syndicate, were among the speculators attracted by the L'Enfant plan. Woodward may have conceived the idea that on a smaller scale the same thing would happen in Detroit. At any rate he himself became an operator both in city real estate and also in suburban properties. Such an attitude on his part is not inconsistent with the larger fact that his versatile mind led him to take the higher view of his opportunities and duties. The plan of the national capital devised for the creation of a city where none then existed, a plan approved by Washington and Jefferson, commended itself to his judgment and taste; and he saw in

[9] Copy of MSS. letter in possession of the writer.

the abuse of the ignorant and the spiteful only a repetition of what L'Enfant himself was then enduring at the hands of citizen, traveler and government. This view is supported by the fact that when he and his partners came to lay out the town of Ypsilanti [10] they gave four great squares for public parks, and so arranged the main north and south thoroughfares as to give a symmetrical axis to their creation. In any event, as L'Enfant perceived and adopted for Washington the great merits contained in the plans of Paris prepared by the architects of Louis XIV, but not realized until long after our capital was laid out,[11] so Judge Woodward recognized the high qualities in L'Enfant's then despised plan, adopted them for Detroit and to the end of his stay fought to maintain them and carry them out. Not the least of his many great services to Michigan is his service on behalf of his plan for Detroit.

The other judges, Frederick Bates and John Griffin, both from Virginia, were not especially useful. Judge Bates might have had a career in Michigan had he found the work congenial. During the year of his incumbency he did much to promote good order and to allay ill-feeling among his colleagues. From Michigan he went to St. Louis as Secretary of the Louisiana Territory, and when he died in 1825 he was Governor of Missouri. His departure left the Michigan government without a balance wheel.[12] Judge Griffin was a mischief-maker given to intrigue; he usually acted with Judge Woodward, and the two made the law suit their will, which was usually the will of the latter. Stanley Griswold, the Territorial Secretary, was a Connecticut politician, having been in turn a preacher and an

[10] The people of the new town sent a delegation to Woodward to get him to choose a more commonplace name, or to allow them to retain the appellation of Woodruff's Grove. But he had named the town in honor of Prince Demitrius Ypsilanti, hero of the Greek Rebellion, and would not listen to them. In 1822 Lucius Lyon bought the town from Woodward for $2,300.

[11] This statement is based on studies carried on by the writer during several years.

[12] Frederick Bates was born in Belmont, Va., June 23, 1777, the son of a Quaker, Thomas Fleming Bates. He began the study of law as the apprentice to a court clerk. In 1795 he entered the quartermaster's department of the army, and afterwards became a storekeeper in Detroit, studying law in his spare hours. Jefferson and Madison were friends of his father and so he was appointed a judge. On a visit to Washington to report on land titles he was sent to St. Louis as Secretary of the new Territory of Louisiana, which office he held until Missouri became a state in 1820. He was elected the second Governor and died in office August 21, 1825. His younger brother, Edward Bates, was Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior.—"Michigan Biographies."

editor. He served for three years and was succeeded by a better man, or at least a better Secretary, Reuben Atwater of Vermont.

Under the form of government then provided for the territories, the governor and the three judges acted as the legislature, being limited in their enactments theoretically by the laws already in force in some one of the states, and practically by the extent of the territorial law library, which in the case of Michigan "embraced the statutes of but four states and those four the ones least applicable to a frontier territory." The laws adopted, says Judge Campbell, were judicious and well drawn.

It so happened that Governor Hull had stopped at Albany to take the oath of office before Vice President George Clinton; and on his arrival at Detroit had administered the oath to Judge Woodward and Judge Bates. The careful Madison, to whom Governor Hull reported these facts, made endorsement that the Vice President not being empowered to administer oaths, all the oaths were informal; but this lack of judicial succession was never again adverted to.

The Legislature promptly provided for courts of justice, for a militia, and for raising by lotteries $20,000 to be expended on the promotion of literature and the improvement of the City of Detroit. All able-bodied male inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and fifty were enrolled in the militia and each was required "to provide himself with a good musket or fusee, a sufficient knapsack and bayonet and two square flints." So strenuous, not to say fussy, was the new governor on the subject of drills that he laid the foundation of an unpopularity that increased from month to month.

In several matters pertaining to the interests of the Territory, Governor Hull exercised a wise discretion. When Granger, a mill owner on the St. Clair River, made complaint to President Jefferson that his lands were being invaded by both British and American timber-thieves, Governor Hull was ordered to issue a proclamation forbidding trespassing on the timbered lands along the St. Clair. This he did, but on September 11 he addressed to the State Department a remonstrance, in which he urged that boards had already advanced $4 to $5 a thousand, that timber could be obtained only from the British or in the St. Clair country, and that consequently the course of the Government was working distress among the poor people at Detroit who had been sufferers from the fire. Governor Hull also argued very justly that inasmuch as the Indian titles to the timber lands had never been acquired by the Government, no person could have a legal right to them, and consequently trespass must be a violation of the laws of the United States, and not an offense against

private rights. Governor Hull's position was legally a sound one; but for thirty years certain of the St. Clair lands had been under improvement, and for nearly a century saw mills had been in operation in that country.

The remonstrance having met the usual fate of communications sent to Washington, Governor Hull, being at the capital during the following December, addressed a brief note to the Secretary of State, asking if, for the reasons before stated, the President did not think it expedient to take action in the timber matter. Madison evidently took this note to a cabinet meeting; for on the bottom of the scrap of paper the same hand that penned the Declaration of Independence wrote these words, extending the aid of the Government to the sufferers by the Detroit fire:

"It was our joint opinion that, although it would not do to lay open the public timber to all persons indiscriminately, yet that the calamity which happened at Detroit rendered it proper that the public should permit the poorer sufferers to get timber from their lands, and that it should be left to the discretion of Governor Hull to grant the special licenses. Th. J."

While Governor Hull was in Washington, officers from Fort Malden, the British headquarters at the mouth of the river, attempted to apprehend and take back a deserter from that post. The story, as written to Secretary Madison by the acting governor, Stanley Griswold, relates that on Sunday, December 8, Thomas Nolan, a deputy marshal, while going to the River Rouge, six miles below Detroit, was met on the river by a party of British soldiers, who held him to search his boat for deserters. After some words, the boats went their different ways, and Nolan landed at Weaver's Tavern, on the Rouge, for breakfast. There he found Captain Muir and Lieutenant Lundee, from Fort Malden.

While the party were breakfasting a sentry stationed by the officers reported a canoe in sight. Captain Muir ordered his boat manned and dispatched a soldier to intercept it. During the bustle a man named Morrison arrived at the tavern, was recognized by some of the British as a deserter, and was taken into custody. Now Captain Muir was a good deal of a bully, and the fashion in which he and his soldiers conducted themselves on American soil aroused the ire of Marshal Nolan, who, calling the citizens of the United States to his assistance, after a struggle in which arms were displayed, rescued Morrison and took him to Detroit. The British officers followed not far behind, and on reaching the town went to Fort Shelby with their grievance. There they found Captain Brevoort and

Governor Hull wishes to enquire of the Secretary State, whether he received his Letter inclosing a Copy of the proclamation, he was directed to issue, and whether for the reasons stated in his Letter the President, thought it expedient, to authorize the Governor, or any other Officer, to grant permissions to cut such quantities of pine timber as was absolutely necessary, under the peculiar circumstances of the People of Detroit &

It was our joint opinion that altho' it would not do to lay open the public timber to all persons indiscriminately, yet that the calamity which happened at Detroit rendered it proper that the public should permit the poorer sufferers to get timber from their lands, and that it should be left to the discretion of Gov. Hull to grant the special licences.

Th: J.

Washington 10th December 1805

From the State Department MSS.

NOTE OF WILLIAM HULL TO PRESIDENT JEFFERSON, AND JEFFERSON'S ENDORSEMENT THEREON.

Lieutenant Hanks quite ready to give aid in apprehending a deserter, by way of courtesy to fellow officers. The servants of the United States officers going from house to house through the little town, late in the evening, located Morrison in the dwelling of Conrad Seek. Thereupon, Captain Muir and Lieutenant Lundee broke into Seek's house, and seized the deserter. The people were prepared for them, and a general scuffle ensued. The British officers flourished their swords and pistols. Captain Brevoort stood by and swore at the citizens, and Lieutenant Hanks, with uplifted stick, threatened to strike any man who dared to lay hands on a British officer. Several shots were fired, and Captain Muir fired a bullet into his own leg; but neither the prowess of the British nor the curses and threats of their American allies availed to rescue Morrison, who, securely guarded, was removed to the house of a Mr. Smythe. There another crowd assembled, and when Lieutenant Hanks threatened to bring a detachment of troops from the fort and Governor Hull's impetuous son menaced the mob with the assurance that he would have the artillery "blow the parcel of rascals to perdition," the people promptly gathered in both British and American officers. Next morning the offenders having been brought before the magistrates, charged with a violent breach of the peace, the British officers were held in the sum of one thousand dollars each to appear at the September term of the general court. The three Americans were also put under bail to appear at the same time. England might search American vessels on the high seas; but her officers should not be allowed to break into American homes. Even Major Campbell, the commandant at Malden, felt himself called upon promptly to disavow the action of his officers, although he insisted that the reports of the affair had been exaggerated. The officers were duly convicted; but, the international bearings of the affair having been adjusted by Major Campbell's disavowal, the fines were made trifling in amount. Thus the dignity of the United States was upheld, and at the same time, an olive branch was extended to our neighbors.

Equal tact was shown in dealing with an Indian trouble which happened a year later. Michome, or Little Bear, a prominent chief of the Chippewa nation, having murdered a member of his own tribe at Detroit, was promptly arrested and put in prison. He justified his action by saying that, being the head of the nation, and by its laws and customs having all power invested in him, he conceived that he had done only his duty in despatching an Indian who had murdered a number of the tribe, and who had twice tried to poison Michome himself. After killing the Indian, Michome had

gone straight to Governor Hull and reported the act, whereupon the Governor, fearing the displeasure of the Huron River and St. Clair Indians, wrote to President Jefferson asking for a pardon in case the chief should be convicted of murder. The pardon was sent, but before it arrived, Michome was acquitted.

During the summer of 1806 the people of Detroit dropped their business for a time to prepare for a defense against a threatened attack from Canada. Much irritability arose on both sides of the border, because of the fact that slaves left their British masters and sought freedom in Michigan. When the owners applied to the Government for the apprehension and return of their property, Governor Hull did not consider himself authorized to comply with the request, although he was willing to use all his authority to deliver the slaves that came from other states. When the British masters applied to the courts, they again met refusal to interfere. The excitement, however, soon died out.

The Michigan officials were early met by the great disparity between their incomes and their expenditures. "In no part of the United States or Europe where I have resided," writes Governor Hull in his first letter to Secretary Madison, "is the expense of living so great as at this place. It will be for Congress to judge whether it will not be expedient to increase the salaries of their officers. The Secretary is strongly inclined to resign immediately but I have persuaded him to remain until the next session of Congress." Six months later, Secretary Griswold, then acting as governor in the absence of General Hull, gives a highly colored picture of Detroit life. "It is reduced to a certainty," he says, "that this government cannot proceed without some additional pecuniary aid from Congress. Its seat is established at a place which combines all the disadvantages of an old and new settlement, without one of the advantages of either. Luxury, the relic of British fortunes formerly squandered here, and of a once flourishing commerce, continues its empire, tho' I am happy to think it is on the decline. Fashion, ceremony and expense are great, far beyond the present abilities of the inhabitants. We are in the neighborhood of a proud, rich and showy government, which has frequent intercourse with us through characters of wealth and distinction. Our compensations are scanty for the most retired internal situations, where house-rent and provisions are cheap and expensive company is not known, as was the case at the seat of the government of the Northwestern Territory, in the year 1787, by the ordinance of which date our salaries are regulated. Imagine to yourself a man expending the

little savings he had been able to make in fitting out and removing his family a thousand miles, and finding himself compelled to pay for rent and the necessaries of life more than he would be obliged to pay in the most expensive city of the United States, or of the world; with the extraordinary duties and expenses of chief magistrate, devolved on him for eight months out of twelve; of commander-in-chief of a militia which is relied on for effective defense; and of superintendent of Indian affairs to numerous and powerful nations, whose chiefs are frequently at his house,—and imagine this man receiving but $750 per annum." [13]

These piteous appeals for larger salaries were treated at Washington as such communications are treated to this day. As a rule the first thing is to get an appointment and the next is to secure an increase in salary. Yet with the officeholders in Michigan Territory as in other sections of the country, the Jefferson rule held good,—"Few die and none resign." The opportunities for gain in a new territory, however, were not altogether wanting; and shortly after their advent Governor Hull and Judge Woodward made arrangements with Russell Sturgis and other Boston capitalists literally to make money, through the organization of a bank of issue. Currency was scarce in this isolated community, and trade was conducted mainly by barter. The advent of the English had driven out the Spanish and French coin, and when the United States came into possession the sources of money supply were the payments made to the garrison and the meager salaries paid to the governor, the judges and territorial secretary, together with the coin brought in by the traders of the American Fur Company, who were the bankers of the forest. When coin was scarce the company filled the gap with issues of its own due-bills in small denominations. Governor Hull proposed a bank chartered for thirty years, with a capital of $400,000; but to Judge Woodward's expansive mind these figures seemed grossly inadequate, and so he had the time extended to one hundred and one years and the capital increased to a million dollars. For a century thereafter no bank established in Michigan exceeded the capital of this first financial institution, which was intended to provide for the wants of a city of a thousand people and a territory within whose borders there were not more than three thousand inhabitants.

It was necessary for Congress to approve the charter and in this

[13] Woodward in his letter to Proctor says that the governor received £450 sterling; the judges £270; and the secretary £225, which would make the salaries about $2,250, $1,350 and $1,125 respectively.

connection Judge Woodward's letter to Madison throws considerable light on the trade conditions of the country, besides exhibiting some of those wild ideas of finance which in these later days have found many adherents. "From the ocean all the way to these settlements," writes the judge, "there is a continued line of improvements following without deviation the line of navigation. It is seldom more than forty miles in breadth; but its length is at least 1,500 miles. These settlements are pleasant, fertile and even opulent. They present along the whole line an activity little realized in the United States. The commerce in furs, which has been carried on in one channel for two centuries, is the cause of this phenomenon. The measures of Bonaparte have just in a great degree cut off the English from the continental market for furs. The Chinese have also laid restrictions on this commerce. At present (1807) there is a shock felt along the whole line which I have described; and which paralyzes even in this country. . . . The commerce belongs to another nation. The Americans have never been able to succeed in it, though the most desirable part of it belongs to their own territory, and the whole of it passes along their line."

It was Judge Woodward's expressed opinion that inasmuch as "the quantity of notes and bills would always be regulated by the people according to their needs, the amount of capital is unimportant." On a paid up capital of $19,000 in guineas, 10 per cent of which was provided by the territory, 5 by the citizens and 85 by the Bostonians, the bank began business in an $8,000 building provided with iron doors and a cashier brought all the way from Boston. Judge Woodward was president, and on him and Cashier Flannigan devolved the onerous work of signing the bills. When $165,000 in currency had been so signed, the Boston managers departed eastward with it and marketed their crop at a discount of from 10 to 25 per cent. These issues were repeated until notes to the amount of $400,000 were outstanding. The first $5 bill presented for payment was refused, and $500 in notes bought in Albany were also at first declined, but were afterwards paid to save a complete collapse of the bank. Russell Sturgis and his friends had unloaded their stock, and now Governor Hull became completely convinced that the bank was a swindle. But Mr. Dexter, another Boston financier, stepped into the breach, and as proprietor of the Bank of Detroit increased the issue to $1,500,000, all but $12,000 being put upon the eastern markets, with the result that people who had never before heard of Detroit now learned to their cost that there was such a city.

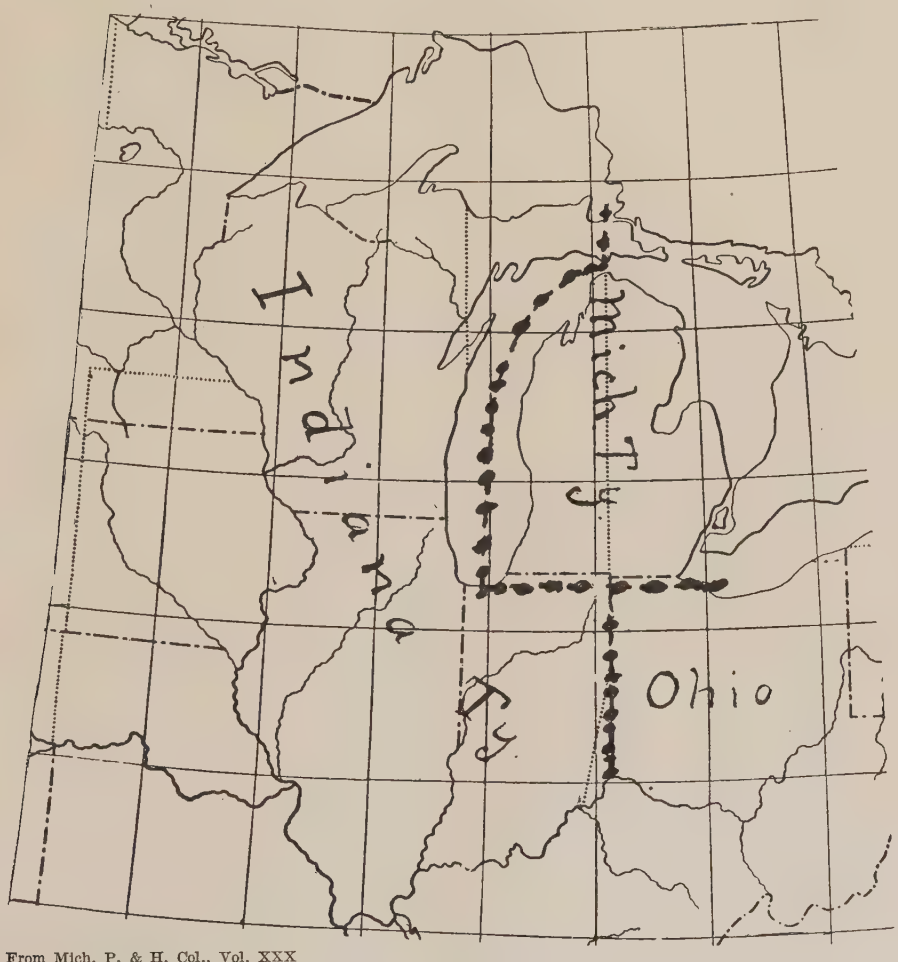
All this time the bank had been doing business without having had its charter approved by Congress, a matter which led to an investigation. Judge Woodward, with his helper, Judge Griffin, stood by the bank; while Governor Hull and Judge Witherell (who had succeeded Judge Bates when the latter was transferred to Missouri) were opposed to its continuance. During Judge Woodward's absence in Washington, a bill was passed by the Legislative Council to punish the circulation of illegal bank bills, and the Bank of Detroit came to an end. Inasmuch as the institution received no deposits and discounted no bills, the closing worked little harm within the Territory, although it gave Michigan a bad name in the East. For the next ten years the people got on without a bank.[14]

Congress by act of April 21, 1806, authorized the governor and judges to lay out a town, including the old town of Detroit and 10,000 acres adjacent, to settle all private claims for lots and to convey a lot 50 by 100 feet to every person over seventeen years old who either owned or inhabited a house at the time of the fire. The remaining land was to be sold to build a courthouse and jail. The courthouse, located at the head of Griswold street, was built many years later and became first the territorial and then the state capital. When the seat of government was removed to Lansing the building was used for school purposes; it was burned, a new structure was built, and now the space is used as a small park. The following year Congress provided the means of quieting titles derived from French and English grants or from occupancy to lands outside of Detroit and in the other portions of the territory.

It has been the custom to regard Governor Hull as the victim of Judge Woodward's keenness and eccentricity. The fact is that when he came to Detroit the Governor had already outlived his usefulness. His appointment was a mistake, his reappointment was a blunder and his later selection at Washington for a military command, notwithstanding his record in the governorship, was a crime against ordinary intelligence. On the other hand, Judge Woodward was a philosopher according to the standards of his day; during his leisure hours he wrote a treatise on "The Substance of the Sun" which was published in Philadelphia in 1809; and he urged upon Madison the desirability of opening intercourse with the Chinese government. He went to Washington frequently, and never entirely

[14] Prior to the War of 1812 the currency was Spanish and Portugese gold and French silver, which merchants kept in nail kegs under their counters. There was no fear of burglars because there was no place where a burglar could find safety.

lost touch with the world of science and politics. He despised the Governor, whose mind lumbered along, who was notoriously and absurdly fearful of Indian attacks and who blustered when he should have acted. By virtue of his office, which gave him the



From Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXX

MICHIGAN TERRITORY, 1805

appointment of all officials, the Governor formed a party of considerable size. His failures, therefore, were due to his own character, or the want of character; whereas the projects of the highest class which Judge Woodward formed sprang from his own fertile mind and were carried out, in spite of opposition, by the sheer force of his

persistency and the inherent merit of his ideas; too often his eccentricities have been allowed to obscure or to minimize the benefits derived from his service in Michigan. The only effective way in which Judge Woodward could check Governor Hull was by refusing to attend meetings of the legislative board, a device frequently resorted to in these later days and known as "breaking a quorum."

On July 23, 1810, the Governor gave notice that he would be in attendance at the council chamber that day "in a legislative character," and that the meeting would be open to the public. To this notification the Judge made answer in the shape of an arraignment of the Governor. Allowing for the temper of the writer, the letter still is a lucid and searching presentation of the situation. "The ordinance of 1787," says Judge Woodward, "which by the act of the 11th day of January, 1805, is made a rule of government in this Territory, confers a plain and simple power on the governor and judges. They, or a majority of them, shall adopt laws from the original states. They are not made a body, they have no speaker; there is no definition of a quorum. The majority required is not a majority of those present, but a majority of the whole. Three signatures, therefore, or the assent in some shape of three persons becomes indispensable, under the ordinance, to any provision which is intended to have the obligation of a law. Regulations sanctioned by three members of this government have all the force of laws unless disapproved by Congress, when reported to them. A regulation signed by your Excellency alone, and bearing date on the 9th day of November, 1808, institutes indeed very different provisions. If this is a law binding on the inhabitants and government of this Territory, the form of government given by the ordinance is essentially changed. It may, indeed be improved, but the question will still remain, and it is a question all important under a republican form of government, 'has the change been made by competent authority? and does not the creature in this instance arrogate the power which alone belongs to the creator?' This question at length assumed a judicial shape, and in the action brought by James MacGarwin against James Wilson, in the Supreme Court of this Territory, in which judgment was rendered on the 5th day of October, 1809, in favor of the defendant in error, the principle became definitely settled, as far as the authorities of this government are competent to settle it. By this adjudication the sanction of three members of this government is considered requisite to a law. Any writing without this is conceived to be merely a bill, or proposal of a law, and there-

fore not binding on the courts of justice; and, strictly speaking, not subject to be disapproved by Congress, even if reported to them.

"This adjudication of the Supreme Court has excited in your Excellency a storm of indignation, as extraordinary as the consequences have been singular. A calumnious and inflammatory proclamation is issued on the 19th day of October, 1809; a proclamation which is calumnious because it states matters which are not facts, and inflammatory because it makes the undersigned in particular, as the presiding judge of the Supreme Court, the object of your indignation.

"The proclamation of your Excellency proceeds to state that the officers of the government, in consequence of this adjudication, hesitate whether to obey your bills. You wish to relieve them from any further doubts on that subject, by informing them that any other construction of the ordinance than that made by your Excellency is an absurdity; and therefore calling upon all good citizens to be firm and uniform in obeying your bills, and requiring the civil, and even the military authorities of the country, to carry them into effect.

"In consequence of this very singular, and in an American government, unprecedented stile of proceeding, the minds of our good citizens have been confused. Some of the justices of the peace, knowing that if the decision of the Supreme Court in any case really be erroneous, you have no authority to reverse it, have disregarded your proclamation. Others on the contrary, who derive higher fees from your bills than from the established laws, continue to act under them. Citizens are from time to time incarcerated by the magistrates appointed by you, and obeying your proclamation and bills; and as continually are released from their imprisonment by writ of habeas corpus issued, when applied for, from the Supreme Court and the judges. Two magistrates appointed by you, and composing an inferior court, have refused to admit to record the last will and testament of the late collector of the port of Michilimackinac, devolving it on an officer commissioned under one of your bills; and the executors have been compelled to seek a remedy by writ of mandamus.

"The refusal of your Excellency to attend with the judges in a legislative capacity for four months preceding your change in the mode of passing laws, your precipitate adjournment of the late meeting of the Governor and Judges almost as soon as they were assembled, your violent proclamation, your present unusual notice to the inhabitants of an opportunity to make applications, and the facility with which it is well known an executive magistrate, having a variety of small employments to bestow, may create a turbulent and clamor-

ous band of adherents, bearing down both public sentiment and the tribunals of justice, all indicate the necessity of caution against what you are now attempting; and which, if successful, would amount to a literal subversion of the judicial authority of this government.

"Your late report as a committee inquiring into your own conduct in the executive department, and which abounds with so many personalities to the other members of the government, is, perhaps, as little to be justified as the extraordinary proclamation.

"The false alarms respecting hostilities with the savage tribes under your superintendency; besides the great and useless expense occasioned to the general government, and your appropriation of the territorial resources to that object on your sole authority, and in direct violation of our laws; have given rise to two inconveniences to this country, which it is conceived the legislative power, as it exists, would be competent to redress. The first of these is your embodying the runaway slaves belonging to the inhabitants of the adjacent province of his Britannic majesty into a military company, appointing a negro officer to command them, and supplying them with arms belonging to the United States. The supplying those slaves with the public arms has been thought to have been done without the sanction of the proper authority, but if it should be doubtful, the legitimacy, or the policy, of embodying negroes as militia, and particularly the runaway slaves of gentlemen living under the government of his Britannic majesty in this vicinity, held under the laws of that country, and the very irregular mode adopted by your Excellency of appointing the officers to command them, are matters of greater certainty. The peculiar state of this Territory on the great subject of slavery ought to render the legislative power particularly vigilant over such a train of unwarranted transactions.

"The second inconvenience is more serious. It is your ordering the inhabitants of the country to cut picquets, transport them from the country, dig trenches, plant picquets in them, mount nocturnal guards, etc. etc. without their being called out in quality of militia in actual service, and, of course, without being put under pay. A power of this description, it is believed, has never heretofore been exercised in any part of the United States; and the same authority which passes the law relative to the militia was perhaps competent to make inquiry into its execution.

"These, Sir, are public questions, and in order to suppress investigation of them you have no right to indulge in any asperities to the members of what have been termed the Legislative Board. When assembled they are on a footing of equality; and though you are entitled, from dignity of office, as well as from being first named,

to preside at their deliberations, yet if your conduct is unworthy, or you indulge in an improper demeanor toward those who differ with you in sentiment, it is perhaps in their power to interpose an effectual check.

"When I recollect the nocturnal attack made upon the domicile of the late Secretary of this government, the pardon recently held out by your Excellency for a different offense, and that the judges of the Supreme Court are now proscribed by a proclamation of the Executive magistrate, and the civil and military authorities arrayed to defeat their judgments, I conceive that it amounts to an attempt to subvert this government by force; and that it is my duty to present to it what I trust will not be unbecoming, but which will certainly be a firm opposition.

"I therefore return you this answer to your requisition of attending you in, what you have termed, your legislative character; and which you subscribe with the appellation of 'President of the Legislative Board.' I will not act with you in that capacity until your proclamation, bearing date on the nineteenth day of October, 1809, be annulled; or until unequivocal evidence be otherwise manifested that it is not to be attended with further obedience on the part of either the civil or military authorities you therein call upon, and more especially the latter.

"The form of government which you are now acting under is not that instituted by the ordinance and acts of Congress; but a different one, instituted by your act of the ninth day of November, 1809. I do not consider myself a member of the latter, and I dare not give you my aid in carrying it into execution. When you return to the previous and legitimate course of government, I shall attend you; and, as heretofore, shall cheerfully sign my name to any law which meets the approbation of others, whether it receives my vote or not. I except, at all times, the first section of your second bill, punishing treason against the Territory of Michigan with death; a provision of this kind operating to punish one of my fellow citizens with death, for perhaps an imaginary crime, the Territory possessing no sovereignty."

On the whole this letter of Judge Woodward accurately describes the situation existing in Michigan Territory up to the time of the War of 1812. While the judge had his failings, his respect for the organic law and for the dignity of both his own and the governor's office forbade him to be a party to the subversion of law by the arbitrary action of the executive. In this he was clearly right, and his statement of his position is eminently respectful.

CHAPTER XVI

MICHIGAN IN THE WAR OF 1812

With the exception of the battle of New Orleans, fought after the treaty of peace with England was signed, the incidents of the War of 1812 on land furnish instructive rather than agreeable reading for good Americans. Yet the rout of the United States forces at Bladensburg, the burning of the Capitol, and the sack of the White House, humiliating as were those events, involved only a dash and a retreat. The surrender of Detroit by Hull and the reoccupation of Michigan Territory by the British, coming at the very beginning of the war, aroused the entire nation in much the same way that Bull Run did in 1861; and in the case of Detroit there was the added disgrace that for the first time the borders of this country were contracted.

With the utmost reluctance the government of Great Britain had admitted the Americans to a share in the fur trade. The posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac were important chiefly because they were the headquarters for the fur traders in their dealings with the Indians. Both were strategic points, commanding the important lake passages; and on giving them up the English had established two others located so as to dominate the posts surrendered. The Mackinac Company, which had been operating at Michilimackinac, sold its station to John Jacob Astor and others, and established the seat of its trade on St. Joseph's Island, near the mouth of St. Mary's River; and the cross of St. George, having been hauled down at Detroit, was speedily raised again over Fort Malden, near the town of Amherstburg. Not only did Fort Malden command the narrows of the Detroit River near its mouth, but it also threatened the only line of land communication between Detroit and the American settlements in Ohio and Indiana, whence came both troops and supplies. Between the headwaters of the Ohio and Lake Erie was the Black Swamp, a barrier at all times difficult, and in the rainy season well nigh impassable for any considerable force. A comparatively small party from Fort Malden, by planning the time and place of attack, could easily cross the river and overcome a large force of

Americans scattered along the narrow and arduous line of advance from Lake Erie to Detroit. Moreover, the British had on Lake Erie, six or seven armed vessels, and the Americans had none.[1] As early as July 5, 1809, General William Henry Harrison pointed out to Secretary of War Eustis that the building of Fort Malden had destroyed absolutely the strategic importance of Detroit; and that St. Joseph might easily dominate Mackinac. In case of war, therefore, the capture of Fort Malden, as Harrison showed, was indispensable to American success in retaining possession of Michigan.

Holding the dominating situations, the British exerted themselves to win the Indians to their side—not a difficult task. Among the lake Indians a plot had been formed along the lines of the conspiracy of Pontiac. Early in 1806 a prophet arose among the Shawanese, announcing that the Great Spirit had sent him to reform the manners and customs of the red men and to bring about a return to the ways of their fathers, who dwelt in joy and happiness. Little honored in his own country and among his own people, the Prophet (as he was called) had the fame of his miracles spread throughout Michigan and even to the Mississippi, his apostle being his brother, Tecumseh, an Indian of great cunning, of untiring energy and of undoubted bravery. Making Pontiac his model, Tecumseh plotted with the three tribes that had once supported the Ottawa chief, for the surprise of Detroit, Mackinac, Fort Wayne and Chicago. The British, keeping themselves well informed as to the progress of the discontent among the Indians, supplied the savages with arms and ammunition. Colonel Cluss, the commandant at Fort Malden, reports that in 1810 he served 6,000 Indians with presents, and gave out over seventy thousand rations; and Tecumseh acknowledged to General Harrison that the English were urging the Indians to war on the Americans, "even as a boy calls to one dog to set him to fight with another." The uprising culminated November 7, 1811, in the battle of Tippecanoe, fought on the banks of that river. The Indians made an early morning attack on a camp of 800 regulars, Kentucky volunteers and Indiana militia under General Harrison, and were defeated with heavy loss. Harrison came out of the battle with immense popularity among the soldiers, but many of his officers were so jealous of his success that, unfortunately, his usefulness was impaired; and later, in the selection of generals for the War of 1812, his name was passed over for the time

[1] On his journey to Washington in 1811, Governor Hull accepted the hospitality of the captain of a British vessel to convey him from Detroit across Lake Erie.—Aurora.

Monument Erected by the State of Michigan as a Memorial of the River Raisin Massacre

being. Tecumseh was not with the Indians when the battle of Tippecanoe was fought; but the result of it taught him that his only hope of recovering for his people the fertile lands of the Ohio Valley lay in an alliance with the English. Fortunately for his purposes, war came to open hostilities between the British and the Americans, and Tecumseh lost no time in allying himself with the forces at Fort Malden.

In February, 1812, Governor Hull was called to Washington by the threatened war. When President Madison offered to place him in charge of the military operations centering at Detroit, he urged that he was too old for such work, and that he preferred to retain his position as governor. He advised the President to place a sufficient naval force on the lower lakes; but he thought that the upper lakes could be controlled by the armed brig Adams, then building at Detroit. There being no officer of the regular army who could be intrusted with the command on the lakes, Governor Hull reluctantly became the fifth brigadier-general. In common with his fellow generals, he had never been in the regular service, and had never commanded a regiment in the field.

On June 30, General Hull had reached the Maumee River with a force consisting of three regiments of Ohio militia under the command of Colonels McArthur, Findlay and Cass; a troop of Ohio dragoons, and the Fourth regiment of United States Infantry, veterans of Tippecanoe; in all about sixteen hundred men. Four days before, he had received from Secretary of War Eustis a dispatch saying that circumstances had recently occurred which rendered it necessary for him to pursue his march with all possible expedition, and that the highest confidence was reposed in his discretion, zeal and perseverance. With his little army Hull had conquered the Black Swamp, and now was within an easy distance of Detroit. In order to spare his worn-out pack horses, he hired the schooner Cuyahoga to carry his own and his officers' baggage, the hospital stores and the entrenching tools of the army. Captain Hull, who was his father's aide-de-camp, carelessly sent with the other baggage a trunk containing the General's commission, his instructions from the War Department and the army muster-rolls. With a cheerful optimism, General Hull believed that the schooner would be allowed to pass unmolested up the narrow channel under the guns of Fort Malden—a fort that he had gathered an army to reduce. On the 2d of July, as the Cuyahoga attempted to run the batteries, a shot dropped across her bow brought her to, and a prize crew from the British armed vessel Hunter was put on board.

Meanwhile the army had advanced to Frenchtown, now Monroe, on the River Raisin, and there at 2 o'clock on the morning of June 26th, Hull received from the hands of Charles Shaler a dispatch stating that war had been declared. This dispatch, dated on the same day with the one urging haste to Detroit, had been put by mistake into the Detroit mail, and the Postmaster General had instructed Postmaster Walworth of Cleveland to forward it by express; Mr. Walworth hazarded opening the Detroit pouch to take it out, and hired Mr. Shaler to make the wilderness journey to overtake the army. On reading the dispatch, General Hull called a council of officers; and, acting on their decision, at dawn the army started for Detroit. Before beginning his march, Hull learned that the Cuyahoga had been captured; and thus he knew that the British had earlier information than he had of the declaration of war. As a matter of fact, John Jacob Astor, who was largely engaged in the fur trade, had procured from Secretary Gallatin treasury orders for collectors of customs along the Great Lakes to receive and hold any furs that might be brought to them by Astor's agents; and the merchant's expresses spread the war news through Canada, so that Colonel St. George at Malden was two days ahead of Hull in getting the important information.

When the army arrived at Springwells, below Detroit, on July 5, and the soldiers saw the British at work on the other shore, they burned to invade Canada; but General Hull, greatly to the chagrin of his officers, decided that his orders would not permit him to cross the river. Having received from Secretary Eustis discretionary orders to move on Fort Malden, Hull waited six days and then, on the evening of the 11th, he sent a fleet of canoes and bateaux down to Springwells. The British, expecting that the Americans would cross there, deserted their new fortifications opposite Detroit, and prepared to repel the invaders. But when darkness dropped down on the black river, the boats were towed up to Bloody Run, where Pontiac had made his stand thirty-nine years before; and there at dawn on Sunday morning, July 12, the Michigan militia under Colonel Elijah Brush, the regulars and the ardent Ohio volunteers were ferried across the half-mile of water, 400 at a time. Not a British soldier opposed their landing, and when Colonel Cass ran up the stars and stripes, the cheers of the assembled French Canadians rang clear with those of the invaders. The Americans were highly elated. Colonel Cass wrote and General Hull signed and published a stirring proclamation, promising civil liberty and all the blessings of freedom to the Canadians who should remain in

their homes and offer no resistance to the Americans. At the same time they were warned that "No white man found fighting at the side of an Indian would be taken prisoner; instant destruction would be his lot." This proclamation caused the Canadian militia to melt away; some joined the Americans, but the majority returned to their homes.

Success now depended on quick and vigorous action against Fort Malden. The woods were full of savages who were in the pay of the British, but who would quickly disperse if the Americans should be successful. Colonel Cass, with 208 men, pushing on down the River Detroit, found that the bridge at River Canard was held by the Indians under Tecumseh and a regiment of Canadian militia. Marching up the little stream Cass discovered a ford, and about sunset made a spirited attack. The British and Indians ran to the tune of Yankee Doodle played by the American drummer; and although reinforced, they were unable to withstand the impetuous invaders. At nightfall, Cass gave up the pursuit, and sent back to Hull asking permission to hold the bridge. The timid general refused the request, saying that he would not be prepared to take Fort Malden until his heavy cannon were ready, and that the bridge was too near the enemy to be held by a small detachment. Cass, although sorely disappointed at Hull's decision, had reason to be satisfied with the day's events. He had fought the first fight of the new war for independence; and, the news quickly spreading through the country, he was hailed as "the hero of Ta-ron-tee" (the Indian name of River Canard), and the foundation of his military fame was laid.

Fort Malden was a fortification best defended from the outside,[2] and Colonel St. George had made preparations to move out in case he should be attacked by a superior force. Captain Muir commanded about two hundred British regulars; and there were for garrison only about fifty Newfoundland Fencibles and thirty artillerymen. Had Hull followed up Cass's success, he would have met with no determined opposition; but, as it was, his delays gave the enemy the needed time to strengthen the fortifications, increase the garrison, win over the wavering Indians, and so command the American line of supplies.

The Ohio militia were an independent lot of men, and Hull's error in judgment made the troops suspect that their commander might be a coward; an idea strengthened when he left his army to

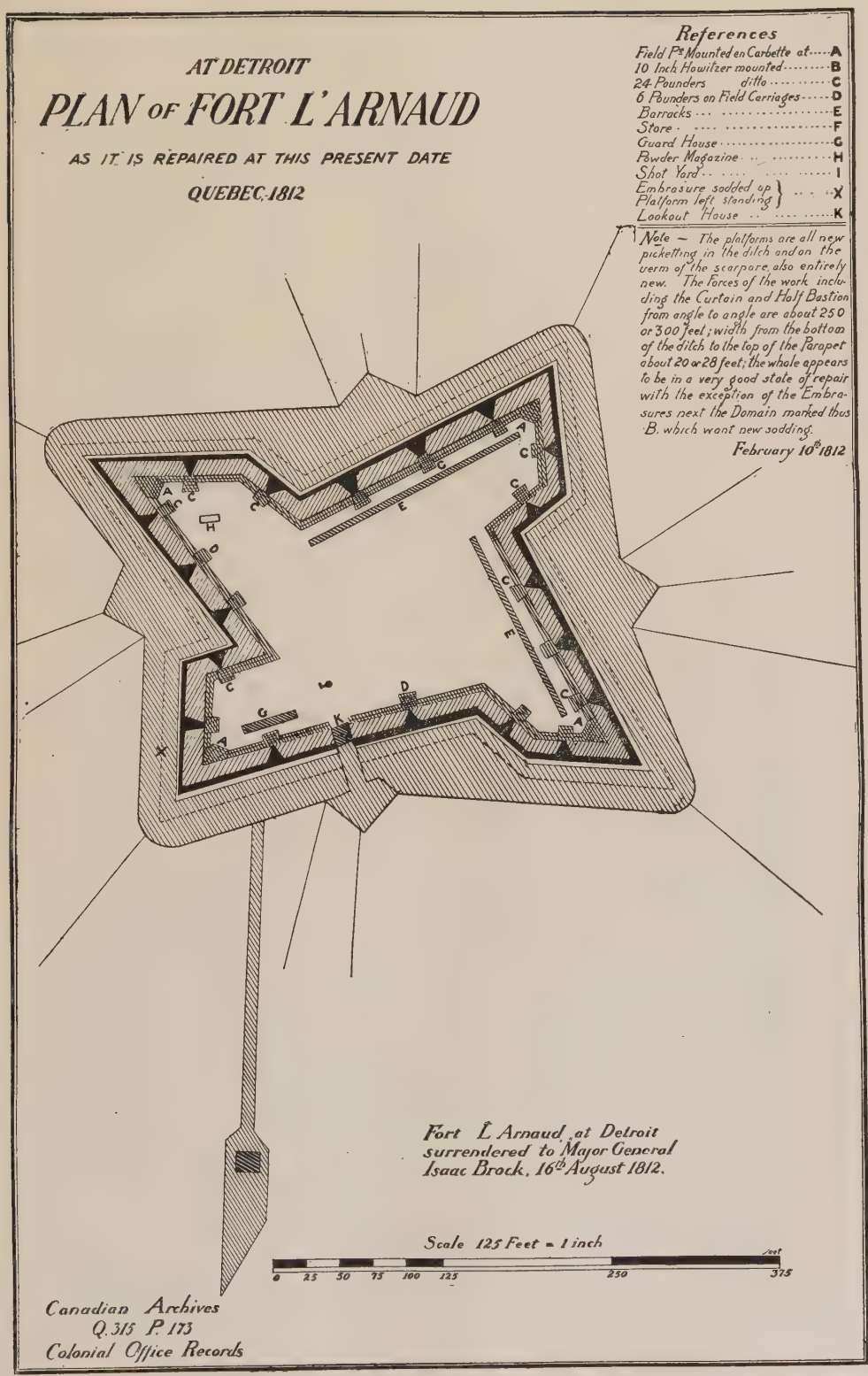
[2] The remains of the fort may still be seen at Amherstburg. It was a simple earthwork.

spend four days at Detroit. On July 24th, General McArthur, being in command during Hull's absence, determined to make an effort to capture Fort Malden; but the time for that had gone by. The passage across River Canard was guarded by a strong force covered by the guns of the Queen Charlotte, and the Indians were laying ambushes for small parties of Americans that might venture out. On the 25th, in a skirmish with a party of Indians near Turkey Creek Bridge, six Americans under Major Denney were killed, and there the first blood of the War of 1812 was shed.

The officers and men of Hull's army now were persuaded that their commander did not mean to fight, and that he was personally timid. Hull himself was disheartened and discouraged by the failure of the Government to give him that support which he deemed essential not only to success but even to enable him to hold Detroit, isolated as it was from the states. A fleet on the lakes and active operations at Niagara seemed to him necessities, but no measures had been taken to build vessels; and he could expect no assistance from General Dearborn at Niagara, for that officer was being cajoled by Sir George Prevost into suspending hostilities for the time being, thus allowing the concentration of troops at Detroit.[3]

To Hull in his despondency came the paroled garrison from Mackinac. Early in July the British commandant at St. Joseph's, Captain Roberts, had received from General Isaac Brock orders to capture Mackinac, and to call to his assistance the Indians and the employes of the Northwest Fur Company, who would naturally be only too ready to strike a blow at their rivals in trade. On July 16 the motley flotilla set out. There were British regulars and Canadian militia in their bateaux; about seven hundred Sioux, Ottawa, Winnebago and Chippewa Indians skimming the smooth lake in their bark canoes, and the fur company's brig Caledonia, well loaded with supplies,—a brave array to capture half a hundred men, who formed the garrison at Mackinac. Half way on their course, the British secured Captain Dousman, sent by Lieutenant Hanks to find out the disposition of his enemies. Dousman was paroled and sent back to the island to warn the citizens not to go to the fort under pain of massacre, but to gather on the west side of the island, where they would be protected by a British guard. At dawn on July 17, the British force disembarked at the spot still known as the British Landing; the Indians dispersed themselves among the thick woods,

[3] This is made plain in Prevost's correspondence, "Canadian Archives," 1893.


AT DETROIT
PLAN OF FORT L'ARNAUD
AS IT IS REPAIRED AT THIS PRESENT DATE
QUEBEC 1812
References
Field Pce Mounted en Carbette at ..... A
10 Inch Howitzer mounted ..... B
24 Pounders ditto C
6 Pounders on Field Carriages ..... D
Barracks ..... E
Store ..... F
Guard House ..... G
Powder Magazine ..... H
Shot Yard I
Embrasure sodded up } X
Platform left standing }
Lookout House ..... K
Note — The platforms are all new picketting in the ditch and on the verm of the scarpare also entirely new. The forces of the work including the Curtain and Half Bastion from angle to angle are about 250 or 300 feet; width from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the Parapet about 20 or 28 feet; the whole appears to be in a very good state of repair with the exception of the Embrasures next the Domain marked thus B. which want new sodding.
February 10th 1812
Fort L'Arnaud at Detroit surrendered to Major General Isaac Brock, 16th August 1812.
Scale 125 Feet = 1 inch
feet
0 25 50 75 100 125 250 375
Canadian Archives
Q. 315 P. 173
Colonial Office Records

THE FORT AT DETROIT SURRENDERED BY GENERAL HULL

while the British occupied the high lands commanding the fort, and there planted a heavy gun just captured from the Americans. The first intimation Lieutenant Hanks had that war existed came to him after the British had landed, and, with their savage allies, were in possession of the island. Doctor Day, disregarding Dousman's warning not to give information to the fort, had rushed to Lieutenant Hanks with the news; but it was too late to make a stand, and surrender was the only alternative. Had a gun been fired, the savages could not have been held in check; as it was, private property received protection, and the prisoners who desired to leave Mackinac were sent on parole to Detroit.

Into the ears of the timid and vacillating general the Mackinac prisoners poured the tale of the hordes of Indians and voyageurs who were already preparing to swoop down on Detroit. Hull gave vent to his fears in a letter to the secretary of war, a document that speedily fell into the hands of the enemy.[4] The next day Hull reluctantly sent 200 of the Ohio militia under Major Van Horne to the River Raisin to meet a supply train despatched by Governor Meigs of Ohio. A band of Indians under Tecumseh, crossing from Fort Malden, lay in wait for the Americans near the River Ecorse; and when the advance guard lost their way while wandering around a cornfield, a dozen Indians fired from ambush, killed Captain McCullough, and bore away his scalp. Half an hour later, near the village of Brownstown, Indians concealed in woods and cornfields poured in upon the Americans a fire that threw their ranks into confusion and caused a hurried, disorderly retreat, with a loss of seventeen killed. The most serious part of the affair, as events proved, was the capture of the mail; for the Ohio soldiers had written freely to their friends at home of Hull's indecision and cowardice, and these letters fell into the hands of the enemy, giving him information which led to the bold policy he afterwards adopted.[5] So mutinous were the men that Hull was forced to hold a council of war; but when this council decided to fight and orders were given for an advance movement on Fort Malden, hope revived and cheerfulness was manifest throughout the camp. Joy was turned to sadness, however, when the same evening Hull, having heard of General Brock's advance with a large body of regulars and Indians, gave orders to retreat across the river to Detroit.

[4] "Canadian Archives," 1893, p. 69.

[5] "Canadian Archives," 1893, p. 72. Prevost to Bathurst: "It will be seen by Hull's intercepted letter how much that officer's hopes of conquering Upper Canada are diminished."

Major-General Isaac Brock, lieutenant-governor of Canada, was the animating spirit in the affairs of that province. While Governor General Sir George Prevost scouted the idea of war, Brock made preparations for it. He knew of the declaration of war five days before Hull did, and he immediately ordered the attack on Mackinac, and began to strengthen Fort Malden. Establishing his own headquarters at Fort George on the Niagara frontier, he called to him about eight hundred militia and a force of Indians under the celebrated John Brant. Then he returned to York (now Toronto) and convened the Legislature in special session. The members of that body were despondent; they knew that 500 of the Canadian militia had joined Hull, that the Norfolk militia had refused to take up arms against their American kinsmen, and that the Indians of Grand River had decided to remain neutral. Then, too, a leading Canadian newspaper came out boldly in favor of the American cause. Fearing so timid a Legislature, Brock first obtained the vote of supplies, and then prorogued the Commons without getting authority to declare martial law or to suspend the habeas corpus. He decided that he would take those steps on his own responsibility when need should arise.

The fall of Mackinac speedily changed the Canadian temper, and the energetic Brock soon found a goodly support. Having had news on July 20th of Hull's invasion of Canada, and learning that General Dearborn had consented to make no move to cross the Niagara, Brock turned his attention to the operations at Detroit, as he was privileged to do, inasmuch as Dearborn's armistice did not extend to Hull's command. With the upper lake savages threatening his rear, and General Brock ready to strike his line of communication, General Hull was compelled to order retreat so that his forces might not be cut off from their base of supplies in Ohio.

To keep the line of communication open Lieutenant Colonel Miller, with 200 men, was sent to the River Raisin. Arousing the enthusiasm of the militia by calling on them to avenge the defeat of Van Horne, and by promising the regulars another victory to match that of Tippecanoe, Miller started off down the river. On a sultry Sabbath afternoon as the troops neared Monguagon, their advance was met by a deadly fire from the ambushed British under Major Muir, and the Indians under Tecumseh. But the Americans were not to be stampeded; Colonel Miller led the charge; the British broke, and in their confusion, Canadian militia and Indians began killing one another. Muir rallied his men, but seeing the battle going against him, he and his command fled to their boats, and made for Fort

Malden. The Indians fought longest, but when the hot-blooded Snelling, his long red hair streaming behind him, led the cavalry against them, the savages ran like deer, leaving forty of their dead on the field. Colonel Miller, injured in battle by a fall from his horse, was unable to advance in person to the Raisin; but Colonel Cass, who learned of the situation while on his way to Miller, asked Hull's permission to succeed the injured commander. Hull's answer was a peremptory order for the force to return to Detroit. Thereupon Cass, Findlay, Taylor, with Colonel Elijah Brush of the Michigan militia, took it upon themselves to send a letter to Governor Meigs urging him to come to Detroit with reinforcements and supplies in order to avoid a capitulation and the attendant disgrace.

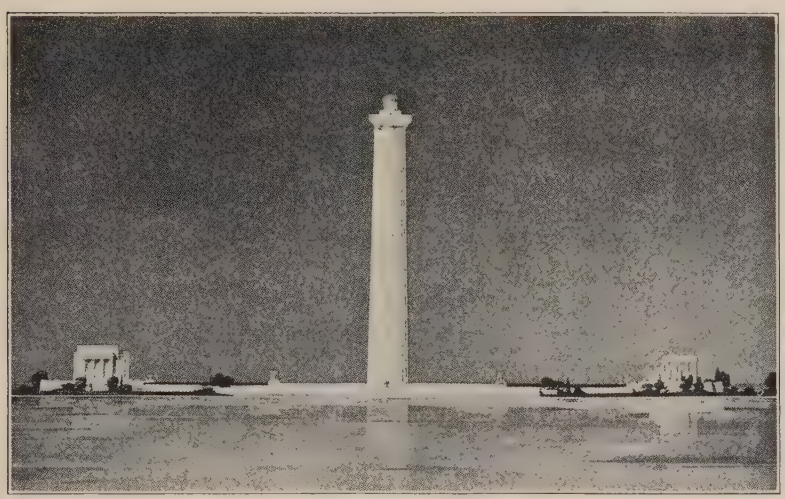
Meanwhile General Brock had arrived at Fort Malden. He immediately won the respect and cooperation of Tecumseh, and aroused the enthusiasm of a thousand savages by telling them he had come to drive the Americans from the Indian hunting grounds north of the Ohio; and he restored to favor the Canadian militia whom Hull in his retreat had deserted. Arraying his volunteers in the scarlet coats of the regulars,[6] he deceived the Americans as to the size of his force; also he had Proctor write to Mackinac ordering the descent of not more than five thousand Indians, and managed to have the letter intercepted by the Americans. Having completely scared Hull, Brock now proceeded to capture his prey.[7] He threw up batteries to command Detroit, and Hull refused to allow his officers to disturb the enemy's operations, although the fort had twenty-eight heavy guns, while the enemy had but two eighteen-pounders. On August 15, General Brock wrote to Hull: "The force at my disposal authorized me to require of you the surrender of Detroit; it is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous bodies of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences."

After waiting two hours, the messengers returned with the

[6] The Americans thought that Brock did this for purposes of deceit; but as a matter of fact the militia were ununiformed, while there was a plenty of regular uniforms among the supplies sent from England. The result was the same as if the act had been premeditated.

[7] State Department MSS. Woodward to Gallatin, September 7, 1812: "As a military operation this enterprise was conducted, on the part of the British General, with a degree of genius, judgment, energy and courage reflecting the highest luster on his personal character and presenting in every point of view a contrast the most complete to that of the American General."

answer that Hull was prepared to fight, a reply that gave the American troops great joy. Snelling begged for a hundred men to go over and spike the enemy's guns, but again Hull refused; nor would he allow guns to be mounted where they should command the landing of the enemy. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the British opened a brisk fire, which the fort returned with spirit. Colonel Mack, of the Michigan militia, ordered John Miller, a volunteer, to cut down an old French pear tree that stood in the way of the fort's



Designed by J. H. Freedlander and A. D. Seymour, Jr., Architects

THE PERRY'S VICTORY MEMORIAL AT PUT-IN-BAY

guns. Seizing an ax, Miller attacked the tree and was chopping vigorously when a ball from over the river completed his work. "Send us another, John Bull," he cried, "you can cut faster than I can!"

The fort was filled with soldiers, citizens, women and children from the town; and many of the inhabitants fled to Springwells, where they were huddled in root-cellars dug in a long ravine. Among the fugitives was Mrs. McCarthy, the daughter of the Territorial Secretary, Peter Audrain, whose neat, particular little handwriting and quaint expressions, still preserved among the State Department documents at Washington, seem to bring that clerkly character into acquaintance with the reader of his pages. Mrs. McCarthy, made ill by the foul air of the root-cellar, was carried to a neighboring

house, which was already crowded with women.[8] Securing places for her mother and children below stairs, she mounted to the upper floor where until midnight she listened to the shrieking shells and worried lest each particular one should kill her father or her husband in the fort. From an upper window next morning she looked out on a scene of rare beauty. It was Sunday, the 16th day of August; the sky was deep blue and cloudless; a gentle breeze from Lake Erie cooled the air; the stately river with its bands of varied greens made its steady way between low banks on which the quiet camps gave no promise of what an hour was to bring forth. Gazing across the rippling waters, she saw the red-coats file down the bank and take places in the boats. Then, under cover of the Queen Charlotte and two other armed vessels, the soldiers were rowed quickly to the American shore. It was like a pantomime.

Turning expectantly to the fort, she saw a great bustle, but no soldiers forming on the esplanade. Finally a cannon was placed at the west gate, and a detachment of soldiers came forward to support it; silently a regiment of militia stationed themselves behind the white picket fences along the way by which the British must pass; a mile below the fort the British, having landed, were enjoying an undisturbed breakfast. Next she saw a flag of truce start from the fort on its way to General Brock's headquarters; then one of that general's aides galloped to the fort. He, too, carried a white flag. He returned and the British troops began their march along the river road leading to the fort, where Captain Snelling stood, lighted match in hand, ready to pour grape into the ranks of the coming foe. The ambushed militia covered the path of advance. Just as Snelling was about to fire, the match was struck from his hands by an officer who pointed out to the enraged gunner the white flag of surrender waving over the fort. As Captain Barton flung out that signal of Detroit's disgrace, men swore, officers broke their swords, and indignant women shed bitter tears.

While all this was taking place, General Hull was seated on an old tent in a completely sheltered portion of the fort. A shell from one of the enemy's guns had killed four men, and according to Major Jessup,[9] the General was so much alarmed by the casualty that he did not know what he was about. The tobacco juice, falling from his mouth upon his jacket, had smeared his cheeks, making a sad

[8] Shelden's "Early History of Michigan."
[9] "Hull's Trial," p. 93.

spectacle of him. For the past two days he had been in a state of agitation; but when the surrender was accomplished he became calm and composed. The change was due, undoubtedly, to his firm belief, as expressed to Major Munson, that he "had done what under all circumstances was proper, and had saved Detroit and the Territory from the horrors of an Indian massacre."[10]

On Monday, August 17, General Brock and his staff in full uniform appeared at the fort, where they received a salute from a brass cannon marked: "Taken at Saratoga on the 11th of October, 1777." The salute was echoed by Dixon's battery, giving thanks that the invasion of Canada had been repelled, and by the guns of the Queen Charlotte, as she plowed her way up the now undisputed waters and dropped anchor in front of the conquered town. Hull was sent to his own house, under a British guard; the Michigan militia were paroled and allowed to disperse; the Ohio volunteers were sent home by way of Cleveland; and the regulars, with General Hull, were subsequently sent to Montreal, whence Hull was allowed to proceed to Boston to answer the charges brought against him by the Government. Without shedding a drop of English blood, Brock secured 2,500 prisoners and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, besides ammunition and stores which were of the utmost use to him; also he captured the new brig Adams, which, as the Detroit, was afterwards used to advantage against Perry's fleet. This he accomplished with a force of 700 troops and 600 Indians.[11]

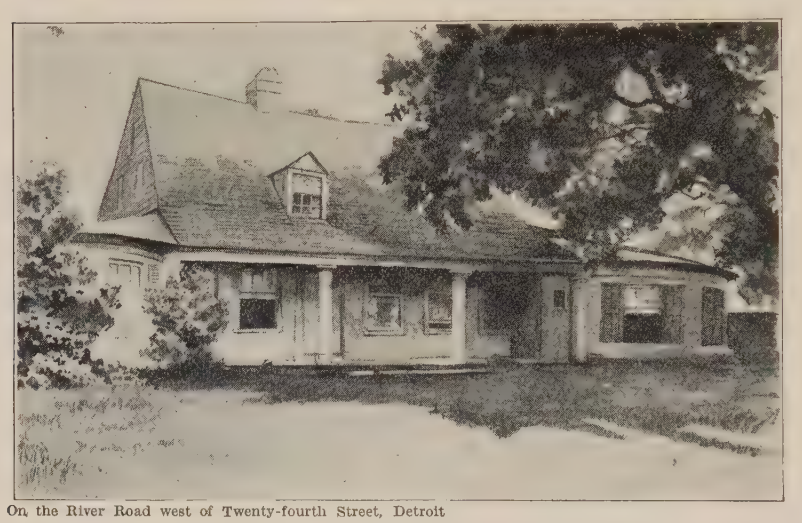
Colonel Cass (who, with Colonel McArthur, had been included in the surrender) hastened to Washington, where he presented the case against General Hull with all the energy and effectiveness of an ardent young American who keenly felt the disgrace in which he was forced to bear an unwilling part. The storm of indignation which swept over the country finally resulted in the court-martial, held at Albany beginning January 3, 1814, with Major General Henry Dearborn as president and Martin Van Buren as special judge-advocate. After a session of three months, General Hull was found not guilty of treason, but guilty of cowardice, neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct. The sentence of the court was that he be shot to death; but in consideration of his Revolutionary services he was recommended to the mercy of the President of the United States, and President Madison ordered him to retire to his farm at Newton, Massachusetts. There for twelve years he lived

[10] "Hull's Defense," p. 87.

[11] "Canadian Archives," 1893, p. 71.

in obscurity scarcely disturbed by the "vindications" that he sent out in his own justification.

Hull was clearly incompetent for the work assigned to him; he did not grasp the situation as Harrison had grasped it on his first visit to Detroit in 1803; he did not fully appreciate the fact that so long as the British held Fort Malden the Americans were at the mercy of their enemies. Had Hull followed up the success of Cass at River Canard, he would have captured the fort and then could have confined the British vessels to Lake Erie, thus keeping posses-



On the River Road west of Twenty-fourth Street, Detroit

THE LABADIE HOUSE

sion of the upper country. Besides, he was personally a coward; and to his fears of an Indian massacre at Detroit were due the subsequent atrocities at Frenchtown and on the Raisin. To get the true measure of Hull, one has but to stand beside his predecessors in command—the French Dubuisson and the English Gladwin—each of whom looked Indian massacres in the face and by bravery averted that horror. Making all due allowance for the undoubted inefficiency of the Government, Hull is still to be blamed for not using the opportunities given him; and so weak was his character that even if everything he had asked had been supplied, still he must have failed.

General Brock having assured the people of Michigan that their lives, property and religious observances would be respected, left Detroit in the hands of Colonel Proctor, and returned to York to receive the ovations due the savior of the province, as well as the

more substantial rewards of a baronetcy conferred by the Prince Regent.[12]

General Brock left to Colonel Proctor the task of carrying out his promises. In his perplexity, Proctor turned to Judge Woodward, the sole remaining representative of the American Government, for advice and aid. The request was made with great hesitation on Proctor's part, and was accepted with equal reluctance on the part of Woodward.[13] Both, however, recognized the necessity of some such arrangement; Proctor, because unless order were maintained and the revenue laws enforced, his government would lose in duties about six or eight times the cost of supporting the officials; Woodward, because of the desirability of continuing American laws until the Territory should be restored to the United States; and also because the position of secretary, which Proctor assigned to him, enabled him to "intercede for his suffering countrymen, to save their lives and persons from the victorious and insulting savage, to preserve the remnants of their little properties from pillage, and to aid in the means of departing those who will go to find the standard of their country where her power is not yet diminished and her glory is untarnished."

As a result of the understanding arrived at between Proctor and Woodward, the civil officers who remained continued to exercise the functions of their offices; the courts of justice were held as usual,[14] and Colonel Proctor reserved to himself the right to make laws. The customs and imposts were collected according to the laws of the United States.

Tecumseh, the leader of the savages, whose presence with the British had so unmanned Hull, now saw his opportunity to drive the whites from the country north of the Ohio; and having stirred the blood of the warriors, he joined with Proctor to reduce Fort Wayne, at the head of the Maumee, and Fort Harrison on the Wabash, where Captain Zachary Taylor was in command. Both attacks were repulsed. The whole western country was rising to the struggle for its life; Governor James Barbour wrote to Monroe

[12] Brock fell at the battle of Lundy's Lane in October, 1812, and his loss proved serious to the British.

[13] State Department MSS., Proctor to Brock and Woodward to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury.

[14] The session of Supreme Court was adjourned to meet in December, at the house of George Meldrum. Joseph Campau sued Oliver Williams, Joseph Farewell and Amos Lee for $3,000, the writ being issued September 1, 1812.

that the disgrace of Hull's surrender had thoroughly aroused the people of Virginia; and John Graham wrote that the Kentuckians were burning to recapture a post surrendered by a coward and a traitor.

At this juncture William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, was looked upon throughout the country as the one man to retrieve the disgrace that had been put upon the United States;[15] and by the end of August, 1812, he was in the field with a commission as brevet major-general of Kentucky militia. The autumn rains, however, made the Black Swamp impassable and he could not make a forward movement until the next year.

French House with Picket Fence

Meantime, the thirty-three families of Americans in the little town of Raisinville (now Monroe) were suffering seriously from incursions by the British and Indians, on their way between Detroit and Amherstburg; and in order to save the town from threatened destruction, Colonel Lewis with 700 Kentuckians marched thither about the middle of January, 1813. The place was occupied by a small force of British and Indians who had the advantage of a howitzer and of the fortifications formed by the thick picket-fences enclosing the orchards and gardens of the settlers. On January 18, Lewis' force crossed the frozen river in the face of a sharp fire, leaped the fences, and drove the enemy into the woods. The news of the victory, sent back to General Winchester commanding the advance of Harrison's army, set his men in a ferment, so eager

[15] This statement is amply proved by the letters to Monroe from Henry Clay, James Barbour, John Graham and President Madison; see "Calendar of the Correspondence of James Monroe," Department of State, 1893.

were they to push on to recapture Detroit. Winchester brought only 300 Kentuckians to the support of Lewis, and in his confidence he made his headquarters at the Navarre House, half a mile from his troops. On the 19th, Winchester was told that 3,000 British and Indians were on their way from Malden to attack him; but Jacques la Salle, a resident of Frenchtown, and a man in the pay of the British, scouted the idea; and although Joseph Bardeaux and the Navarres gave ample warning, La Salle's counsel prevailed.

Three hours before dawn on the morning of the 22d, the crack of muskets, the whiz of canister and shriek of shells preceded a furious charge of British regulars and a stealthy dash of painted savages. Bravely the Americans fought; often they tried to rally behind houses and fences; the British pressed them in front; the Indians attacked flanks and rear. The British did not seek to capture their foes, for Proctor had arranged with the savages that death should be the only portion. One hundred brave Kentuckians were shot down in a narrow lane and scalped; a retreating party was surrounded and only their leader escaped death and the scalping knife. The little force of Majors Graves and Madison, fortified by a heavy fence of pickets, alone was able to withstand the foe. At 10 o'clock Proctor, unable to dislodge these Kentucky sharpshooters, withdrew his force, and himself took a flag of truce to them. With him was Major Overton of General Winchester's staff, who bore an order from the captured commander for the immediate surrender of the two majors. This order, as it afterwards proved, Proctor had obtained by deceit. Madison held out until he got Proctor's personal pledge that the sick and wounded should be cared for, and all prisoners guarded against the savages. On the way to Fort Malden, however, Proctor treated the Indians to a debauch at Stony Creek, while he and his soldiers pushed on across the river, leaving the drunken savages to work their will. By way of keeping his pledge of protection he had left Captain Elliott and a few men to watch over the wounded; but Elliott, on entering the room where the wounded Major Graves and Captains Hickman, Hart and Dudley were confined, recognized in Hart a person whose room he had shared as a guest in one of the old Kentucky homes. Having deceived the Hart family in a money matter, Elliott preferred other company; so he mounted Major Graves' horse and rode away leaving a town full of helpless men utterly without protection. Next morning the drunken Indians came back. Hart, who paid one of them $600 to take him to Fort Malden, was shot dead on the way. Hickman was tossed out of the window into the deep

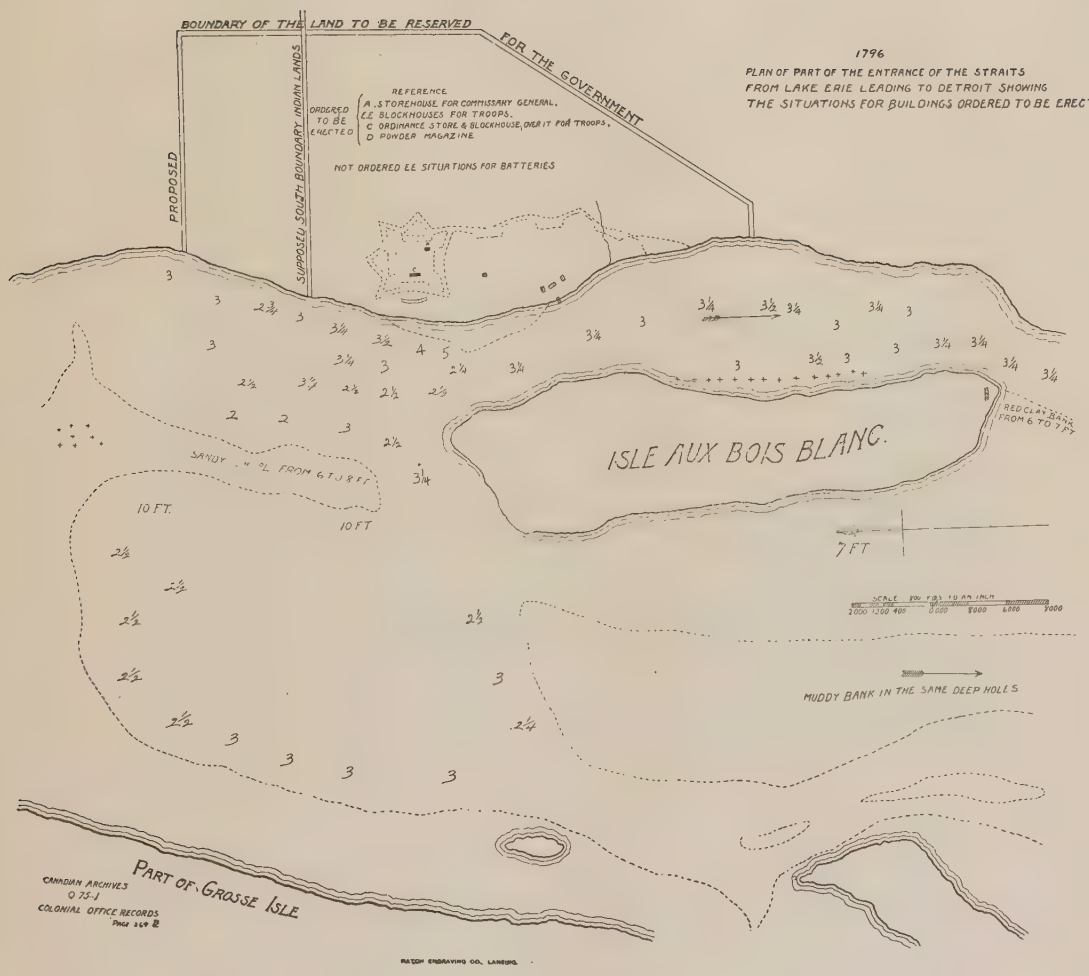
snow and left to die. Many of the wounded were killed in their beds. Some were burned in the houses, and when they tried to crawl out were scalped and thrown back into the flames; those who could walk were started for Fort Malden, and when one fell by the way he was tomahawked, and his scalp was taken to be sold to the British. "Thus," said Judge Campbell to the remnant of the veterans of the War of 1812, gathered at Monroe on July 4th, 1872, "thus was carried out the pledge of the infamous leader, who lacked nothing but courage and some faint glimmerings of fidelity to make him a fit companion for his drunken butchers. He finished his wolfish work by ordering the inhabitants to Detroit, in the depth of a hard winter, and the ways of the desolate hamlet were left encumbered by the unburied dead."

For these triumphs Proctor was made a brigadier-general; but the new war-cry, "Remember the River Raisin!" was soon to be his undoing.

General Harrison, alarmed by Winchester's forward movement, hastened after him; but before he could come up with the advance forces he heard of the irretrievable defeat, and then the January storms caused delays. Meanwhile, the elated Proctor gathered 1,500 Indians and in May attacked Harrison at Fort Meigs, on the Maumee, but was driven off, and retired to Malden disheartened. Urged by Tecumseh, however, Proctor, in August, attacked Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, a stockade commanded by Major Croghan, who would yield to the commands of neither Harrison, his superior officer, nor Proctor, his enemy, to surrender his post. Looking massacre squarely in the face, Croghan determined that by the time the British got the fort there should be no one left for the Indians to scalp. The reward of daring bravery was his. Aided by the Kentucky sharpshooters and a masked gun, placed so as to rake an attacking party, Croghan, at an expense of one man killed and seven wounded, caused a British loss of 120.[16] The Indians waited in a ravine until the battle in the field had brought defeat to the British; then they prudently refused to take part.

During these days of varied success and failure on land, Com-

[16] "It will be not the least of General Proctor's mortifications to find that he was baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. George Croghan is a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, George Rogers Clark."—Maj. Gen. Wm. H. Harrison's Report, Niles' Register, September, 1813. Croghan was with Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, of which city he subsequently became postmaster. Later he was made Inspector-General of the United States Army.


BOUNDARY OF THE LAND TO BE RESERVED FOR THE GOVERNMENT
PROPOSED
SUPPOSED SOUTH BOUNDARY INDIAN LANDS
1796
PLAN OF PART OF THE ENTRANCE OF THE STRAITS FROM LAKE ERIE LEADING TO DETROIT SHOWING THE SITUATIONS FOR BUILDINGS ORDERED TO BE ERECTED.
REFERENCE
ORDERED TO BE ERECTED
A. STOREHOUSE FOR COMMISSARY GENERAL.
EE BLOCKHOUSES FOR TROOPS.
C ORDINANCE STORE & BLOCKHOUSE, OVER IT FOR TROOPS.
D POWDER MAGAZINE
NOT ORDERED EE SITUATIONS FOR BATTERIES
ISLE AUX BOIS BLANC.
RED CLAY BANK FROM 6 TO 7 FT
SANDY BOTTOM FROM 6 TO 8 FT.
10 FT.
10 FT
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MUDDY BANK IN THE SAME DEEP HOLLS
PART OF GROSSE ISLE
CANADIAN ARCHIVES
O 75-1
COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS
PAGE 249 B
PATCH ENGRAVING CO. LANSING.

Chart of the Mouth of the Detroit River, Showing the Location of Fort Malden (now Amherstburg), Built in 1796.

The Livingstone Channel for vessels bound down row occupies the waters between Isle Aux Bois Blanc and Grosse Isle; the Lime-Kiln Cut for up-bound vessels was made in the Canadian Channel between the Bois Blanc and Amherstburg. Both channels were constructed by the United States.

modore Oliver Hazard Perry had been gathering and building a fleet at Erie; and by the end of August, 1813, the British Commodore Leo on Lake Ontario and Commodore Barclay on Lake Erie both felt that naval battles for the mastery of the lower and the upper lakes were imminent. By shutting off supplies for Amherstburg, Perry had reduced the garrison of Fort Malden to a condition of dire distress; and in a letter to the home government, Prevost acknowledges the critical situation in which American supremacy on Lake Erie would place Upper Canada. On the 10th of September, 1813, Perry, who was then less than twenty-nine years old, with a fleet of nine vessels (most of which he had built out of green timber and had lifted on rafts over the shallows of Erie harbor) fought near Put-in-Bay the British fleet of six vessels, that were his match in respect to guns and men. That night he sent to Harrison the laconic message, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The naval battle of Put-in-Bay virtually restored Michigan to the United States, and the work left for Harrison was soon accomplished. On September 27, Perry ferried the American army across to Amherstburg, where the soldiers landed to find Fort Malden deserted; Proctor had fled an hour before. The cowardly Englishman had promised Tecumseh that he would surely make a stand on the Thames, and on October 3d, the two armies met near that river. Harrison, accompanied by Commodore Perry and General Cass, directed the battle, and at the first onset, the 800 British, greeted by the cry, "Remember the River Raisin!" gave way before the American cavalry, and surrendered as fast as they could throw down their arms. Proctor escaped in his carriage. Afterwards, a court-martial having found him guilty of misconduct but not of cowardice, the Prince Regent reprimanded the court for mistaken leniency, and Proctor, like Hull, was retired in disgrace.[17]

In the midst of the fight Tecumseh was killed by a bullet fired by one of a party led by Col. Richard M. Johnson, and for years the query, "Who killed Tecumseh?" was one of the country's

[17] The best treatment of the War of 1812 is to be found in Henry Adams' history of the United States. Mr. Adams ascribes to Harrison blunders only less glaring than those committed by Hull; but Perry receives the praise which belongs to him for having achieved a signal victory by personal bravery, skill and judgment. The Battle of the Thames, Mr. Adams thinks, was really won by Johnson's skill and determination. The Tilden Club's monograph on this battle is interesting for its illustrations and for the personal accounts of the men engaged.

conundrums. The battle of the Thames was notable at least for the Americans who took part in it. Perry, who died six years later, left a name illustrious in the history of the United States navy; Harrison became President and Johnson Vice President of the United States, and Cass was immediately appointed Governor of Michigan, and afterwards became Secretary of War, minister to France, a presidential candidate, and finally Secretary of State.

In July, 1814, a squadron of five vessels under Commander Arthur St. Clair, with 750 men commanded by Colonel Croghan,

The Navarre House, River Raisin

the hero of Fort Stephenson, sailed for Fort St. Joseph, but they found it abandoned. A small force broke up the British fur trading post at Sault Ste. Marie, and then the whole party sailed for Mackinac, which was still in possession of the British. Having effected an entrance on the island, the Americans were met by a heavy fire from McDonall's batteries, and from behind every tree an Indian was ready with rifle and scalping knife. Unsuccessful in their attempt, the Americans retreated to their boats, and early in August the squadron sailed for Detroit, leaving the Tigress and Scorpion to cut off supplies intended for the garrison. This duty they were accomplishing when, one dark night, a large party of British and Indians under Lieutenant Bulger boarded the Tigress and quickly overpowered the thirty men on board. Next day Lieutenant Bulger kept the American colors flying, and his crew

hidden; and when at nightfall the unsuspecting Scorpion came up and dropped anchor near her consort, it was easy work to capture that vessel.

The Treaty of Ghent having been concluded on December 24, 1814, on July 15 of the following year Fort Malden was surrendered to the British; and on July 18 Mackinac was given over to the Americans under Col. Anthony Butler.[18] Mr. Astor immediately re-established there the headquarters of his fur trade. The British, meanwhile, had withdrawn to Drummond's Island, at the mouth of the St. Mary's River, where they established an extensive post, the ruins of which are still visible.

With the surrender of Mackinac, the flag of England floated for the last time over any portion of the territory of the United States within the boundaries established by the treaty that ended the War of the Revolution. In after years (March 3, 1875) Congress recognized the historic importance of Mackinac, and crowned the legislative labors of Senator Thomas W. Ferry (a native of the island) by setting apart a portion of the military reservation as a national park. In 1895, President Cleveland determined that the military post on the island should be abandoned. Thereupon, Senator James McMillan secured the legislation necessary to have the Government holdings turned over to the State of Michigan for park purposes.[19]

[18] Butler to Dallas, War Department MSS.

[19] The Mackinac Island State Park comprises old Fort Mackinac, with 35 buildings; the military reservation of 104 acres, and the old National Park of 911 acres. The park is managed by a board of commissioners consisting (1915) of Leo M. Butzel of Detroit, Ira A. Adams of Bellaire, Harry Coleman of Pontiac, Alfred O. Joplin of Marquette, and E. O. Wood of Flint. The island is one of the most frequented summer resorts in the United States.

CHAPTER XVII

LEWIS CASS FOUNDS A COMMONWEALTH

That was a fortunate day for Michigan when, after the Battle of the Thames, General William Henry Harrison made Capt. Lewis Cass of the Ohio Militia military governor of Michigan. From October 29, 1813, to December 24, 1828, for a period of fifteen years of vital importance to this commonwealth, Lewis Cass from the governor's chair directed and controlled those formative forces which gave Michigan the high position she has occupied in the union of the states. Indeed his beneficent work extended throughout the entire Northwest; and the great region from the Lakes to the Mississippi felt the effects of the well-directed efforts of this enlightened commonwealth builder. No governor has had such great opportunities as Cass had, and none has left so great an impress on our institutions. Most appropriately, therefore, the State of Michigan has placed in Statuary Hall in the national capitol a worthy statue by Daniel Chester French to commemorate Lewis Cass as the first citizen of Michigan.

Born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on October 9, 1782, his mother held him, a boy of six years, at a window and pointed out to him the bonfires that were blazing in the streets and told him that by the action of his native state the adoption of the Constitution of the United States was assured. He lived to see the Union made permanent beyond all peril, as the result of the War of Secession; and when he died at his home in Detroit, on June 17, 1866, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he could say with Simeon of old, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

Jonathan Cass, his father, had been a soldier throughout the Revolution, and had again taken up arms to fight under Gen. Anthony Wayne against the Indians who, instigated by British agents, were preventing the United States from taking possession of the Northwest. During these latter years young Cass was a student at Phillips Exeter Academy, then as now an institution noted for sound learning and the best training in the fundamentals of education. There he had for a fellow student Daniel Webster, with whom

he afterwards saw service in the United States Senate. After teaching for a short time in Wilmington, Delaware, where his father was then stationed, he went with his family to Marietta, Ohio, where he studied law in the office of Return Jonathan Meigs, afterwards governor of that state, and his was the first certificate of admission to the bar granted by the State of Ohio. He began practice in Zanesville, where his father was a large landowner, and married, in 1806, Elizabeth Spencer, the daughter of a Revolutionary general. At the age of twenty-four he was a member of the Legislature.

The young lawyer and his Virginia wife made strong friends easily, and during the first summer of their married life many of their leisure hours were spent at the island home of Harman Blennerhassett, where the conversation was wont to drift from literature and philosophy to the fascinations and genius of Aaron Burr, whose schemes of treason were so soon to make him the serpent of the Blennerhassett paradise. Cass himself, as a member of the Ohio Legislature, made the first public attack on Burr and his conspiracy to seize Louisiana; and it was in this way that he became acquainted with President Jefferson, by whom he was appointed United States marshal, an office which he held when the breaking out of the War of 1812 called him to Michigan.

When, in 1815, Cass with his family came to Michigan to enter upon his duties as civil governor, under appointment by President Madison, the Territory had a white population of some five or six thousand people, spread along the waterways. The war had left them destitute; for it had broken up the fur trade, on which the people depended to obtain the necessaries of life. There was not in the Territory a road worthy of the name, nor was there a bridge across any of the rivers; there was neither a Protestant church, a schoolhouse, a courthouse, nor a jail. The Indian title to the lands had not been acquired by the Government, and consequently there was no room for settlers. Indeed, the official reports showed that Michigan lands were absolutely valueless.

Congress having appropriated 2,000,000 acres in Michigan Territory for soldiers of the War of 1812, on November 30, 1815, Surveyor-General Edward Tiffin reported to Land Commissioner Meigs that the surveyors found it impossible to accomplish their task until the country should be frozen so as to bear man and beast. They further reported that the whole 2,000,000 acres would not be worth the expense of the survey, the country being made up of "low, wet land with a very thick growth of underbrush, intermixed with very bad marshes. In many places that part which may be called dry

land was composed of little, short sand hills, forming a kind of deep basin, the bottoms of many of which were composed of marshes. . . . Taking the country altogether there would not be more than one acre in a hundred, if there were one in a thousand, that would in any case admit of cultivation." Acting on this information, Congress restored the Michigan lands to the public domain and gave to the soldiers others on which the reports were more favorable. Thus it happened that the Michigan lands, instead of falling into the hands of speculators, were reserved for actual settlers; and that the report of the surveyors, which seemed so discouraging to Michigan's prospects, in the long run proved a benefit.

Detroit, although without a Protestant church, was not without religious services for Protestants as well as Catholics. Father Gabriel Richard had been sent to Detroit in 1798. It was not until the coming of Cass, however, that the zeal and intelligence of this remarkable man came to be one of the dominating forces in Michigan. J. A. Girardin, who had the advantage of a personal acquaintance with his subject, has left us a graphic sketch of this indefatigable apostle of the church militant. Born at Saintes, France, October 15, 1764, Gabriel Richard was a descendant, on his mother's side, of the silver-tongued Bishop Bossuet. To his complete classical education was added a theological course at the seminaries of Augers and Losy, where he was fitted to join the Society of St. Sulpice, a congregation of secular priests devoted to the education of young men for the ministry. The outbreak of the French Revolution having precluded work of that character in France, he was sent across the ocean (1792) to assist the Rt. Rev. Bishop Carroll in establishing a theological seminary at Baltimore. The pressing needs of the missionary field, however, called Father Richard to the Illinois country, where he labored for the six years before he was sent to the more important charge of the congregations in Michigan.[1]

On beginning work in Detroit, Father Richard found both religion and education at a low ebb. Austere in his habits, simple even to meanness in his dress and manner of life, he was nevertheless courteous and affable to all with whom he came in contact; and by his patience, integrity and zeal he soon won the thorough respect of the community. In the pulpit he was a terror to the evil doers in his congregation, for he insisted on a standard of virtue quite antagonistic to that in vogue among the French population at Detroit, who were easy-going if left to themselves, but stubbornly rebellious

[1] Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. I, p. 481. See also sketch by T. A. E. Weadock, Vol. XXI, p. 431; and Vol. XIII, p. 489.

when interfered with. Liquor and tobacco were to him twin abominations; but by his congregation they were counted among the necessities of life; and the sharp practices that were a part of their stock in trade were held in detestation by Father Richard, who himself was the soul of honor. Too impetuous to use tact, he was continuously at variance with his own people, who seemed to take delight in trying to thwart every means he initiated for their improvement and advantage.

As one would be led to expect from his early training, the establishment of schools was one of the first objects of his work. In

The Home of Lewis Cass, Detroit

1804 he opened a ladies' seminary, whose four teachers he had prepared for their work. On August 31, 1809, he published an issue of the *Essai du Michigan,* or *Impartial Observer,* the first newspaper west of the Alleghany mountains, printing it on a press brought by him from Baltimore. As is usual the paper was a failure financially; but the press was used to good advantage in printing prayer-books, catechisms and other works of religious instruction. To Father Richard belongs also the credit of having introduced the first organ in Detroit; and he composed music for use in his religious services.

When he was not absent on his missionary journeys to Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, or Green Bay, it was the custom for the Protestant people of Detroit to gather at the Council House at noon on Sunday to listen to a sermon delivered in broken but effective English by

Father Richard. "Although sensible of my incapacity," he modestly wrote to Bishop Carroll, "as there was no English speaking minister here of any denomination, I thought it might be of some utility to take possession of the ground." Confining his discourses to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, Father Richard ministered so acceptably that it was not until 1816 that the Protestants called a minister of their own faith in the person of John Monteith.[2]

The coming of Monteith gave to Cass another powerful agent in his task of commonwealth-building. A native of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; a graduate of Jefferson College and Princeton Seminary, Monteith, at the age of twenty-eight, declined a life of professorial ease "to introduce the gospel in the Territory of Michigan," as his call phrased it! Arriving at Detroit, he was met at the wharf by Father Richard, who gave the newcomer a hearty welcome; and on the following Sabbath clergyman and priest each alternately attended the services of the other.

The time had now come to carry into execution the long-considered plan of the Governor to found a college. Judge Woodward, repressed but by no means extinguished by the interval of the British possession (during which he had acted as Proctor's secretary and, with Father Richard, had done much to mitigate the sad plight of the inhabitants), was at hand to supply the scheme and nomenclature of the budding institution; and on September 9, 1817, the Territorial Legislature chartered the Catholepistemia, or University of Michigania. Much sport has been made—and with reason—over the ridiculously pedantic forms of speech used by Judge Woodward; but the original plan was characterized by remarkable breadth. The

[2] Monteith was not the first Protestant minister in Michigan. *The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* for 1801 contains a letter from Rev. Daniel Bacon (father of the celebrated Dr. Leonard Bacon, who was born in Detroit, February 19, 1802) in which he says that he preached at Detroit on Sunday mornings and at the River Rouge in the afternoons, and that he found the people generally more attentive to the word than was common in the East. He taught school, learned the Chippewa language and made frequent missionary journeys to Mackinac. He remained at Detroit until 1804. Farmer relates several interesting anecdotes of Bacon's stay in Michigan. Also a band of Moravian missionaries who had been brought to Detroit in 1782 on the false charge of having aided the Americans in the Revolution, were allowed by the commandant, Col. DePeyster, to establish themselves with their Indian converts on the Clinton River, near the present site of Mt. Clemens. The settlement, called New Gnadenhutten, was continued until 1786, when the missionaries were paid $200 for their improvements and were ordered away. The Connor family of Mt. Clemens obtained title to lands through Richard Connor, who remained.

university was to be what it has so fully become under the wise guidance of President Angell—the fostering mother of the lower schools. Its president and professors were empowered "to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athenæums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions consonant with the laws of the United States of America and of Michigan." Instruction was to be free to those unable to pay the small fees exacted; and fifteen per cent of the taxes as well as fifteen per cent of the proceeds of four lotteries were to be set apart for the support of the university. In 1804 Congress had provided that a township should be set apart for the support of a seminary in each of the three divisions into which Indiana Territory was to be divided; and Cass, going straight from the discussion of plans for the new university to negotiate the Treaty of Fort Meigs, obtained from the Ottawas and Pottawatomies a grant of six sections of land to be divided between St. Anne's Church and the College of Detroit. These original grants were doubled by Congress in 1826, and from them the university has derived substantial support.

The didaxia of Catholepistemania in the Catholepistemiad was held by Mr. Monteith; and the didaxia of Anthropoglossica fell to the lot of Father Richard. Each held six professorships, and Mr. Monteith acted as president of the university. At the close of the year the president received from the treasurer of the Territory as his salary in full the munificent sum of $80. Father Richard drew $78, at the rate of $12.50 a year for each professorship. Narrow as was the actual performance, yet broad was the foundation of Michigan University; and the sense of religious freedom and of comprehensiveness of plan bequeathed by the founders was their most precious gift to later generations of university builders. Thus did Michigan obey what President Angell calls "that sublime imperative" in the Ordinance of 1787: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The original plan of the University, drawn up by Judge Woodward, is now in the library of that institution. In 1887, a century after the passage of the ordinance which is the charter of the Northwest, the University of Michigan celebrated its semi-centennial, although under the decisions of the Supreme Court its origin was in 1817, and thus it might have added another twenty years. Looking back over the years, President Angell said of the Woodward plan that "whatever criticisms may be made upon the scheme, it certainly showed in its author a remarkably broad conception of the range

which should be given to education here, a conception, it may be believed, which was never lost from sight, and which doubtless made easy the acceptance twenty years later of the large plans of educational organization that were then readily adopted." [3]

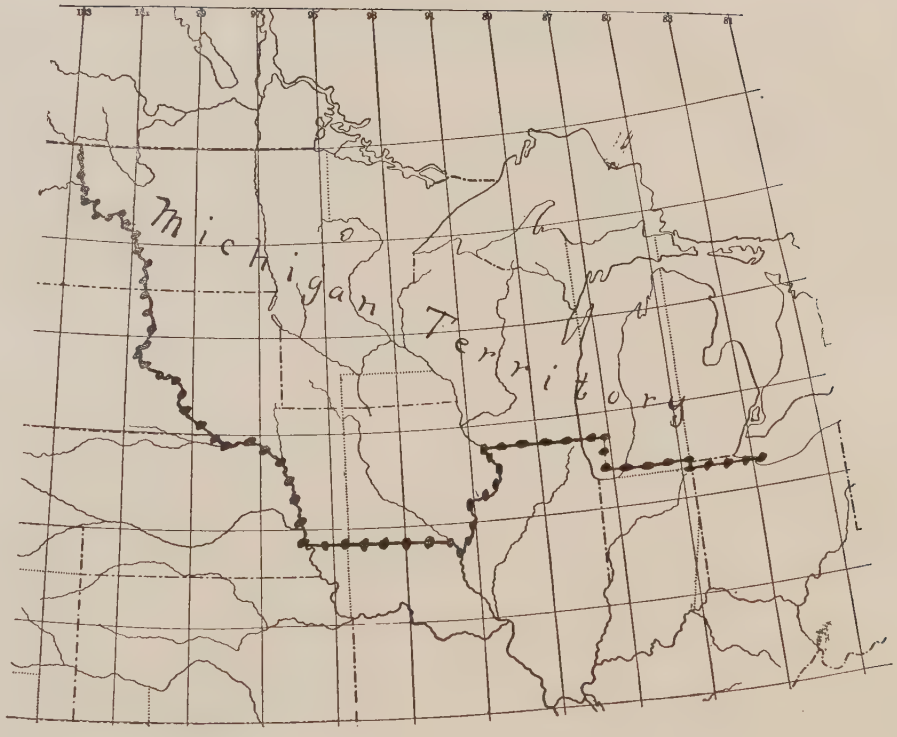
To have laid broad and deep the foundations of a great university, to have helped the people of Detroit to live peaceably under the English domination, and to have drawn the plan of Detroit are achievements which should ever be remembered with gratitude by the people of Michigan. It is time to put aside such childish things as a nomenclature which, prevalent in its day, now seems absurd; it is time also to forget the eccentricities of a man of real genius in order to give to Judge Woodward the place to which he is justly entitled in the history of Michigan.

Another of the means of education that Governor Cass took it upon himself to foster was the newspaper. In the summer of 1817 Messrs. Sheldon and Reed were induced to start the Detroit *Gazette,* from which journal the Detroit *Free Press* is lineally descended. The publishers were also booksellers, and in the columns of their first issue they invited the reading public to buy from them "Thaddeus of Warsaw," Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," the "Life of Franklin," Byron's and Scott's poems, Rollin's Ancient History, "Peregrine Pickle," and Blair's Lectures; and those who could not afford to own books might borrow them from Rev. John Monteith, who had charge of the library started by a joint-stock company. Enterprising merchants advertised dressed and undressed calicoes, book-muslins, linoes, janes, ginghams, velvets and silks. The most numerous advertisers, however, were the sellers of Wahatomaka whiskey, brandy and wines, a fact that accounts for the editorial complaints of "a widespread propensity to steal and secrete all sorts of property," and of the useless condition of the building that served as a jail.

On August 13, 1817, Detroit was thrown into a state of intense excitement by the unexpected announcement that President James Monroe, who had been making a tour along the northern boundary, was at the mouth of the Detroit River, and, in company with Governor Cass and Generals Brown and Macomb,[4] would shortly arrive

[3] "The Semi-Centennial of the Organization of the University of Michigan," Ann Arbor, 1888.

[4] Gen. Jacob Brown commanded the United States army from 1815 to 1828, and was succeeded by Gen. Alexander Macomb, who was in command until 1841. Macomb was born in Detroit, and his statue by Adolph A. Weinman stands on Washington Avenue.



MICHIGAN TERRITORY IN 1834 (including Toledo strip)

in the city. A committee of citizens, with Judge Solomon Sibley at their head, met the presidential party at the River Ecorse, where they disembarked from their barges. Fort Shelby fired the presidential salute of thirteen guns as the procession passed through the streets, and that night the city was illuminated at a public expense of $23.26. A review of the troops, the presentation of a sword voted to General Macomb by the Legislature of New York, and a grand ball at the Steamboat Hotel were the features of the occasion. The President spent five days in Detroit, and on leaving the citizens gave him a carriage and a pair of horses.

In the early days of Governor Cass's administration the winter vehicle was the cariole, in which it was a common thing to make a trip on the frozen river to Monroe or to the St. Clair, and even Buffalo could at times be reached along the ice-bound shores of Lake Erie. In summer there was the pirogue, a huge wooden canoe carrying three or four passengers besides a crew of half a dozen men; the birch-bark canoe that would hold twelve persons with their tents and provisions; and a few schooners of from fifty to sixty tons burthen that confined their navigation to the months of June, July and August. On August 27, 1818, eleven years after Fulton's Clermont, the Walk-in-the-Water fired her one gun and steamed up to the Bates Street dock at Detroit. This tiny steamboat was as great a wonder in its day as La Salle's Griffon had been a century and a quarter before. The Indians thought she was drawn by sturgeons; and in truth her passage from Buffalo to Lake Erie had to be expedited by a "horned breeze" consisting of twenty yokes of oxen. Citizens armed with long cedar poles assisted her departure from the dock when the wind blew across the river; and at the lake ports she received freight and passengers from lighters, because there was not sufficient depth of water to float her over the bars at the mouths of the rivers. On her second voyage she was run ashore near Buffalo in a storm and the waves made short work of her; but her place was soon supplied by stauncher craft.

In 1819 Congress, having authorized the taxable citizens of Michigan to send a delegate to the National Legislature, William Woodbridge, the Territorial secretary, was elected. The choice was a natural one. At the request of the citizens, Mr. Woodbridge had been delegated to satisfy Congress that, although the War of 1812 had left the territory too poor to take upon itself the financial burdens incident to state government, still the population of Michigan entitled her to a representative at Washington; and he had ably succeeded in accomplishing his task. Mr. Woodbridge was born in

Norwich, Connecticut, and, like Cass, he was the son of a Revolutionary soldier who had found in Marietta a home for his growing family. As a member of the Ohio Legislature, he drew up and defended resolutions endorsing the war measures of President Madison; and it was on Governor Cass's suggestion to Madison that Woodbridge was offered the unsought for appointment as territorial secretary.[5] Mr. and Mrs. Woodbridge—the latter a daughter of Hon. John Trumbull, the author of the then celebrated poem, "McFingal"—were a decided acquisition to Detroit society; and in public esteem and favor, as in official position, the Secretary stood second only to the Governor. By dint of untiring work, Mr. Woodbridge induced Congress to undertake the task of building through the Black Swamp the military road which President Jefferson had projected in 1806, and for which Governor Cass had obtained title to the Indian lands by the Treaty of Fort Meigs, a treaty that gave to the United States 4,000,000 acres, including nearly all the Indian lands in Ohio, besides portions of those in Indiana and Michigan. It is quite possible that Mr. Woodbridge's zeal for the road was quickened by the fact that his mother, who was the first white woman to brave the journey through the Black Swamp, was compelled to spend several nights on the way with the trunk of a fallen tree for a bed. He also secured the passage of bills authorizing the building of roads to Chicago and to Fort Gratiot, at the foot of Lake Huron, both of these measures being of the very greatest importance to the development of the Territory.

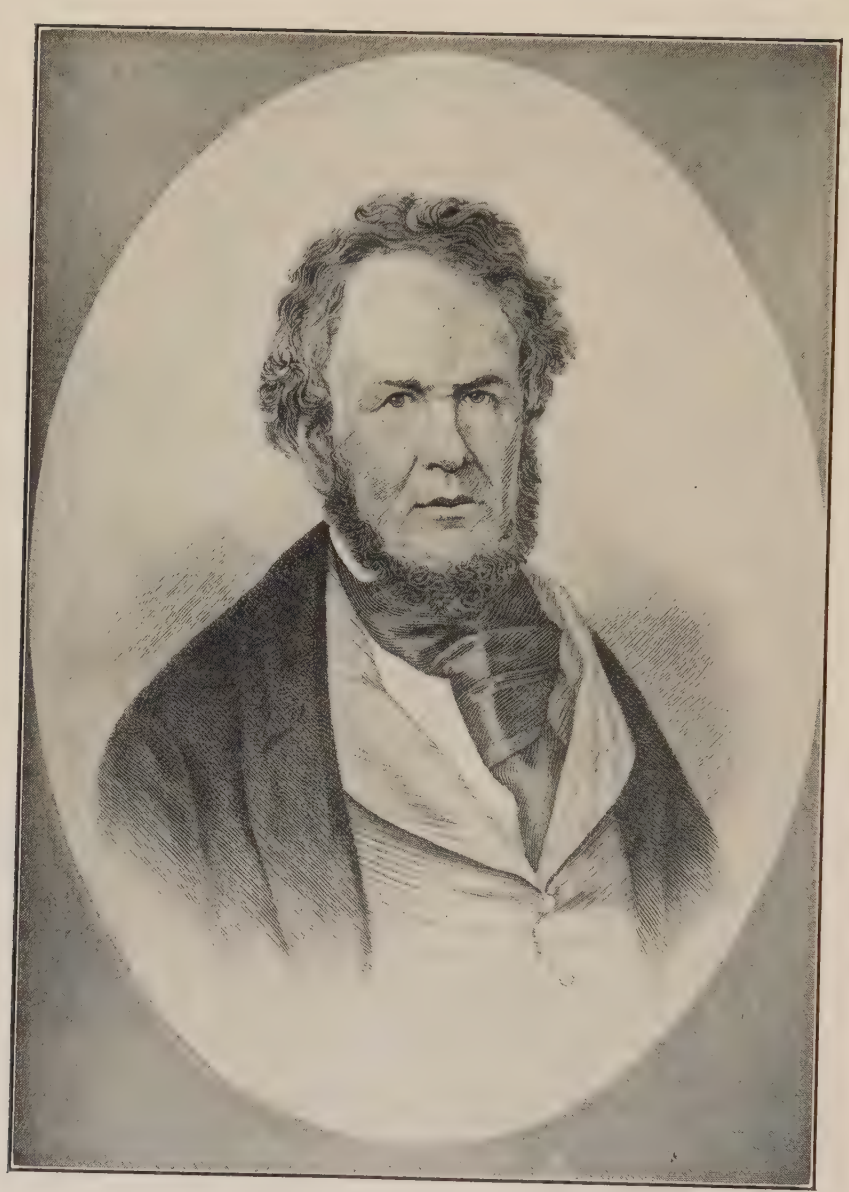
On going to Washington to attend the first session of the Fifteenth Congress, Mr. Woodbridge took with him a memorial from Governor Cass, urging upon the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, the expediency and even the necessity of sending an exploring party to the Lake Superior regions, all knowledge of which country had disappeared with Marquette, La Hontan and the other explorers of the earliest days. It was important, also, to learn the disposition of the Indians and by treaties to secure lands for military posts and settlements at Sault Ste. Marie and Chicago. Mr. Calhoun, at first reluctant to incur the expense, finally yielded, and in May, 1820, the expedition embarked on Lake St. Clair.[6] In the party were Henry R. Schoolcraft, whose works on Indian manners, customs and his-

[5] "Charles Lanman's Memoir of William Woodbridge."

[6] The narrative of this trip is given in Smith's Life of Lewis Cass. See also "Lewis Cass," by Andrew C. McLaughlin, Boston, 1897. With the judgment of a trained historian and the pen of a forceful writer Professor McLaughlin has produced a most interesting life of Cass.

tory still hold a place among the records of scientific explorations; also James D. Doty and Charles C. Trowbridge, Capt. D. B. Douglas, a West Point professor of engineering; Dr. Alexander Wolcott, and Lieut. Evans Mackey. Ten French voyageurs were taken to manage the canoes; ten soldiers to act as escort, ten Ottawa, Chippewa and Shawnee Indians as hunters, and two interpreters.

After fourteen tedious days Mackinac came in sight. Here the party, increased to sixty-four persons, took a new start and proceeded up the St. Mary's River to the Sault, where camp was made. The stars and stripes were run up over the Governor's tent, and the Indians were invited to council. The chiefs, resplendent with medals, given to them by their friends the British, came to the council perfectly imperturbable, and smoked the peace-pipe simply by way of acknowledging that they were willing to hear what was to be said. Governor Cass was to negotiate for only a small territory to be used as a military post; but the Indians, pretending not to recall their grants of the same lands to the French and English, were reluctant to conclude a treaty. "We fear that our young men could not be kept from killing the cattle and hogs," they said, more as a threat than as a statement of fact. "Give yourself no uneasiness as to that," responded the Governor. "So sure as that rising sun will set beyond yonder hills, so sure will a military garrison be sent to this place." But the chiefs would hear of no cession, and Sassaba, when it came his turn to speak, stepped forth in the scarlet uniform and epaulets of a British brigadier. Grasping his war-lance, he drove it into the ground, for an instant left the shaft quivering as with anger, then snatched it again and strode from the tent, kicking aside the presents that had been laid before him. The council broke up in confusion. The Indians, running to their camp across the narrow ravine, hoisted a British flag. Ordering his soldiers under arms, Cass himself, unarmed and accompanied only by an interpreter, started for the Indian camp. Going straight to Sassaba's lodge, over which the flag was flying, the Governor tore down the cross of St. George and stamped it in the dirt. To the surprised and cowed chief he said: "No one shall hoist that insulting flag on American soil. The United States are the friends of the red man and will deal justly by him; but two national flags cannot fly in friendship over the same territory." So saying, he picked the disgraced flag from the sand and carried it to his own tent. No sooner had the Governor returned than the excited Indians cleared their lodges of women and children, and their long canoes quickly blackened the foaming river. The soldiers stood ready to meet the



HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT

expected attack. Suddenly the Indians put off their hostile attitude. Promptly the soldiers were dismissed. That night the Indians ceded four square miles for the fort, reserving only the perpetual right to fish in the rapids, a privilege they enjoy to this day.[7]

Having completed the portage around the falls, the expedition took its way through the broad bays that open into Lake Superior. Along the shores to the west the hills were covered with Norway pines, birch, spruce and hemlock; beneath their canoes the bottom of the lake, twenty or thirty feet below, could be plainly seen through the clear water. Finally the long stretches of gravel beach ended abruptly in steep cliffs, over which thick fogs seemed to hang. A nearer approach showed that what appeared fog was a cloud of sand caught up by the wind that swept over the great stretches of barren dunes named by the French voyageurs "Le Grand Sable." Mr. Bela Hubbard, in describing a visit he made to this place in 1840, says [8] that "on ascending these steep and wasting cliffs a scene opens to the view which has no parallel except in the great deserts. For an extent of many miles nothing is visible but a waste of sand; not under the form of a monotonous plain, but rising into lofty cones, sweeping into graceful curves, hurled into hollows and spread into long-extended valleys. . . . The desert surface might be likened to an angry ocean, only that the undulations are far more vast, and the wave crests more lofty than the billows of the sea in its wildest commotion. Looking upward from one of these immense basins, where only the sand-wave meets the sky, the beholder is impressed with a sublimity of a novel kind, unmixed with the terror which attends a storm upon the Alps or on the ocean."

Twelve miles to the west the expedition came to the now famous Pictured Rocks, cliffs rising in some places for two hundred and fifty feet straight from the water. On their broad surface nature has painted in vivid colors forms which to the imaginative eye represent animals and plants, waterfalls and many-spired cathedrals. These colors, exuded from the soft rocks, run down the face of the cliffs and often cover thousands of feet of surface. The waters of the great lake, as they dropped foot by foot to their present level, carved out

[7] Ralph D. Williams, in his "Honorable Peter White," says that Mrs. John Johnston, a full-blooded Chippewa, persuaded the Indians that it would be for their interest to side with the Americans. She was a remarkable woman in many ways, and was a great help to her husband, a fur-trader living at Sault Ste. Marie.

[8] "Memorials of Half a Century."

of the soft stone enormous caverns through which, as Cass wrote, "even the slight motion of the waves sweeps with the noise of distant thunder, and dies upon the ear as it rolls forward in the dark recesses inaccessible to human observation. Resting in a frail canoe, upon the limpid waters, we seemed almost suspended in air, so pellucid is the element on which we floated." In places the work was so exquisitely done that even the round columns which support the arches was provided with capitals, and in one instance for half a mile there was an entablature with its projecting cornice. A few years ago the Grand Portal succumbed to the action of the waves and fell into Lake Superior.

Crossing over to the Mississippi, Governor Cass returned to Detroit by way of Chicago. He was gone four months and traveled over four thousand miles, often sleeping under the stars and not infrequently sharing the supper of those Indians in whose camp the party could find a welcome. In dealing with the Indians, Governor Cass observed certain rules that made him exceptionally successful. He never showed fear, never violated a promise, and he refused absolutely to negotiate treaties by the aid of liquors. His method was to have the Indians surrender their lands in consideration of annual gifts of food and clothing from the Government. He urged that the coming of the whites having driven the Indians to seek more remote hunting places, it was but right that in return the Government should make a recompense adequate to the privileges enjoyed. By these means Governor Cass soon became so popular with the Indians that he was called upon to negotiate treaty after treaty and eventually he secured the lands now included in the great states that border on the northern lakes.

The extinguishment of the Indian title to the Michigan lands prepared the way for government surveys. Two straight lines were drawn through the center of the Territory, north and south, east and west. The north and south line was known as the principal meridian, and the east and west one the base line. The Territory was then surveyed into townships six miles square, which in turn were divided into sections a mile square. Into these townships and sections immigrants from the East slowly made their way, and here and there in the interior of Michigan a log cabin was placed in the center of a clearing or beside the clear waters of some lake well filled with fish. The settlers found the lands better than the reports had led them to believe, and this fact they were not slow in communicating to their friends in the East.

So numerous had the population of Michigan become during the

twelve years succeeding the War of 1812 that in June, 1824, Governor Cass was able to deliver his annual message to the Legislative Council, a body of nine members appointed by the President, from among eighteen persons chosen by the people of the Territory. This was the beginning of self-government in Michigan. By the new arrangement the old Legislature, made up of the three judges and the governor, was abandoned. Judge Witherell was reappointed to the bench, Judge Griffin declined a reappointment, and Judge Woodward was dropped. Three times Woodward had been a candidate for the office of Territorial Delegate in Congress, but each time he was defeated. His defeats still further soured his temper, and his tall, lean form, clothed in a nut-brown suit, was by no means welcome among the Americans of Detroit. When he failed to be reappointed to the bench, he repaired to his former home, and in his poverty kept company with his old friend, L'Enfant, then vainly importuning Congress to pay him for the plan of Washington, which was ridiculed equally with Woodward's plat of Detroit. President Monroe relieved the judge from his distress by appointing him to the United States district bench in the newly acquired Territory of Florida. There he died in 1827, and the place of his burial is unknown.[9]

[9] One other achievement of Judge Woodward is interesting rather than valuable. On August 16, 1813, he despatched to Jefferson the outlines of his magnum opus, which had occupied the greater part of his attention through life. What was done in relation to the science of chemistry in France between 1782 and 1787, he proposed to do for all human knowledge. The essential improvements then imparted to a particular science consisted in exact arrangement and classification. The judge confesses that when, in 1788, he first took up the subject he was unacquainted with the French achievement; but he "was conversant with that other grand example of arrangement and classification which had distinguished that age—the Linnean System in botany." He did not complete his system until 1795, ten years after the death of Linnæus; and since that date he had revised, but never altered it. So that when he came to Washington in 1797, he must have had all knowledge within his grasp. In his researches he collected almost every arrangement that had been attempted either in ancient or in modern times, not omitting the one Jefferson made use of in the classification of the books in his library. The principle of this latter arrangement was the same as that of D'Alembert as displayed in the grand encyclopedia. That in its turn is derived from Lord Verulam. From Greek radices Judge Woodward developed naturally all the paraphernalia of a complete schematization of knowledge; and inasmuch as he believed that the grand results of his system would be realized only after his death, he had in mind the founding of the American National Institute, an institution not unlike the present Smithsonian Institution for the diffusion of useful knowledge.

We of today laugh at Judge Woodward's system of universal science,

The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 opened communication between the East and the West, and that year the steamers Pioneer, Henry Clay and Superior began to land in Detroit as many as three hundred passengers a week. Towns sprang up all over the territory, and in spite of chills and fever, Michigan rang with the merry sound of the settler's ax. Among the immigrants who came in 1830 was Charles H. Lanman, one of Michigan's historians, who brought his bride from New York State to make a home in the wilderness. Theirs were typical experiences. Selecting at the Government land office at Detroit a well-watered tract of eighty acres and paying $100, Mr. Lanman bought a tent and some cooking utensils, and hiring a rough wagon, a pair of horses and a driver, started for his new home. The road was only a trail through the forest, and sometimes it seemed as if Hercules himself must have failed to pull the wagon wheels out of the mire. A strange bridal trip indeed was that on which the bride found it most to her convenience to trudge beside her husband through the forest. After four toilsome days home was found, the tent was set up, the driver was sent back, and pioneer life was begun. It was a farm of beautiful possibilities, with its heavy timber, its little oak-opening and its delightful stretch of prairie, through which ran a crystal stream. The first work was to build a log cabin, and when this was completed the moving-in was celebrated with a berry-pie, "the first regular, civilized pie that the family had tasted for months." The house was a model of comfort. One room below answered for a parlor, bedroom and kitchen; and above there was a sunny attic reached by a ladder. The tiny windows were glazed with white cotton instead of glass; and the great ornament of the house was the big fireplace. In one corner stood a hickory bedstead; there were several stools, and on a convenient shelf was the family library, consisting of a Bible and several old school-books.

While the husband was chopping in the woods, squirrels came to chirp to the wife at her work, and the pewees and the robins bore her company; and on her expeditions in search of hickory nuts, wild grapes and the hiding-places of bees, the larks and the blackbirds,

but old John Adams thought it worthy of kindly acknowledgement; and Madison gave some heed to it. In terminology, it was no worse than Jeremy Bentham's systems, and Bentham revolutionized English institutions. Jefferson, too, in the same draft of an ordinance in which he planted the seed of perpetual freedom for the Northwest Territory, gave to the proposed states such names as Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Michigania. The writer found the original of Woodward's scheme in the Library of Congress.

the pigeons, the blue-jays and the wood-peckers flitted in and out along her pathway. Visitors came but seldom, and sometimes the letter written to the old New York home would wait a month before it could be sent to the postoffice. Their play was to hunt for bear or deer; their fresh meat was game, and the regular supplies were

Birthplace of Lewis Cass at Exeter, N. H.

bought of an Indian trader. The first winter's work showed six acres cleared; the wood was piled up to wait until a market should appear, and the logs were left where they fell. Being without a plough, the farmer with his hoe worked the rich forest soil in preference to the harsh, grassy prairie; and he planted it all in corn.

By the middle of summer there were a dozen settlers within a radius of four or five miles; and one of these was a sort of a doctor, while another was able to do blacksmithing. So a little community,

mutually helpful, sprang up. That autumn Detroit was called on to furnish a plough and team, and the next crop of corn, potatoes and wheat yielded a thousandfold. Then a barn and a vegetable garden were added; and there was the constant hammering at the old trees which had to be subdued. Before long the news came that saw mills and grist mills were to be built on the stream, three miles below the farm. That meant a market for the accumulations of logs and a ready sale for wheat and corn; and the money thus produced would be used to buy a yoke of oxen, a pair of horses, a wagon, pigs and poultry. The mills, too, meant a postoffice with a weekly mail; they meant more settlers, the organization of a township, local elections, a school and a church. At the end of fifteen years of struggle and toil, Mr. Lanman found himself the independent possessor of a good farm across whose broad acres came the music of the church bells and the noise of the railroad trains. Then it was time to build a frame house.[10]

The Indians were frequent visitors at the homes of the settlers; and the sons of the forest were friendly enough, save only when under the influence of white man's whiskey. They brought venison, turkeys and berries to exchange for flour, corn and potatoes. A venison ham was sold for 25 cents and the Indian expected $1 for pointing out the tree in which the bees had made a hive. The Indians also made maple sugar, and the product had a ready sale, until it was noised abroad that for medicinal purposes the papooses were washed in the sap.

The evolution of the town is well illustrated by the history of Ypsilanti. Until the year 1809 the Indians held undisputed possession of the interior of the territory. Then came Gabriel Godfrey, Francis Pepin and Louis Le Shambre to the banks of the Huron to establish a trading-post, where furs could be exchanged for liquor and merchandise.[11] Gradually the Indians receded westward in search of more plenteous hunting grounds; and in the spring of 1823 a little band of settlers coming by way of Lake Erie in flatboats poled their way up the winding Huron River and settled at Woodruff's Grove. Those were busy days for the pioneers. Long before daylight the sound of the two corn-mills was heard through the

[10] The romances by Caroline Mathilda (Stansbury) Kirkland, who came with her husband to settle near Pinckney, are still regarded as belonging to the literature of the West. See Barrett Wendell's "American Literature;" also Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXIX, for a sketch of Mrs. Kirkland and selections from her works.

[11] "The Past of Ypsilanti," by Rev. L. G. Foster, 1855.

settlement. These mills had been made by burning a hole in the top of a sound oak stump, then, after scraping the hole clean from coals, a stick about six feet long and eight inches in diameter was rounded at one end and hung by a spring pole directly over the stump. In such a mill a man could pound a peck of dry corn in half an hour, and often for weeks together the food of the settlers was confined to game, cornbread and potatoes.

In 1825, Judge Woodward, whose scent for speculation was always keen, joined with others in buying up the French claim to the 2,500 acres of land which President Madison had patented to Godfrey and his partners. They laid out a town, and the judge, once more indulging his propensity for hard words, against the protests of the people, insisted that the place should be called Ypsilanti, in honor of the Greek hero, the fame of whose recent exploits against the Turks was then stirring the admiration of Americans. Ypsilanti was known as a hard town. The first public prayer was offered in 1824 by Deacon Ezra Maynard, who was on his way to settle farther up the Huron, where Ann Arbor now stands; and for several years afterwards no resident of the town could pray publicly. Even as late as 1829 the people were without a church or a schoolhouse and the Sabbath was given over to revelry and drunkenness, the favorite Sunday sport being pitching quoits on the river bank. Finally, however, the moral sense of the people awakened, and after what was called a "grand time," during which the missionary was chased out of town, a temperance society was formed, and from thenceforth virtue began to get the upper hand. That the progress was slow may be inferred by the fact that the Rev. William Jones started his missionary work in October, 1829, by preaching from the text: "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom:" and early the next year he ended his labors by a discourse on the command, "Up, get ye out of this place, for the Lord will destroy it."

The Saginaw region long continued to be an Indian headquarters and a station of the American Fur Company was established there. As late as 1834 Saginaw could boast of only one tavern, and that one had but a single bedroom. Two rows of cots were placed in the attic, and when there were women among the guests they went first to bed. When the company's little sloop Savage brought supplies from Detroit, the bluff old customs officer would repair on board and after a visit to the cabin would come up, smacking his lips, to give the requisite permission to land the goods. The same night a tap at his back door would be followed by the appearance of several

demijohns containing the finest qualities of liquors. To the credit of the official it should be said that when the "leading families" of Saginaw gave their dancing parties they were always at liberty to send around after a demijohn, just as they would send for "Uncle Jimmy" Cronk to trudge thirty miles through the woods to fiddle for the dancing.

The schools that sprang up during the territorial period were "kept" in log houses with oil paper for window-glass and slabs with peg legs for seats. Desks were made by driving pins in the walls and placing planks upon them, and the blackboard was a shallow box of damp sand. In a new country the people considered that there was little need to know much about fractions, and they made geography instead of studying it. The teacher "boarded around" and was paid from $4 to $14 a month, and where money was not plenty he took his pay in farm produce. The teacher was his own janitor, and when his patrons brought wood unfit for their own use, he compelled the boys among his scholars to saw and split it during the recess.[12]

Following William Woodbridge in Congress came Solomon Sibley, another of those rare New Englanders who had been filtered through Ohio to Michigan; and he in turn was succeeded (1825-1827) by Father Richard, who was put forward and supported principally by the Protestants. The good priest had found himself deeply in debt by reason of the heavy expenses incurred by building that one of the churches of St. Anne which is best known to the present generation. Following the fashion of the times, Father Richard had issued scrip in payment for building expenses; and a rascally contractor had stolen the type from which the due-bills were printed, and before the fraud was discovered had put into circulation several hundred dollars of counterfeit bills. The genuine issues and many of the fraudulent ones were redeemed; but the burden of debt rested so hard on the priest that he gladly embraced the opportunity to apply a Congressman's salary to the liquidation of his church's debts —a more pious disposition of such moneys than was or is common. His chief competitor, Maj. John Biddle, contested the election on the ground that Father Richard was not a citizen of the United States; but the House Committee on Elections argued away the objection in a report which shows that even at that early day this committee had developed a high degree of ingenuity in accomplish-

[12] "Education During the Territorial Period," by Lucy L. Salmon. Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. VII, p. 36.

ing its predetermined purposes. In Congress Father Richard was the Indian's friend; and he also succeeded in completing the work begun by Woodbridge in securing appropriations for the Fort Gratiot, Pontiac, Grand River and Chicago roads, which were destined to open the country to settlers. Narrowly defeated for reelection by his own countrymen, he resumed his pastoral labors with all his old zeal. While missionary to the sick and the dying during the cholera scourge of 1832, he contracted the disease which had attacked one-half the population and had put the other half to rout. Fighting to the last, he died with the words of Simeon on his lips. From the founding of St. Mary's Mission nearly two centuries before, Michigan had never known a choicer spirit or a truer martyr than Father Gabriel Richard.

In 1831, President Andrew Jackson called General Cass to become Secretary of War. On taking office in 1813, Governor Cass found the "whole population prostrated at the feet of the relentless savages;" the people were gathered along the waterways; the Territory was compelled to import provisions; the people were governed from Washington; and the means of communication with the outside world were few. During the fifteen years that Cass was governor, the lands had been fairly purchased from the Indians and opened to 26,505 free settlers; self-government had been encouraged; seven regular steamers carried to Buffalo exports of whitefish, cider, apples, flour and tobacco; and Michigan was almost ready to take her place among the states.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Early in April, 1835, the youthful Governor Mason of the Territory of Michigan, was in actual possession of Toledo. General Joseph W. Brown with about eight hundred militia occupied the city, and was in readiness to execute the ardent Governor's commands. Meanwhile the aged Governor Lucas of Ohio, supported by the public sentiment of the million of people over whom he ruled, and aided by a force of some six hundred men armed with muskets, clubs and rifles, was proceeding to establish in Michigan Territory the County of Lucas, Ohio, with Toledo as the county seat. This action on Ohio's part was in direct violation of the Ordinance of 1787, which marks the boundary by a line drawn easterly from the foot of Lake Michigan. The claim of our southern neighbor, as Judge Campbell has shown, was without other foundation than the fact that Ohio desired, and meant to grasp, a strip of land about six miles wide, extending along her northern border.

When the Legislature of Ohio passed an act extending the jurisdiction of that state over the territory in dispute, the Michigan Legislature promptly provided fine and imprisonment as the reward of any person who should attempt to exercise any official functions within the Territory of Michigan, save under authority from that Territory or from the United States. As against Ohio, Michigan had an undoubted right to the territory in dispute; but Congress claimed and exercised the right to run the boundary lines within the Northwest Territory as it might see fit.[1]

When the Ohio surveyors began to run the new line, a Michigan under-sheriff with his posse arrested a number of the party. The others escaped to Governor Lucas at Fort Miami, reporting that their missing comrades were killed by General Brown and the Michigan militia. Thereupon Governor Lucas sent a wild message to President Jackson. Governor Mason, having been called on

[1] "Abridgement of Debates in Congress," 1836-7.

for a statement, reported that the total loss consisted in hats and clothing left behind in the flight of the Ohio commissioners. This piece of executive levity set the tune for the entire Toledo war, which was conducted throughout on the comic opera model. Major Stickney, an Ohio captive, had to be tied to his horse to get him to jail;

Stevens Thompson Mason, First Governor of Michigan

and his son, Two Stickney, was slightly punctured by an officer's jack-knife. A very pious Ohio justice of the peace fled to the woods to escape the Michigan officers, and the story spread that the robin red-breasts came and fed him. This so-called miracle helped Ohio's case among the people; and the stabbing of Two-Stickney—for the matter appeared thus serious at Washington—convinced President Jackson that the time had come to curb his

impetuous young creation, the Governor of Michigan. Accordingly, Mason was deposed. At the same time Governor Lucas was commanded not to attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the disputed strip until Congress had acted in the premises. Yet at 3 o'clock on Monday morning, September 7, 1835, a little party of judges sneaked into a Toledo schoolhouse, held court for two minutes, and then disappeared again in the darkness.

Having thus been outwitted, Governor Mason and General Brown wisely decided that they could not fight miracles, Congress and the President. Accordingly they withdrew their forces in good order. The enemy, however, was expecting no such bloodless victory. Cautiously the Ohio troops advanced to the magazine of their foes, otherwise known as Platt Card's barn. In order to prepare the way for a storming party, a volley of musketry was poured into the defenses. A charge was ordered by General Stickney and the brave Buckeyes rushed into the barn to find—a dying horse. So the Toledo war was ended without the loss of human life; but for ten years the memory of the struggle was kept alive in Michigan by the "claim of Lewis E. Bailey for a horse lost in the service of the State, in defending the supremacy of the laws." In 1846 the Legislature paid Bailey $50 and ten years' interest, thus wiping out the last vestige of the boundary war.

The Toledo war has always been treated in Michigan with much levity, and the impression prevails that the state was unjustly, not to say wantonly, deprived of the Ohio strip in order to further the interests of the Democratic party in securing the vote of that state. Also that Michigan received as a poor recompense the Upper Peninsula, then thought by giver and taker alike to be worthless, but, as results proved, a real acquisition. Mr. Larzelere, in tracing the successive boundaries of Michigan[2] has shown that according to Jefferson's plan of 1784 the territory now embraced in Michigan was divided among five of the nine states to be created. The Ordinance of 1787 reduced the possible maximum to five, and the area now Michigan was divided by a north and south line running through the middle. This north and south line was retained in the division of the Northwest Territory in 1800; but in 1802, on the admission of Ohio as a state, all of the remainder of the Northwest became the Territory of Indiana. The Territory of Michigan, as established by the Act of January 11, 1805, included a strip along the borders of Ohio and Indiana and the

[2] "The Boundaries of Michigan," by Professor Claude S. Larzelere, Mich. P. & H. Col. Vol. XXX.

eastern end of the Upper Peninsula, Saulte Ste. Marie being recognized as pertaining to Michigan; and these boundaries persisted when Illinois Territory was established in 1809; but when Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1816, that state was permitted to have a port on Lake Michigan, and the Indiana strip was sliced off the Territory of Michigan, with the acquiescense of the people of the Territory. Two years later Michigan Territory was extended to embrace all remaining old Northwest Territory north of the Ohio, Indiana and Illinois lines, and west of Lake Huron; and at this

FORT HARMAR, BUILT IN 1785

time the central portion of the Upper Peninsula, which for the past two years had been unattached (being a "no-man's land") was added to Michigan Territory.

In 1834, "greatest Michigan" embraced all territory owned by the United States from Lake Huron to the Missouri and White Earth Rivers and from the State of Missouri to the British boundary, including Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and the eastern portion of the Dakotas.

Admittedly the Ohio boundary was indefinite. Accurate surveys made in 1834 showed that a line drawn due east from the southern end of Lake Michigan would run south of Maumee Bay. The prize contended for was the promising Town of Toledo. The people of Ohio desired that town, and they argued their case with

the United States Government, Michigan being still a Territory and subject to Government jurisdiction. The people of Michigan Territory stood on their technical rights under the Ordinance of 1787, which drew the line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, although no one then knew where that line would strike Lake Erie. The idea was to give all states access to the Great Lakes, in so far as might be; and such was the treatment accorded to Indiana.

It has remained for Mr. Stuart to discuss the personal equation.[3] Mr. Stuart argues that this controversy began before the days of railroads, when the canal was looked upon as the great means of transportation; and that in 1819 Ohio, supposing herself to be in possession of Maumee Bay, had entered upon a canal-building project as vast in its proportions and prospects as the Erie Canal. Lake Erie was to be connected with the Ohio River by a canal system two hundred miles in length and involving an expense of several million dollars. Michigan's representatives were by no means averse to taking advantage of her technical position in order to secure control over one terminus of the Ohio canals, and they argued that already the Territory had chartered two railroads to enter Toledo, and construction work had begun.[4] Six members of the Michigan Constitutional Convention, including the president of that body, were among the incorporators of one or the other of the roads,—a fact not without interest. It was an era of speculation and the prize of the Toledo town-site was prospectively of great value. Whatever may have been the motives that actuated the representatives of Ohio on the one hand and of Michigan on the other, or of the committees and members of Congress who finally decided the matter, must always be a matter of surmise and speculation to the curious. The fact remains that in the end Congress acted justly. As for the compensation given by adding the Upper Peninsula, that matter must be regarded as a means taken by Lucius Lyon, the able lieutenant of Secretary of War Lewis Cass, to sugar-coat the bitter pill Michigan was compelled to swallow. As Mr. Larzelere has shown, the eastern end of the peninsula had always been treated as a portion of Michigan—Sault Ste. Marie had been a dependency of Detroit in matters commercial and judicial. The remainder of the territory could not well be separated from the eastern portion;

[3] MSS. in possession of the author: "How Michigan Won the Upper Peninsula," by L. G. Stuart.

[4] The Erie and Kalamazoo chartered in 1833; and the Detroit and Maumee, chartered in 1835.

and Congress followed only natural boundaries when the division was made. It is, however, a credit to General Cass' political tact and astuteness that he was not drawn into the controversy and that he was able, through Mr. Lyon's sagacity, to make it appear that Michigan had retreated in good order. It may be presumed also, that the knowledge General Cass had obtained as to the resources of the Lake Superior region made the trade seem to him much more valuable than it could possibly appear to the thwarted men who were speculating in railroads. Yet while we admit that Congress dealt justly with Ohio, we cannot be particularly grateful that Michigan was compensated by the gift of territory she already possessed, which in the very nature of things could not be taken from her.[5]

In 1833 Lucius Lyon was elected by the Democrats as the territorial delegate in Congress from the district comprising the lower tier of counties, and he was a member of the first Constitutional Convention. He was an extensive speculator in town-sites, his holdings being considerable ones in Milwaukee and Madison, Ypsilanti, Kalamazoo, Bronson, Prairie Ronde, Schoolcraft (which he named for his friend), St. Joseph and Lyons. He had a survey of St. Joseph harbor made at his own expense and secured a Government appropriation for its improvement; he was a farmer on a large scale, raising, among other crops, sugar beets. He began the canal around the rapids of the Grand River and in 1841 sunk the first salt wells in the state near that city, in which enterprise he lost $40,000. In 1835 he was the unanimous choice of the Legislature as one of the two first United States Senators from Michigan and served the term of six years, being succeeded by A. S. Porter, a Whig, whom Mr. Lyon was one of the first to congratulate on his election.

In 1837 he was one of the first regents of the University, but resigned after a service of two years on account of business engagements. In 1843 he was elected to Congress from the Grand Rapids district. President Polk appointed him Surveyor General of the Northwest Territory and had the law changed so as to remove the

[5] "Letters of Lucius Lyon," Mich. P. & H. Col. Vol. XXVII. See also "The Southern and Western Boundaries of Michigan" and "The Michigan-Indiana Boundary," by Hannah May Soule, M. L., and "Verdict for Michigan," by L. G. Stuart, in the same volume. The Lyon letters, secured and arranged for publication by Mr. Stuart contain fascinating glimpses of life in Washington, Detroit, Grand Rapids, the interior of Michigan, and various portions of the Northwest. Mr. Lyon was a social favorite at the Capital; he had a keen eye for beautiful women, and enjoyed numerous flirtations; but he never married.

OLD STATE CAPITOL

The building stood at the head of Griswold Street, Detroit, on the site now occupied by a statue of Governor Mason.

headquarters to Detroit in order to allow Mr. Lyon to accept the position. When a constituent urged him to vote against the Independent Treasury bill on the ground that it would injure all owners of land, Mr. Lyon among the number, he replied, "Suppose it should. I hope our patriotism is not confined wholly to our pocketbooks." [6]

Mr. Lyon was born near Burlington, Vt., February 20, 1800, and died in Detroit, September 25, 1851. No man in Michigan crowded more into a comparatively short life. To him public place meant simply opportunity for work; he was a firm friend, a good politician, a man of the highest integrity, and an eminently useful citizen. Had he been an orator probably he would have left a great name. As it is, only those who take the pains to become acquainted with his actual work will ever know how much of a debt the state owes to him.[7]

Stevens Thompson Mason, at the time he was retired to private life for steadfastly maintaining the rights of the Territory, was only twenty-four years old. In 1831 he had succeeded his father, General John T. Mason, the territorial secretary, and when General Cass was called to the Cabinet in August, 1831, he became the acting governor. At the date of the succession to the position of secretary, Mason was not of age; and his advent to office was opposed by a public meeting; but before the committee could wait on him he had received his commission and had qualified. The objections to Mason were his youth and a pleasing address that was supposed to indicate a lack of force. The citizens carried their case to the President and the leading papers of the country discussed the appointment adversely.[8] The Senate, however, confirmed the nomination, Mason by that time having reached his majority. By the death of

[6] He gave to the state the picture of Lafayette, a copy by a Washington artist of the portrait which the French artist Ary Scheffer gave to the United States and which hangs in the House of Representatives at Washington. Mr. Lyon's copy is in the State Senate.

[7] See "Life of Lucius Lyon," by Hon. George W. Thayer, Mich. P. & H. Col. Vol. XXIV. Mr. Thayer was a nephew of Lyon; he was nine years younger than his uncle and represented Flint in the Legislature in 1863-4.

[8] See "Niles Register" for August 13, 1831. Mason was named for his grandfather, a colonel in the Revolutionary army and a United States senator from Virginia. His uncle, William T. Barry, was Postmaster General in Jackson's cabinet. Mason was born in Virginia in 1812. From October 30, 1831, until January 1, 1838, he was practically the governor of Michigan; and probably he was the youngest man who ever held the gubernatorial office, either territorial or state, in this country. After his retirement he removed to New York City, where he practiced law until his early death, January 4, 1843.

From the collection of Judge J. H. Steere

SAULT STE. MARIE IN 1854.

Governor George B. Porter, who was among the victims of the cholera scourge of 1843, Mason was elevated to the governor's chair, where he was kept by disagreements, between the President and the Senate, as to Mr. Porter's successor. In the Toledo war the Governor had the support of both the Legislative Council and the people; and he returned to Detroit something of a martyr and not a little of a political saint.

While the Toledo war, so-called, was in progress, Michigan had entered upon the devious and turbulent ways that were eventually to lead into the Union. On January 26, 1835, the Territorial Legislature passed an act to enable the people of Michigan to form a constitution and a state government. This was clearly within the power of that body; since the Territory had within its limits 87,273 free inhabitants, and the number required for statehood by the laws of the United States was only 60,000. The convention met at Detroit May 11, and besides framing a constitution, provided that the election for state officers, members of the Legislature and a representative in Congress should be held on the first Monday of the following October. When the appointed day came the constitution was adopted; Stevens T. Mason, with the laurels of the bloodless Toledo war still fresh upon his youthful brow, was elected the first governor of the state. Isaac E. Crary[9] was chosen representative in Congress; and, when the Legislature met in November, Lucius Lyon and John Norvell were selected as United States senators. Congress, however, was by no means ready to admit the presumptuous young commonwealth that had defied the general government by naming in its constitution boundaries which that body had declared the state should not have. Whatever Jackson and his Cabinet personally may have thought as to the justice of Michigan's boundary claims, the vote of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in the approaching presidential election was too important to be lost. Therefore, the administration ignored the proceedings looking to

[9] General Crary, while a member of the House undertook to criticise General William Henry Harrison's military abilities, and alluded to himself as a "militia general on a peace establishment." He was followed by Tom Corwin who pictured "the gentleman from Michigan, mounted on his cropped-eared, bushy tailed mare, with sickle hams," riding to muster, and when a cloud obscured the sun, taking refuge in the grocery, and having slaughtered the watermelons, drinking whiskey from the rinds, as the Scandinavian heroes of old drank wine from the skulls of their enemies in Odin's Halls. Years afterwards Corwin repented of this burst of sarcasm, which had caused John Quincy Adams to refer to the victim as "the late Gen. Crary," and which eventually drove a really able man from public life.

statehood, and John S. Horner was sent out to act as Territorial Governor.[10] Arriving but ten days before the election was to take place, Horner played into the hands of his enemies by issuing pardons to those persons in Monroe and Lenawee counties who had been arrested because of undue activity in supporting Ohio's claims, and especially by sending to Governor Lucas pardons in blank to

From a painting in the Detroit Museum of Art

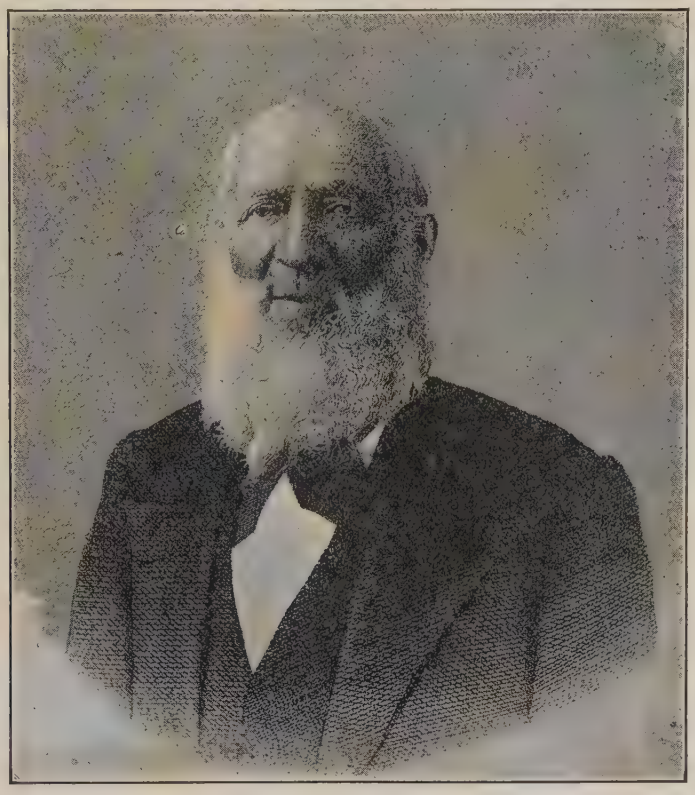
THE SECOND ELECTION IN DETROIT

be used for similar purposes. The new state officers being of an aggressive turn of mind, there was no room in Michigan for Governor Horner. Having reported to Washington that "there never was a government in Christendom with such officers, civil and military, and filled with such doctrines, as Michigan," Horner was made to run the gauntlet of public opinion through the state as he journeyed westward and proceeded to establish his seat of government beyond Lake Michigan. There he exercised jurisdiction over the territory

[10] Lyon, in a letter to Horner suggested that he go straight to Green Bay, instead of stopping in Detroit.

included in the present states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas, the section preserving the title of the Territory of Michigan until the following May (1836), when Congress created the Territory of Wisconsin.

On reaching Washington the Michigan senators and the representatives found the doors of Congress fast barred against them.



JOHN D. PIERCE, FIRST SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Benton, who reported the Senate bill for the admission of the state, also favored the resolution to permit the senators elect to enjoy the courtesy of the floor, urging that when any one brought to him a letter of introduction from a prominent personage, he always invited the visitor to take a seat while he read the letter. Clay and Calhoun, however, both opposed the resolution on the ground that to allow Mr. Lyon and Mr. Norvell to enter the Senate even as spectators would be to acknowledge the statehood of Michigan. Clay

also tried in vain to have the suffrage limited to the free white male inhabitants, so as to prevent the importation of aliens for voting purposes. Wright of New York, however, succeeded in having the admission bill amended so as to provide that the assent of the boundaries proposed by Congress should be given, not by the Legislature, whose members were already committed, but by a convention to be called for the purpose. Benton's bill proposed to give in place of the Ohio strip the territory lying between Lake Superior and the Straits of Mackinaw, so that Michigan should have as strong and defensible a frontier as possible; and in this shape the bill passed the Senate, April 2, 1836, by a vote of twenty-four to eighteen.[11]

In the House the act met an opposition involving a new question. What this contention was is best stated in the language employed by Bouldin of Virginia, who said that if there was any intention on the part of the House to restrain, limit or shackle the South in respect to the extension of slavery, then it made little difference if Michigan were kept out of the Union. He apprehended no such action, however, and was assured that if Michigan were admitted as a free state there would be no opposition to the accompanying bill to admit Arkansas as a slave state.

The one steadfast supporter for Michigan's claims for admission with the boundaries as proposed by the state, was John Quincy Adams, the chairman of the select committee to whom the bill was at first referred. This committee, he said, had investigated the matter, with the result that six out of the seven members had found the Michigan boundary claims absolutely just. He admitted, however, that the votes were against him. The nineteen Ohio members, the seven from Indiana and the three from Illinois made common cause to despoil Michigan of the territory which would be added to those states by the proposed action of Congress. Besides these twenty-nine interested votes, Adams counted thirty-five others "operated on by other considerations," in other words, by their views on the slavery question. The House having made up its mind what it wanted to do, proceeded to override all opposition. It refused to send the bill to the select committee which had previously considered it; because, as was gravely stated by the Ohio members, that committee was prejudiced; afterwards a memorial from the Michigan Legislature was refused a reading; and finally on June 13, 1836, by a vote of 153 to 45, the conditional admission act was passed.

[11] Congressional Globe.

From a portrait in the Capitol at Lansing

GOVERNOR STEVENS T. MASON.

From Mich. P. & H. Co., Vol. III

Michigan Central Railroad in 1837.

Immediately afterwards Arkansas was brought into the Union to offset the accession of free territory.[12]

Although it was in June that Congress offered terms to Michigan, yet such was the indignation of the people over the treatment received, that not until December 14 was the convention called at Ann Arbor to give the required assent to the new boundaries. Nor would action have been taken thus early but for the fact that a presidential election was at hand; and, moreover, the state was threatened with a loss of nearly half a million dollars, her share of the receipts from the sale of public lands. Accordingly, Judge Ross Wilkins, David C. McKinstry, Charles W. Whipple, Marshall J. Bacon and John McDonell, all prominent citizens and members of the first convention, took it upon themselves to call the assemblage which, because of its meager attendance and hasty work, has since been known as "the frost-bitten convention." The boundary proposed by Congress was accepted; and that body in turn recognized the latest convention as representing the state. Accordingly on January 26, 1837, Michigan, after having lived under a state government for nearly fourteen months, was admitted into the Union.

The new territory taken in exchange for the Ohio strip contained unknown possibilities. From the earliest times copper had been found there; but thus far every attempt to work the deposits had resulted in failure. Its riches in iron were unknown and its wealth in timber could not then be appreciated. So little was known about the bleak and inaccessible Upper Peninsula that in 1844, eight years after the northwestern boundaries of the state were fixed, Senator Clayton reported a bill to make such changes in the lines as were necessitated by discovery of the real sources of the Menominee and Montreal rivers.[13]

While political matters were thus exciting, Michigan had been enjoying one of those short periods apparently of over-powering prosperity that must be paid for by long years of weary work. Thousands of acres of land were to be had from the Government for $1.25 an acre; and these lands included "oak openings," rolling prairies dotted with crystal lakes and fringed with forests of great

[12] Von Holst says that although the slavery question was in the whole debate, it was a very subordinate element. The stubbornness of the opposition, he thinks, was due to the fact that both Arkansas and Michigan would vote for the Democratic candidate in the approaching election.—"Constitutional History of the U. S.," 1828-46, p. 143. He means that the anti-slavery sentiment was weak.

[13] Sen. Report No. 70, 28th Cong., 1st Ses. This boundary is not yet "settled." A commission is considering it.

prospective value. The settlers from the East who trudged beside the cloth-covered wagons brought some money, great facility at bargaining, and a large degree of intelligence.[14] They were thorough-going Americans, and Michigan was their Eldorado. All night long they would stand in line before the door of the Government land offices at Detroit, Monroe, or Bronson (Kalamazoo), eager to make entry of some valuable piece of land on which to build a home; and so plentiful was the paper money in which payments were made that the land offices gathered it in great bags. Every cross-roads had a hotel and a bank; and the walls of these institutions were papered with well-engraved maps of city plats, showing courthouses, warehouses, piers, steamers coming and going, and all the concomitants of a great city. The actual sites were occupied by a few shingle huts built among burned stumps; but in imagination the settlers saw every improvement which the pictures called for; and city lots, covered as yet with virgin forests and sometimes, alas, with the deep waters of Lake Huron or Lake Michigan, sold at fifty and a hundred times what they had cost a few weeks before at Government sale.

With money plentiful there was no dearth of buyers; and nowhere in the land was there more money of its kind than there was in Michigan. Samuel Hooper, in his history of state banking in Massachusetts, has shown how even in that old, conservative commonwealth banks were organized and operated on paper and wind; and it is not to be wondered that in a new and enterprising community like Michigan the spirit of speculation ran riot to such an extent as to make the experience of this state a national warning. Alpheus Felch, afterwards governor and senator in Congress, has given a brief but very instructive history [15] of the wild-cat banking fostered by laws passed by the Legislature of which he was a member. The brief and inglorious career of the first Bank of Detroit has already been adverted to. Eight other banks were chartered by the territorial authorities; and before the state was a year old nine more had been called into legal existence.

By the end of the year 1836 the financial affairs of the whole country were in a state bordering on chaos. Specie that was sadly needed at home had been sent abroad to pay for imports unprecedented in amount, and its place was supplied with bank bills sup-

[14] Judge Cooley asserts that an immigration which has for its object to establish homes and to better the fortunes of the immigrants is quite as worthy as that which seeks refuge from oppression.

[15] 52d Congress, 2d Ses. Ex. Doc. 38, pt. 1.

From the collection of Hon. J. H. Steere

SAULT STE. MARIE IN 1850, SHOWING THE RAILWAY AROUND THE FALLS.

ported ostensibly by real-estate mortgages, stocks and a limited reserve in silver and gold. When the crash came the Legislature attempted to avert disaster by providing for free banking. At the session in January, 1837, a law was passed to authorize twelve free holders in any county to organize a bank with a capital of from fifty thousand to three hundred thousand dollars, thirty per centum of the capital to be paid in specie before the bank could begin operations. The bank authorities were also required to furnish securities (to be approved by the county treasurer and clerk) to the auditor

Rufus Putnam

general of the state, for the redemption of the bank's notes and the payment of its debts. This seeming short-cut through the black swamp of debt to the oak-opening of prosperity was hailed with almost universal delight.

In principle the law had many excellent features. In practice it was found sadly deficient. Specie being difficult to obtain, its place was often supplied by "specie certificates," which were nothing more than receipts given by firms or individuals who claimed to hold actual money on deposit. Inasmuch as certain persons and firms made a business of issuing these certificates, a small amount of actual money answered for the foundation of a considerable number of banks. The Oakland County Bank, for example, was organized on a specie certificate for $10,000 and specie to the amount of

$5,000, which was borrowed from another bank and paid in three times so as to make up the required $15,000. The Bank of Saline borrowed a specie certificate for $15,000, which was returned as soon as the bank was organized. The Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Pontiac borrowed actual coin, and sent it back as soon as the banking commissioners had counted it. There was no trouble about obtaining real-estate mortgages based on fictitious values, to deposit with the auditor general; but to obtain the actual cash for the commissioners to count on their periodical rounds of examination was somewhat more difficult. Here again ingenuity, combined with the convenient blindness of the examining officials, overcame all obstacles. As Governor Felch says, gold and silver never before circulated so freely or traveled so rapidly; and if the same well-filled boxes or bags were found in several banks in succession, some official at each was ready to swear that the bona fide ownership was vested in the present possessor. Sometimes the coin passed the commissioner by rapid transit on the road; sometimes it was transported by night; sometimes, arriving late, it was handed in at the back door of the banking house while the examination was in progress.

The worst is to follow. The Bank of Sandstone never had even borrowed specie; the Bank of Shiawassee had outstanding $22,261 in notes and but seven coppers in its safe; and the Jackson County Bank, with an indebtedness of $70,000, exhibited boxes in which a layer of silver dollars covered the real contents of glass and nails. Notwithstanding frequent relieving acts, no fewer than forty-two banks went into liquidation before December, 1839, leaving but seven in existence; and not one of the seven is now in operation. The community, meantime, had not less than a million dollars in absolutely worthless bills; but a rough sort of partial relief came to the owners of land when the Supreme Court declared the banking law unconstitutional and the mortgages invalid.[16]

Nor was the state itself slower than its citizens. In 1837 the Legislature authorized Governor Mason to negotiate a loan of $5,000,000 at six per centum interest, the proceeds to be spent on internal improvements. The times were unfavorable; and Governor Mason, being unable to place the bonds at par, arranged with the Morris Canal and Banking Company of New York City to act as the agents of the state, on a commission of 2½ per cent. Bonds to the value of $1,362,000 were sold and the proceeds were paid into

[16] The present excellent state banking law, drawn on the lines of the National Bank Act, was handled in the Legislature of 1887 by Hon. C. J. Monroe, and was ratified by the people at the ensuing election.

the State Treasury, the remainder being turned over to the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, which institution guaranteed to take one-fourth of the amount. The bank, however, failed and the state received full payment for but $1,387,000 worth of the bonds; partial payments were made on many of the others. Default having been made in the interest payments, the Legislature, by the act of February 27, 1842, provided for a commission to ascertain how much money the state had received for bonds; to add 6 per cent interest to July, 1841, to deduct for the loss to the state by reason of the

Manasseh Cutler

failure of the bank to keep its agreement, and to issue new bonds on that basis. Under this law nearly all the original bonds were surrendered for new ones at the rate of $302.73 for each $1,000. This adjustment involved a loss of credit for the state; but this loss was only temporary. The lesson, however, was thoroughly learned; and Michigan ultimately worked itself out of debt and so remained until the Spanish War.[17]

The long struggle for financial freedom was carried on during the administrations of John S. Barry, a man whose prudence and thrift, in spite of his bluff ways, so endeared him to the people that after having served them as governor for two terms, from 1843 to

[17] See "The Repudiation of State Debts," by W. A. Scott, p. 163.

1845, he was recalled to office in 1849. It is said that Governor Barry carried his economies to such an extent that he personally mowed the Capitol grounds and sold the hay to add to the funds for the payment of the state debts.

On the strength of the loan the state pledged its credit for $100,000 to each of two railroads and gave $20,000 to another. Of these roads the Pontiac and Detroit Railroad Company had been chartered in 1830, nine months after Stephenson's "Rocket" made its first successful trip in England, and before there was a mile of railroad track in use in America. In 1836 the Erie and Kalamazoo road was opened through the Black Swamp. The construction of this road was not expensive; from the neighboring forests came long timbers to form the heavy mud-sills; across these the ties, notched to receive oak stringers, were spiked. On the stringers a thin, narrow rail of iron was fastened so loosely that when the cars passed over it the weight of the train would frequently curl up the iron and send a "snake-head" through the bottom of the car. Horses pulled the first cars on this road, but on January 20, 1837, the "Adrian," the third locomotive sent west of the Alleghanies, was put on the Toledo and Adrian route, with the result of saving two days' time to Chicago travelers. The rival of the Erie and Kalamazoo (now a part of the great Lake Shore and Michigan Southern) was the Detroit and St. Joseph, which soon came to be known as the Michigan Central. While the Central was awaiting iron for the section between Detroit and Dearborn, one of the Commissioners of Internal Improvements who lived in Monroe and was interested in the Southern road, intercepted the schooner bearing the rails from Buffalo and ordered the iron thrown overboard in seven feet of water at the mouth of the Raisin. Henry Willis, who had charge of the track-laying on the Central, learned of the trick, and had the iron fished up by night and put in place before the Monroe Commissioner knew it was gone. In the face of many discouragements the Central was pushed through to Kalamazoo in 1846, and the Southern to Hillsdale; but in that year the Legislature was glad to retire from railroad building and to accept from a stock company the offer of $2,000,000 for the former and $500,000 for the latter road. In May, 1852, the tracks of the Central and the Southern were laid across the Chicago boundary within a few hours of each other, and in 1858 the Detroit and Milwaukee road ran its first train into Grand Haven.

CHAPTER XIX

STRUGGLES OF A LUSTY YOUNG STATE

On January 26, 1837, Michigan, after many vicissitudes, found herself a member of the Union of the States with boundaries as established by the act of Congress approved June 15 of 1836. The boundaries as laid down in the act were quite irregular, and the northwestern boundary had not been surveyed. The estimated area of the state was 96,844 square miles, of which 36,324 square miles were the waters of the Great Lakes. About twenty-five thousand square miles had been surveyed. This was considerably less than half the state. In about two-thirds of the Upper Peninsula the Indian title had not been extinguished. Indeed concerning that portion of the state very little information was to be had, and that little was not interesting. It was inhabited almost exclusively by Indians in a wild, uncivilized state, who were visited by traders to obtain furs. What little knowledge the traders had, they kept to themselves. It was known, however, from reports of travelers that the eastern portion from the head of the peninsula to the Pictured Rocks was undulating, rising gradually from Lakes Michigan and Superior to the interior; that the Porcupine Mountains formed the dividing ridge separating the waters tributary to Lake Superior from those flowing into Lake Michigan. Many parts, it was reported, displayed little else than the "development of sublime scenery. Almost entirely unfrequented by man (or by beast, except more obnoxious species), some portions appear like a dreary deserted solitude, surrounded by all the frightful terrors incident to such northern latitudes."[1] The greater part of the peninsula was said to be covered with immense forests, principally of white and yellow pine, with a mixture of hard woods. There were millions of acres of pine lands of a superior quality, extending from the St. Mary's River to the Ontonagon and Montreal rivers.

[1] "Gazetteer of the State of Michigan," by John T. Blois, Detroit, 1838. A full leather bound copy of this work was given by the author to Jacob M. Howard, from whom it passed to Judge Henry H. Swan, who gave it to the writer in 1905.

This peninsula was sometimes called "the Siberia of Michigan." It was thought probable that it would never be noted for its agricultural products, or immediately for the density of its population! The fisheries, indeed, were destined to be of importance; the fish were excellent in quality and the supply was inexhaustible. As for the mineral resources, they were practically unknown. From the earliest discoveries of the region by the French, it had enjoyed the reputation of a probable mineral district, although ignorance of its geological structure had prevented the enterprising experiments for working its mines from producing any available profit. Iron, copper and lead were supposed to exist there. Indications of these metals were found in the vast quantities of iron-sand upon the coast, iron pyrites found in the interior and upon some of the rivers, and the masses of native copper discovered upon the Ontonagon. The fur trade and fisheries were the only present productive sources of profit, and the fur trade was on the decline. The climate opposed the greatest obstacle to vegetation, although it was decidedly favorable to health. Summer began and terminated suddenly, and winter departed or came often without the intervention of spring or autumn. In fact, the latter seasons seemed scarcely to be known.

That portion of the Lower Peninsula north of the line passing east and west through the middle of Saginaw Bay was as little known as the Upper Peninsula, but in the southern section forests and groves, luxuriant prairies, crystal lakes, and limpid rivulets, were so frequently and happily blended together "as to confer additional charms to the high finish of a landscape whose beauty is probably unrivaled by any section of the country." "It should not be forgotten," says one chronicler, "that during the long period from the discovery of Michigan to the time of its survey, it was characterized as an internal morass, or a sandy waste, and that the older geographies gave circulation to similar representations. It is said even some of the first attempts to survey it were abandoned for like reasons, but as it was surveyed and brought into market, its superior excellence gave it a reputation of one of the best agricultural regions of the western country." The land in the surveyed portion was divided into "opens" and "timbered-opens." The treeless opens were covered with a thick grass sward, and although it required no labor to prepare the way for the plow, it did require the strength of three or four yokes of oxen to break up the hard turf for the first time. Afterwards, it was cultivated with the same ease as the older lands. The farmer without capital was advised to choose the timbered land where the universal practice was to cut down and burn the trees.

When the timber was thus destroyed, the land was ready to be sowed without any plowing, and required only a team to finish the work. The price for clearing timbered land was from ten to twelve dollars an acre, so that the poor man with his oxen or a single team of horses could accomplish more on the timbered than on the open land.

Where so much ignorance existed as to the resources of the state, it was quite natural that the Legislature should take means to dispel the ignorance. Accordingly, $29,000 was appropriated for surveys, $3,000 being granted for the first year, the amount increasing gradually to $12,000 a year for the fourth year. The survey was to include four departments—first, the geological and mineralogical; second, zoological; third, botanical; and fourth, topographical, all under the control of Dr. Douglass Houghton, assisted by a geographer, a botanist, and a topographer, with their helpers.

Of the numerous wild animals inhabiting the forests and plains, there were the wolverine, "black in color and of a shy, voracious and mischievous disposition;" black bears, which collected once in about three years on the northern shores of Lake Huron and pushed their course southwesterly across St. Mary's River in hundreds and even thousands; and the gray, prairie and black wolf, all of which were too plentiful for the convenience of farmers. Elk and moose were numerous in the unsettled portions of the state; red deer were found in great numbers in every portion, and reindeer prevailed in the eastern portion of the upper peninsula. The flesh and especially the tongue of the reindeer was considered a great delicacy. The fox and marten were found in great numbers, together with gophers, squirrels and rabbits. The domestic animals were generally of an inferior quality. The French or Indian pony had long been the favorite beast of burden. Mules were rare, but oxen were in great demand for agricultural labor, since nothing short of their strength and firmness would answer to prepare the stiff, rigid soil for farming. There were few sheep. A state agricultural society had been organized with branches in many of the counties, for the introduction and propagation of a superior breed of horses, sheep, swine and neat cattle. The partridge, quail, woodcock, grouse or prairie hen, wild turkey, pigeon and snipe were abundant, as were also aquatic fowls of all kinds. The sportsman found plenty of duck, not fewer than one hundred thousand having been observed to pass over one field of view near Detroit within an hour. Wild bees were plentiful and the hunting and gathering of their honey made a profitable employment by those experienced in the business. Cranberries

OLD CITY HALL WHICH STOOD ON CADILLAC SQUARE
(Torn Down November 22, 1872.)

were plentiful in the marshes; and every kind of wild fruit found elsewhere grew in abundance and was of a superior quality.

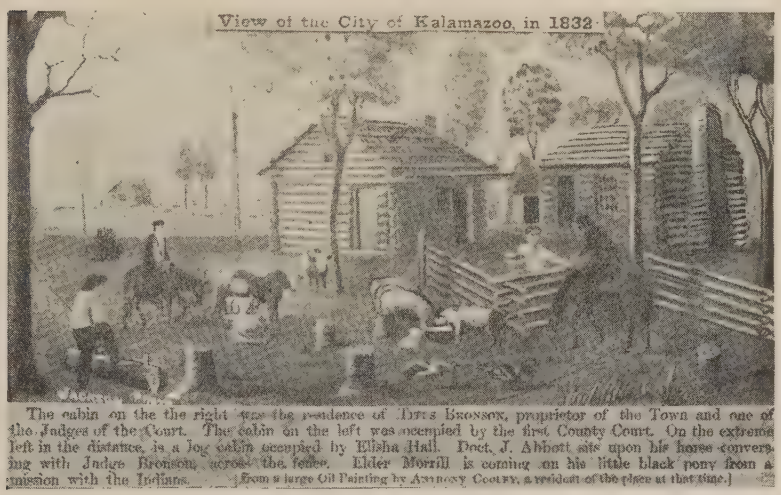
Along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers were orchards of apples, pears, peaches and quinces, together with various kinds of plums and cherries. Oats were the best crop raised, but corn and wheat were scarcely inferior. Salt springs were known to exist in Washtenaw, Monroe, Macomb, Kent and Saginaw counties, but no scientific tests of their value, or successful efforts to improve them, had been realized. It may be said, however, that the great quantities of salt produced in Michigan of late years are produced in regions unsuspected in 1836.[2]

The total value of the fish in the lakes and straits taken during the season of 1837 was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, of which one-fourth were consumed within the state, one-half were shipped to Ohio and the remainder to New York and Pennsylvania. The fisheries were at Mackinac, on the southeastern portion of Lake Superior, and at Saginaw Bay and Fort Gratiot. The American Fur Company employed French, Indians and half-breeds in their fisheries, and handled about one-half the annual product.

Government surveys were in progress throughout the state; the principal meridian of Michigan by which all the Government surveys were made was a line running due north from Defiance, Ohio, and the base line crossed it fifty-four miles north of the southern boundary of the state, thus forming the northern boundary of the counties from Wayne to Van Buren. There were five land offices, with headquarters at Detroit, Monroe, Kalamazoo, Saginaw and on the Grand River. In 1836 the Detroit Land District disposed of 1,475,000 acres valued at $1,845,000; the Kalamazoo Land District disposed of 1,600,000 acres, valued at over $2,000,000; the Grand River District disposed of $714,000 worth of land during the year beginning with September, 1836. During that year, Government lands in Michigan were sold to the amount of 4,200,000 acres valued at $5,200,000. The sales were greater in Michigan than in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, or any other state or territory. By the act of Congress of June 23, 1836, section numbered 16 of every surveyed township was granted to the state for school purposes; seventy-two sections, equal to two townships of land, were granted to the

[2] In 1876, after sixteen years of production, Michigan became the leading salt producer in the United States, and now this state and New York vacillate in holding first place. The production now is in the Ludington-Manistee district and along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers.

support of a university, and five sections to be selected and located under the direction of the Legislature were granted for the erection and completion of public buildings in the state; all salt springs within the state not exceeding twelve, with six sections of land adjoining, were granted for the use of the state. Five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands lying within the state and sold by the Government after the first day of July, 1836, was appropriated for public roads or canals, as the Legislature might direct.


View of the City of Kalamazoo, in 1832.
The cabin on the the right was the residence of Titus Bronson, proprietor of the Town and one of the Judges of the Court. The cabin on the left was occupied by the first County Court. On the extreme left in the distance, is a log cabin occupied by Elisha Hall. Doct. J. Abbott sits upon his horse conversing with Judge Bronson, across the fence. Elder Morrill is coming on his little black pony from a mission with the Indians. [From a large Oil Painting by Anthony Coutry, a resident of the place at that time.]

THE CITY OF KALAMAZOO IN 1832

To carry out the public improvements necessary to the development of the state, the Michigan Legislature had at its session in March, 1837, appointed a board of commissioners of internal improvements, who were constituted supervisors and overseers of all public works belonging to the state, and who had the care and superintendence of all railroads, canals and other state improvements. This board was authorized to survey three railroad routes across the lower peninsula; also to survey the Clinton and Kalamazoo Canal, the Saginaw or Northern Canal, the Havre Branch Railroad and the St. Mary's Canal, together with the Grand, Kalamazoo and St. Joseph rivers. The board was authorized to purchase the railroad and improvements of any incorporated company where the same had been infringed upon by the location and construction of state works. During 1837 nearly sixty thousand dollars was expended in surveys, extending over two thousand miles.

The Southern Railroad superseded the Maumee railroad route; the road was to begin at the navigable waters of the River Raisin and to extend to New Buffalo. The road was to be 183 miles long, was to cost $1,500,000, of which sum $450,000 was already appropriated. The Havre Branch Railroad was a short road of thirteen miles in Monroe County. The Central, or Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad began at Detroit and terminated at the village of St. Joseph. A private company had been chartered in 1831 and work was in progress, when in 1837 the state purchased the property and charter-rights of the company; $117,000 had been expended; the section from Detroit to Ypsilanti was completed, and cars began running in January, 1838. The cost of constructing this portion of the road, including the purchase of locomotives and cars and the erection of depot buildings, was about four hundred thousand dollars, and the estimated cost of the entire road was a little less than two million dollars, of which sum $750,000 was appropriated. The total receipts for five months were about $43,000; four locomotives, five passengers and ten freight cars were in operation, and the facilities of the road were taxed to the utmost. Six thousand passengers had been carried over the road up to May 24, 1837. The Northern Railroad was to begin at Port Huron and to terminate at Grand Rapids; it was to form a connecting link in the contemplated Great Western Railroad from Boston through Massachusetts, New York, Upper Canada, Michigan and Wisconsin to the Mississippi River; the estimated cost of the road was $1,300,000, and $110,000 were appropriated. The Clinton and Kalamazoo Canal was to begin at Mount Clemens and terminate at the mouth of the Kalamazoo River, thus connecting Lakes St. Clair and Michigan. The canal was to cost about sixteen thousand dollars a mile, and the entire expense was estimated at $2,250,000, of which $245,000 was appropriated. The Saginaw or North Canal was to connect the Saginaw and Grand rivers. The St. Mary's Canal was to provide a passage around the falls at an estimated cost of $112,000, and $50,000 was appropriated. About sixty-seven thousand dollars was to be expended on the improvement of Grand River, and $30,000 was appropriated.[3] The Kalamazoo River was to be improved from its mouth to the Village of Kalamazoo, and the St. Joseph River from St. Joseph to Union City.

[3] This project has been revived from time to time, enough money having been spent on it to have built a canal across the state; but still the Grand River is not navigated.

To carry on the projected state improvements, the Legislature prepared a fund known as the internal improvement fund, which was not to exceed five million dollars. The governor was authorized to negotiate a loan, with interest at 6 per cent, redeemable at the pleasure of the state after twenty-five years. The certificates of stocks or bonds were directed to be made, signed by the governor, countersigned by the secretary of state, and drawn in favor of and endorsed by the auditor-general. These were then made transferable to and by the governor who was authorized to sell them at not

A Typical Michigan Landscape

less than par value, the faith of the state being pledged to the payment of the loans. For the extinguishment of the debt thus created a sinking fund was established, and into this fund were to be paid the proceeds of all canals and railroads constructed by the state, the interest on all loans to be made by the state from the internal improvement fund, together with the dividends arising from the bank stock owned, or to be acquired by the state. The internal improvement fund up to the first of January, 1838, amounted to $623,000, of which $286,000 was derived from surplus revenues, $151,000 from 5 per cent of the sale of public lands, and $180,000 from the state loan. The amount expended was $415,000, leaving an unexpended balance of $208,000.

Beside the internal improvements carried on by the state, there were various railroad and canal projects owned by private corpora-

tions. No fewer than twenty-four such private corporations were chartered to build railroads in Michigan. Most of these were paper corporations, but a few were actually engaged in construction work and where such was the case the state loaned to the corporations various sums. Of these projects the most promising was the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Company, which had finished a line from Toledo to Adrian, a distance of thirty-three miles, and had begun operations in October, 1836. This company expended $257,000 up to December 31, 1837. The earnings of the road were $55,000, and the expense, $14,000, leaving profits of $41,000, or about 16 per cent on the whole cost of the road, engines, property and fixtures.

The five principal turnpike roads in Michigan were constructed by the authority of the general Government previous to the admission of the state into the Union. They were six rods wide and originally were well constructed; all began at Detroit and we now have them as the great thoroughfares of the city—Fort Street, Michigan, Grand River, Woodward and Gratiot avenues.

Looking back on this extensive system of improvements and remembering how the projects came to grief, the ideas now seem chimerical; but in 1836, the people of Michigan conceived their state as possessing a most eligible situation with respect to the principal markets of New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. With New York there was already direct communication through the Erie Canal. The contemplated improvement through Wisconsin, uniting the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; through Illinois, uniting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River by canal; and through Indiana, connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Wabash River, were calculated to open direct channels through the western portion of the state to New Orleans. The canal then being constructed to unite Lake Erie with the Wabash through Ohio and to Indiana, and the railroads and canals made and making from Lake Erie to the Ohio River through the State of Ohio were expected to furnish avenues to the southwestern markets; the improvements being made from Cleveland to Pittsburgh through Ohio, and the railroads being built from Erie to Philadelphia through Pennsylvania were counted upon to open new markets in the latter state; while the Great Western Railroad would give Michigan an expeditious route to the New England markets.

Then, too, the lake transportation was already fast increasing. The first steamboat navigating the lakes, named the Walk-In-The-Water, was built in 1818, when the total tonnage on Lake Erie was

Photo from an india ink drawing by W. A. Raymond

DETROIT AS SEEN FROM THE OLD WATER TOWER, LOOKING DOWN THE RIVER IN 1837

about one thousand tons. Up to the 1st of October, 1836, this tonnage had increased to 24,000 tons, supplied by forty-five steamboats, two ships, seven brigs, one bark, forty-seven sloops, 144 schooners, and ten schooner-scows. The Detroit district had seventeen steamboats, three brigs, forty-seven schooners and thirty-seven sloops. The largest boat constructed upon the lakes up to 1838 was the Illinois, of 755 tons, built at Detroit. From 1795 to the beginning of the War of 1812, the supplies for the garrison at Detroit, and goods for traffic in the fur trade constituted almost the entire commerce, but after the war trade began to increase. Trade was carried on with Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, those states sending salt, pork, beef, flour, corn, butter, cheese, lard and whiskey, which articles were exchanged for furs, cider, apples, fish. Furs were transported to Buffalo, Albany and the New York markets but the amount of the trade was never stated. In 1818 Detroit imported 3,500 barrels of flour, 2,800 barrels of salt and 1,900 barrels of whiskey; 1,000 head of beef cattle and 1,400 fat hogs were exported, principally to the military stations of Lakes Huron and Michigan. European goods came from New York City, and there was a large amount of smuggling from Canada. The steamboats burned wood, consuming on an average 150 cords for a round trip from the Lake Erie ports to Detroit. It was estimated that the steamboats burned 150,000 cords during 1837, at a cost of $250,000. About one thousand persons were employed in conducting steamboat navigation; a captain received from six hundred dollars to one thousand dollars a year, an engineer from fifty dollars to ninety dollars a month, and a deck-hand from ten dollars to fifteen dollars a month.

In August, 1816, the Secretary of State proposed to the English Government that the naval force to be maintained upon the Great Lakes by Great Britain and the United States be limited, and on April 28, 1817, the British Minister, acting for the Prince Regent, agreed that war vessels on the Great Lakes be confined to one vessel on Lake Ontario, not exceeding one hundred tons burthen and armed with one 18-pound cannon; on the Upper Lakes, not exceeding two vessels of like burden and armed with like force; and on Lake Champlain one vessel. All other armed vessels were to be dismantled and no other vessels at war "shall there be built or armed." The agreement was to remain in force for six months after either party should express a desire of annulling it. On April 29th Richard Rush, acting Secretary of State, wrote to Charles Bagot, the British Minister, expressing the satisfaction of the Presi-

dent that the Prince Regent had acceded to the proposition of the United States. This exchange of letters contains the standing agreement between Great Britain and the United States which has been in force for nearly a century to the great advantage of both countries. At times it has been necessary to modify the agreement, but for many years the only vessel of war maintained in the Upper Lakes was the United States steamer Michigan, and even that

THE U. S. S. MICHIGAN, NOW THE WOLVERINE

vessel has now been transferred to the Naval Reserves, and no war vessel as such is maintained by either country. The revenue-cutters carry each a single gun for the purpose of firing salutes and maintaining the revenue laws. The Naval Reserves of the various states have at their disposal obsolete war vessels for use as practice ships.

The Michigan was the first iron vessel built for the United States Navy. She was constructed at Pittsburgh in sections and these sections were taken to Erie, where the ship was completed and launched in 1844. She was rated a first-class, side-wheel steamer, bark-rig. Her length was 167 feet, her tonnage 582, and

she was to carry a crew of eighty-five men. Her first battery was two 8-inch guns and four 32-pound carronades. The British Minister, on July 23, 1844, filed a protest as to armament and tonnage. In the correspondence between the Secretary of State, Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Mason, and the British Minister, Mr. Packenham, it was agreed that the changed conditions since 1817 called for a revision of the agreement; and later the armament of the Michigan was changed to one 18-pounder. She started on her first cruise under the command of Commander William Inman. During the War of Secession she was under the command of Commander John C. Carter and did good service in recruiting and protecting the lake borders from attempted raids and the transportation of arms from Canada by Confederate agents. She guarded Johnson's Island, where a great number of Confederate prisoners were held, and for this purpose her battery was increased to one 30-pounder, five 20-pounders, two light 12-pounders and six 24-pounders; and she had a rating of 685 tons. After the close of the war, the Michigan was repaired and her battery was reduced to eight howitzers.[4]

Manufactories were in an incipient condition, and were carried on no further than the immediate wants of the settlers absolutely required. One hundred and fourteen grist mills, 433 saw mills, twenty-three carding machines, twelve cloth-dressing shops, one glass manufactory and sixteen distilleries were known to exist in the state. Detroit and Monroe were the only cities, and there were twenty-three incorporated villages.

The Presbyterian Church was composed of a synod and five

[4] On June 17, 1905, the name of the Michigan was changed to the Wolverine, in order that a new first class battleship might be called the Michigan; and later the Wolverine became the training ship for the naval militia of Pennsylvania. In 1898 the wooden gunboat Yantic was transferred to the naval militia of Michigan and is stationed at Hancock; in 1906 the schooner Gopher, formerly the Fern, was turned over to the Minnesota Naval Militia and is stationed at Duluth; the other war vessels on the Lakes under the control of the naval militia are the Don Juan De Austria at Detroit, the Hawk at Buffalo, the Sandoval at Rochester, the Dorothea at Cleveland, the Essex at Toledo and the Isla De Luzon at Chicago. A special arrangement covering the naval militia training ships has been reached by the state department with the British Ambassador in Washington. The following public documents will give the history of the naval forces on the Lakes: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 163; 37th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rpt. 4; 52 Cong., 2d Sess., S. Ex. Doc. 9; 55th Cong., 2d., Sen. Rpt. 449; 56th Cong., 1st, H. Doc. 471. For much of this information, I am indebted to Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent of Library and Naval War Records, Navy Department, Washington.

presbyteries; there were sixty-four churches, thirty-four ministers and 3,300 communicants. The Baptists had three associations with seventy-eight churches, fifty ministers and 3,200 communicants; the Episcopalians had one diocese embracing the State of Michigan and the Territory of Wisconsin; within the state were nineteen

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH. (Corner Larned and Bates Streets, Detroit; etched by W. F. Dow, 1881.)

clergymen, including the bishop, ten churches, twenty congregations and less than five hundred communicants. The Congregationalists were united with the Presbyterians. There were a few scattering congregations of Lutheran, Dutch Reform, Seceders, Convenanters, Christians, Unitarians and Universalists. The Roman Catholics had one diocese, a bishop, thirty priests and about twenty thousand communicants, 3,000 of whom were Indians, 8,000 English, German and American, and the remainder French.

Michigan was successively under the jurisdiction of French,

English and Canadian bishops of the Roman Catholic Church until the establishment of the see of Baltimore in 1789. As new sees were erected it came under the jurisdiction, first of Bardstown, Kentucky, and next of Cincinnati. Bishop Fenwick, who was consecrated Bishop of the Diocese of Cincinnati in 1823, came to Michigan a year later and was surprised to find flourishing schools for whites and Indians at Mackinac and L'Arbre Croche. At the latter place were found two Indian youths, William Maccodabinese and Augustus Hamlin, who were so well fitted for university life that the good bishop immediately sent them to pursue their studies at the University of the Propaganda in Rome. There they made friends with a young priest, Father Frederick Rézé, afterwards the first Bishop of Detroit. Young Maccodabinese studied for the priesthood, but died before he could be ordained. Hamlin returned to his tribe as a civil engineer. Bishop Fenwick, finding the working of his diocese so great that it required six months to make a visitation, urged that Michigan be set off as a separate see, and that Father Gabriel Richard should be appointed bishop. Five other bishops united in the request. Rome, however, was of the opinion that the creation of sees had gone on too fast in the new country, and suggested that when the time came to select a bishop three names be presented instead of one. This method was afterwards adopted and is still observed.

With a view of obtaining voluntary missionaries to assist him in his arduous labors, Bishop Fenwick went to Rome and in January, 1827, returned with the young Hanoverian priest, Father Rézé, who became chancellor and vicar general. Before coming to America, Father Rézé organized in 1828 the Leopoldine Society to aid American missionaries. The dues were a penny a month, similar to those of the French society for the propagation of the faith. The income of the society amounted to between $15,000 and $25,000 a year, most of which was distributed by Father Rézé, who also secured $1,000 a year from the United States Government toward the maintenance of Catholic Indian schools in the Northwest. From the French Society came $14,000 per year, which with the income from the Leopoldine Society enabled the Detroit Diocese to build such buildings as St. Anne's and Trinity churches. On his second pastoral visit to L'Arbre Croche in 1828 the bishop was met by a total-abstinence society of forty-two members in regalia, twenty years before the beginning of Father Mathews' temperance work in America. Father Richard died before he could be made a bishop. Bishop Fenwick died in 1832 of cholera and Father Rézé was made

bishop of the new diocese, which extended from Lakes Huron and Erie to the Mississippi River and from the Hudson Bay country to the mouth of the Maumee River. In 1837, worn out by his labors, Bishop Rézé resigned, but his resignation was not accepted and he was called to Rome to explain. His mind had already begun to give way and he was retired, although he lived for more than thirty years as Bishop of Detroit. He returned in 1849 and died in Detroit in 1871. He was succeeded by Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, who served until 1869 and was succeeded by Bishop Borgess, who succeeded to the title of bishop in 1871, the title in the meantime having been bishop-administrator.[5]

In 1810 Michigan had a population of 4,528, the males exceeding the females by about one thousand; there were 120 free blacks, and twenty-four slaves. In 1837 the population had increased to 175,000. There were only 379 colored and twenty-seven Indians taxed. The remaining Indians consisted chiefly of Chippewas, Ottawas and Menominees, of whom the Chippewas were by far the most numerous. The Chippewas lived in the northern portion of the Lower Peninsula, and in the Upper Peninsula; the Ottawas lived in the Lower Peninsula; all subsisted by hunting, fishing and the fur trade. They manufactured maple sugar in considerable quantities, and exchanged it and peltries for blankets and the utensils they needed. The total number of Indians in the state was 7,914, of whom 3,000 were in the Upper Peninsula. The French population, amounting to ten or twelve thousand, for the most part retained ancient customs and manners, and but slowly adapted themselves to American ideas. Of foreigners, the Germans were the most numerous. Of the native American citizens many came from Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey, and a few from Virginia, but the greater portion, amounting to two-thirds of the entire white population, came from New England and Western New York. Those from New York State often traced their origin back to New England, and it may be said that the general character of the institutions and the formative principles operative in the state were essentially those of New England. The immigrants were mostly young or of middle age. Many of them were wealthy or at least were in independent circumstances, having sold their lands in the east. There were very few who did not own a farm. Tenants were rarely to be found and indigence and pauperism were comparatively unknown. The population of Michigan therefore was essentially homogeneous, the ma-

[5] See "The Detroit Diocese," by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Frank A. O'Brien, LL.D., Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XI, p. 9.

jority having the same religion, habits, manners and customs. No state could show greater enterprise in the matter of public improvements, nor could any boast a superior system of public education. A farm of forty acres of Government land cost $100; a section of 640 acres cost $800; an eastern farmer might sell his small farm in the East for a sum that would purchase a dozen Michigan farms of a superior quality of land. He could then look forward to developing a handsome property and his family in a few years might become independent without difficulty.

The Erie Canal and the Lakes furnished the principal channel of immigration to Michigan. There was a stage route from Buffalo via Cleveland and Sandusky to Detroit, the distance was 374 miles and the fare in the winter season was usually $35. On the Erie Canal about three thousand boats were in operation; a boat left Albany for Buffalo almost every hour, and the packet boats moved at the rate of four miles an hour. The price of passage in the packet, including meals, was 4 cents a mile, or $14.52 from Albany to Buffalo. On the line boat, the fare was 1½ cents a mile for passage, including meals. Families were frequently taken for much less than this. The terms for freight depended upon the season of navigation, and the amount of business to be done. The maximum for shipping light goods from Albany to Buffalo was 75 cents, for heavy goods $1, and furniture 75 cents per hundred weight. By a special contract, more moderate terms were secured. The Lake Erie steamboats in the year 1836 carried about two hundred thousand persons. The steamboats left Buffalo morning and evening. The price of a cabin passage from Buffalo to Cleveland was $6, from Buffalo to Sault Ste. Marie, $12, to Chicago, Green Bay and St. Joseph, $20, and from Buffalo to Detroit, $8. Freight from Buffalo to Detroit on steamers was 38 cents per hundred weight for heavy goods and 50 cents for light goods, 50 cents for barrels, bulk or furniture. The stage fare from Detroit to Marshall was $7.50 and to Chicago $21.

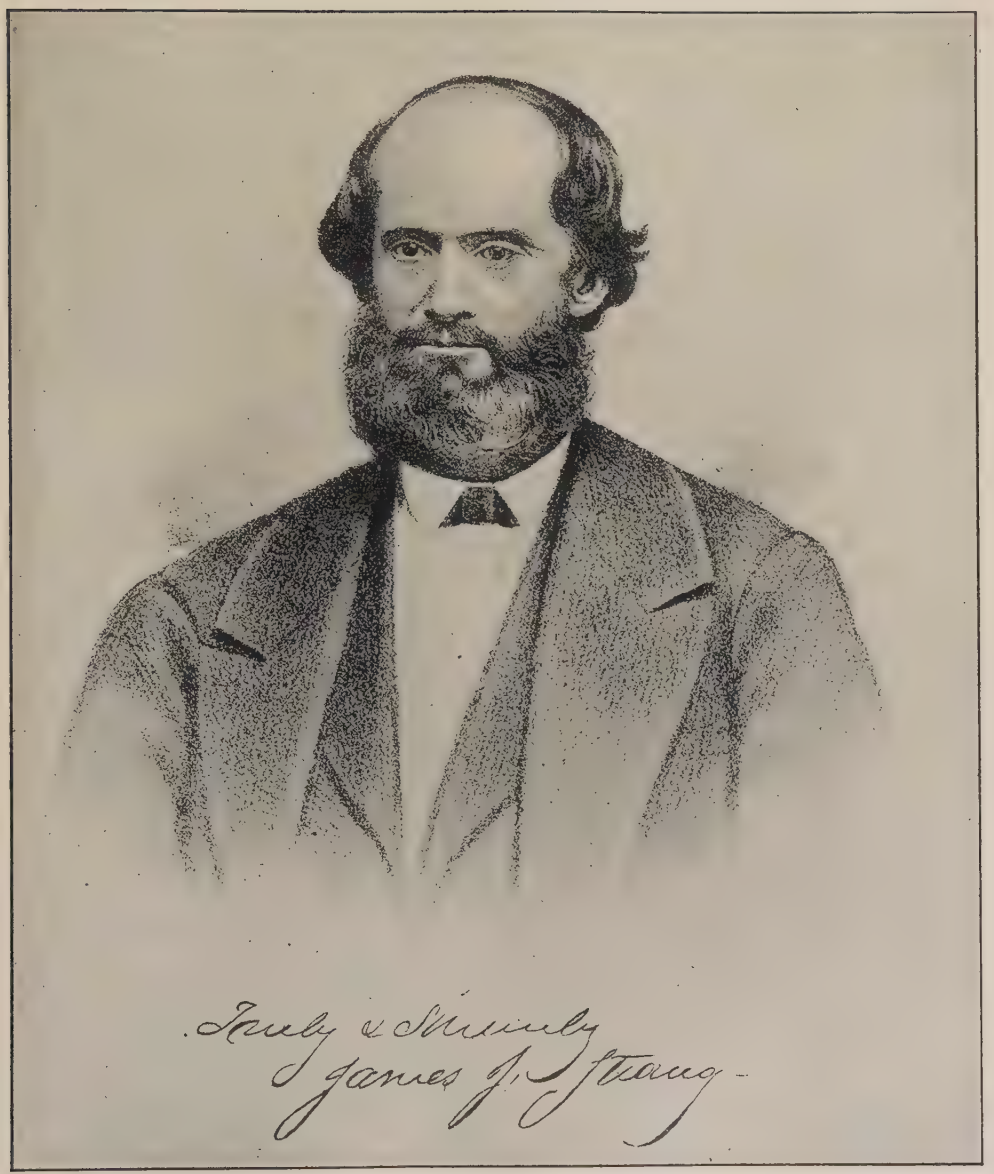
Such in brief were the conditions faced by that great exodus of young men and maidens who came from the banks of Penobscot, the Kennebec and the Merrimac, from the hill towns of New Hampshire and Vermont, from the industrial centers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and from the only less fertile lands of Western New York to make for themselves homes beyond the Great Lakes.

While the mainland was being occupied by settlers from the East, on one of the islands of Lake Michigan a kingdom had its

King Strang's Castle

rise and fall. In May, 1847, James Jesse Strang, with four of his followers, landed on Beaver Island, to establish a Mormon colony. Being inhospitably received by the few resident traders and fishermen, the visitors slept under hemlock boughs and ate beechnuts and wild leeks; but before winter five Mormon families had found permanent lodgment. By 1850 the island had a population of nearly two thousand Mormons, and the building of the Town of St. James began. Schools for the children and debating clubs for the men; a well equipped printing office from which was issued the *Northern Islander;* a large tabernacle; a saw mill and good roads and docks, all bespoke both enterprise and thrift. The people were forbidden to use tea, coffee, tobacco or liquor; on Saturday every person was compelled to attend church, and corporal punishment was inflicted, even on adults, for the violation of the minute rules of the new religion. The women wore the short skirts and the baggy trousers known as "bloomers." Polygamy was practised in about twenty families; and in all cases excepting that of the leader the number of wives was limited to three; Strang himself had five. The religion which held this community together was given to the people in "The Book of the Law of the Lord, consisting of an inspired translation of some of the most important parts of the Law given to Moses, and very few additional commandments, with brief notes and references. Printed by command of the King, at the Royal Press, St. James."

Strang, the son of a Cayuga County, New York, farmer, was born in 1813; as a boy he was an omnivorous reader and a great talker, and in early manhood he lectured on temperance, taught school, practiced law at Mayville and edited a paper at Randolph, in his native state. Coming under the influence of Mormonism, he was baptised and ordained an elder by Joseph Smith, at Nauvoo, in 1844; and when, a few months later, Smith was murdered by the mob that stormed the Carthage jail, Strang produced what purported to be an autograph letter from the founder of Mormonism, giving to the saint of five months standing the command to "plant a stake of Zion" in Wisconsin. Excommunicated from the Mormon church for the forgery, Strang set up a colony at Spring Prairie, where he had "revelations" and, after the example of Smith, found in the banks of the White River the miraculously preserved record of a tribe of Israel which inhabited that region during the remote centuries. By "inspiration" he was enabled to translate the cabalistic characters and to establish himself as their prophet, priest and king. The Wisconsin colony grew steadily until (1846) Strang decided that the Michigan island offered a better field for the up-



Portrait of King Strang

building of the kingdom. Besides making friends with the Indian remnant, Strang was able to convince the United States authorities at Detroit, before whom he was brought in 1851, that his people were not land-pirates, mail-robbers, trespassers on the public domain, and traitors setting up a monarchical government, but were "persecuted for righteousness' sake." So the king returned to his realms to contribute to the reports of the Smithsonian Institution articles on natural history, and to write defences of his people for the eastern newspapers.[6]

Among Strang's disciples was Dr. H. D. McCulloch, an educated physician from Baltimore, who had been an army surgeon, but had lost social position at home by vicious habits. Not being able to overcome his fondness for liquor, McCulloch was deposed from his churchly office. Accordingly he organized a revolution. On June 16, 1856, as Strang was on his way to the United States Steamer Michigan, to pay his royal respects to his friends the officers, he was shot by Thomas Bedford and Aleck Wentworth, two Mormons who had been righteously disciplined. Taken to his former home in Spring Prairie, he died in the arms of his lawful wife, who had been faithfully awaiting the return of her misguided spouse. After his death, the Mormons were driven from their homes by men from the mainland; the printing office was sacked, the tabernacle was burned, and the kingdom fell.[7]

[6] In 1853 Strang was elected to the State Legislature, where he exercised great influence by reason of his ability, courage and geniality. See Mich. P. & H. Col., IX, 107; XXI, 285; XXVI, 233; XVIII, 628.

[7] Charles K. Backus in *Harper's Monthly*, Vol. LXIV, p. 559.

CHAPTER XX

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE FUR TRADE IN MICHIGAN

The fur trade was the controlling factor in the conquest and settlement of Michigan. From the voyage of Jean Nicolet in 1634, during almost two centuries the fur trade furnished both the motive for, and the location of, such settlements as were made within the region of the Great Lakes. The fur trade determined the character and degree of the civilization; it marked the roads to be traversed, it fixed townsites, and especially it determined the occupation and the dwelling places of the Indians.

Long before the coming of the whites the North American continent was traversed by Indian trails and trade routes; for the Indian tribes were traders; and their commerce, one tribe with another, developed middlemen and other characteristics which we are wont to regard as belonging to the civilized state. Often the Indian followed the tracks of the wild animals in their annual migrations, or in their search for water or salt licks; and in some cases, such as the routes from the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes and thence to Hudson Bay, the trails were nearly a thousand miles long; and there were trails which practically traversed the length and breadth of the continent.

The trader found the rivers his easiest road; but in war times they were also the most dangerous, and supplemental routes had to be discovered. The constant use of these trails and portages during many centuries so packed the soil that in places the routes may still be traced by depressions in the ground, and by the absence of or difference in the vegetation. The Indians used furs both as ordinary clothing and also as a means of showing their importance and wealth. The tribes of the Ottawa River had an established trade with those of Hudson Bay and it was this commerce that Radisson and Groseilliers traced to its source. As a rule, however, the products of the chase were not primarily articles of commerce. Copper, jade, obsidian, soapstone, mica, paint stones and shells for wampum were the chief articles of traffic; and since the supply of native copper came mainly from Lake Superior, the tribes of that region had an abundant source of wealth.

For uncounted ages before the coming of the white man, the valley of the Mississippi was a vast mart of trade. Its numerous waterways and easy portages placed the region in touch with every portion of the continent, so that in prehistoric days the Middle West attained among the aborigines the same commercial pre-eminence which it is now coming to attain in the modern world. The mounds of this section give up to the explorer dentalium shells from

North West Company Blockhouse at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

Restored and Used as a Residence by Francis H. Clergue, 1900

the Pacific, obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, copper from Lake Superior, pipes of stone from Canada and Minnesota and numerous objects from the Atlantic coast.

The white man brought domestic animals and guns to make transportation easier and the land more productive. He also created a demand for furs and thereby increased the area over which the Indian gathered peltries, until the Iroquois sought booty as well as revenge throughout the entire Northwest.

It is assumed, often unconsciously, that the Indians were a

simple-minded folk, who were constantly cheated by the traders and became a prey to the vices of civilization, especially to the devastating power successively of the brandy of the French, the rum of the English and the whisky of the American. The life of the frontier is always steeped in vice and degradation. Even among themselves the Scotch-Irish on the frontiers have exemplified the reversion to savagery so characteristic of humanity whenever the restraints of custom and environment are removed. The mining and lumber camps of modern times have been the scenes of organized debauchery which would quite put to blush the ancient customs, bad as they were. The practice of inducing Indians to barter lands for strong drink prevailed in Michigan so long as Indians had lands to barter. In every frontier community a considerable number of people are engaged in getting by fair means or foul the possessions of those who really labor. The Indian came in contact with this class, and often was made to suffer in consequence.

The Indian has been extolled as generous and liberal, brave and enduring, discreet, stoical, grateful and full of innocent credulity On the other hand he is defamed as licentious, lazy, boastful, gluttonous, improvident, intemperate in all things, filthy, obscene, thievish, vindictive, arrogant, hypocritical and treacherous. He was all of these things. In short, he was what his circumstances and conditions made him. It is, therefore, useless to impugn either the white man or the red man. Each acted as he would act today if the world should be turned back a century or more—or as each does act when the same conditions prevail on the frontier or when old conditions are temporarily revived by a breakdown of the restraints of civilization.

Among the French on the frontier the Indian was recognized as a fellow-creature, to be associated with as well as worked with. The French missionary had a sincere regard for the Indian's soul. The French trader lived with the Indian's daughter, and had no scruple about the matter of marriage when a priest came to perform the ceremony.[1] Marriages between the English and the Indians occurred oftener than is commonly supposed, but often there were scruples against a religious ceremony. The English of New England looked upon the Indian as a heathen to be exterminated. They sought lands to cultivate, not furs in barter. Their clergy as a rule were not seeking red converts, although the fiction

[1] "Handbook of American Indians;" articles on Commerce, Indian Trails, Fur Trade, Trading Posts, French Influence, etc.

OLD BATEAU-LOCK OF NORTH WEST FUR COMPANY AT SAULT STE. MARIE, ONTARIO

Discovered by Judge J. H. Steere; Restored by Francis H. Clergue

is that Harvard, Dartmouth and William and Mary colleges were founded to educate Indian youth. In the same way Judge Cooley maintains that Michigan University was really founded on an Indian grant. And yet, in spite of Indian aloofness, the English and American consciences have been concerned to lift the savages to a higher plane of civilization, rather than to descend to the level of the red man; and the result has been gratifying in conspicuous instances of individuals as well as in the case of tribes and communities.

Before the advent of the whites, shell beads and skins were the Indian standards of value. Shells were used along the coasts, but in the interior of the continent skins, and particularly the beaver skins, formed the medium of exchange. In 1670, according to Margry, one such skin was worth a quarter of a pound of powder or six knives. The English continued to use the skin as a measure, and in turn handed the term over to the Americans. In Canadian parlance "a skin" came to mean 50 cents fixed value. Hudson Bay blankets, reckoned according to the "points" used in decoration as an indication of quality, are still measures in the north.

The beaver skin, which formed the staple article of commerce, was taken from an animal allied to the squirrel. These animals are about two feet in length, exclusive of ten inches of tail; their hindfeet are webbed; their fur consists of two kinds of hair, one short, silky and grayish; the other long, coarse and reddish-brown. They prefer to travel by water, they are sociable, and they live in streams. In order to secure the proper depth of water for their building purposes, they build dams of mud and trees, felled by their incisor teeth. Their lodges have entrances under water and are quite commodious. The beaver always does his work at night, and he builds his dam with great nicety, arranging its shape so that in still water it is straight and in a running stream convex. The mud and stones are carried in the forepaws and the timber between the teeth. They live on water-lilies, berries and the bark of trees. When frost sets in they begin to repair their houses, using the cold to create an outer coating so strong that it defies wolves and wolverines. The flesh supplied the Indians with food, and they esteemed beaver roasted in its own skin a great delicacy. The abundant streams of Michigan furnished homes for beavers innumerable and the traffic became very large after the northwestern posts were surrendered by the British.

The transition from French to English in 1762 in the Northwest was followed immediately by a slackening of the fur trade; but by 1766 the woods were full of rival English traders, and the trade

was demoralized by their rivalries, while the Indians were debauched by the abundant supplies of liquor. From 1783 to 1787 was a period of combination and organization among the traders, resulting in the great North West Company with its twenty-three shareholders and 2,000 clerks, guides, interpreters and boatmen (voyageurs). The principal partners and agents lived in Montreal, having attained their positions of power and opulence by years of hardship, toil and endurance passed in the northern solitudes. Such were the families of the Frobishers, the McKenzies, the McTavishes and the McGillivrays, all Scotch, as their names indicate.

Naturally the success of the North West Company brought competitors into the field, among them the Mackinac Company, with headquarters at Michilimackinac and posts at Green Bay, Fox River and other stations in that region, and thence from the Mississippi. With the surrender of the posts to the Americans, our Government immediately turned its attention to this lucrative trade. Washington, with his abundant Indian experience, was much interested in the development of governmental trading-posts.

The Act of April 18, 1796, gave to the President the control of these posts, and in 1806 a Superintendent of Indian Trade was created with headquarters at Georgetown, D. C., and by 1810 there were fourteen posts, including those at Fort Wayne, Indiana, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Chicago and Sandusky. The system was not successful: the Indians preferred English cloths of better quality than Americans could then manufacture, and especially the liquor which was supplied by the British and not by the American traders. The system was ended by the Act of May 6, 1822. Meantime a New York trader had entered the field in the person of John Jacob Astor, who was born in Waldorf, near Heidelberg, and who had a commercial training in London before coming to America in 1783. Chance directed him to the fur trade, and he began in a small way, buying first in New York and then in Montreal for the London market. The Jay Treaty having opened trade between Canada and the United States, Mr. Astor undertook to supply the home market from Montreal and even extended his business to Europe and China. About 1809 Mr. Astor, by this time having acquired control of large capital, obtained a New York charter for "The American Fur Company, capitalized at $1,000,000, all the stock being owned by him." [2] In 1811 he formed a combination with Canadian interests to buy out the Mackinac Company, and merged it with his

[2] Washington Irving's "Astoria."

From the collection of Judge J. H. Steere

MISSION CHURCH AND BLOCKHOUSE AT FORT BRADY, SAULT STE. MARIE.

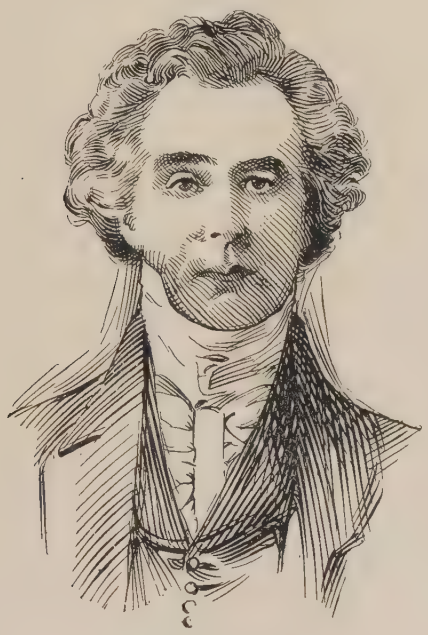
own corporation into "The Southwest Company," the United States Government giving him encouragement. Then came the War of 1812 to break up the association, following which Congress, at Mr. Astor's instigation, passed a law to prevent British traders from operating in United States territory. Meanwhile Mr. Astor's commercial imagination led him into wider operations, including the founding of the fur trading post of Astoria on the Pacific; and the Michigan trade became a matter of minor importance in a scheme that was world-wide. However, this trade was too valuable to drop altogether, and Mr. Astor bought out "The Southwest Company" and reestablished "The American Fur Company," with headquarters on Mackinac Island.

On July 4, 1818, a great party with supplies purchased at Montreal, arrived at the island and were welcomed by Mr. Astor's representatives, Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart. The fort at that time had a garrison of three or four companies of regulars. The town had a resident population of some five hundred French and half-breeds, including a dozen white women; but at those times when the traders gathered to meet the Indians from the north the numbers of people would be increased by several thousand. In July came the annual gathering of furs from the various posts—pelts of beaver, marten (sable), mink, otter, fox, moose, elk, bear, buffalo, wolverine, badger and wildcat. Four hundred clerks and traders, and about two thousand voyageurs had their annual holiday, some living at the John Jacob Astor agency house and the others pitching tents near the beach. There was dancing and gaming, drinking and fighting; there were bullies and truculent "men from the north" with feathers in their caps.

In 1834, Mr. Astor sold the stock and charter of his company to Ramsay Crooks and his associates, who continued the business until 1842, when competition with the northern company and the settlement of the country to the south brought to its virtual end both the company and the fur trade of Michigan. The annual sales of merchandise during the palmy days amounted to $3,000,000, and the Government disbursed an additional $1,000,000 in Indian presents and the purchase of supplies.

Such are the general outlines of the Michigan fur trade. Of individual traders there is much to relate. Chief among these was John Johnson, of Sault Ste. Marie, who was born in Antrim County, Ireland, August 25, 1762, the son of a Belfast civil engineer and of the sister of Bishop Saurin, of Dromore, and of Ireland's attorney-general. Johnson came to America in 1792 and began trading at

La Pointe, where he fell in love with the daughter of a Chippewa chief and after a reasonable delay imposed by the chief in order to make certain the constancy of the lover, he married her according of the rites and ceremonies of the tribe. The reluctant bride promptly ran away, but was found by her father, was whipped and sent back to the ardent lover, with the promise that a like offense would cost her the loss of her ears. She yielded for a time, but a



ROBERT STUART

longing to return to her own people overcame her, and Johnson placed his new wife on one of her vessels and sent her in state from Sault Ste. Marie to the tribe at La Pointe. Soon she was ready to come back to her devoted husband, and they lived happily ever after, although she continued to wear the Indian dress and to speak the Indian language. In 1807 Johnson took his daughter Jane to Europe, where they were well received. Indeed the Duchess of Devonshire wished to keep the girl as her own child; but she preferred to return to America, and later she married Henry R. Schoolcraft, the ethnologist and traveler. Seven other children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson during their happy married life of thirty-five years. Johnson represented the North West Company at Sault

Ste. Marie, and during the War of 1812 he sent a company of 100 Indians to aid the British in the capture of Mackinac, and as a penalty the Americans destroyed the town. In 1820, however, Mrs. Johnson prevented the Chippewas from opposing General Cass in taking possession of Sault Ste. Marie. Mr. Johnson died in 1828 and she conducted his business until her death in 1843.[3]

During the days of English control Charles de Langlade, whose headquarters were at Michilimackinac and at Green Bay, controlled the fur trade of Southwestern Michigan. After him, under the American rule, came Monsieur and Madame La Framboise, Marsac, Campau and Winsor. When her husband was killed by an Indian, Madame La Framboise, an Ottawa half-breed, took up his work, and became the agent of the American Fur Company, continuing her successful career until 1821, when she retired to Michilimackinac, and Rix Robinson ruled in her stead. Louis Campau had independent trading-posts at Manistee and Muskegon and in the interior at Eaton Rapids, Hastings and Lowell; and Antoine Campau was at the rapids of the Grand River as early as 1835 as the agent of Frederick Buhl of Detroit and Pierre Chatteau of New York City. There were also Richard Godfroy, who successfully navigated the Grand River; and Martin Ryerson of Chicago fame; the half-breed Louis Generau, and John Batiste Recollect.[4]

Among the fur traders during the later days of that industry the most prominent and the most picturesque was Rix Robinson, who settled upon the Grand River at a time when he had no western neighbor nearer than the Mississippi. He was born in Richmond, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on August 28, 1789, the son of a blacksmith and farmer. The large family removed to Venice, Cayuga County, New York, where Rix went to school and at the age of nineteen began the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1811. When the War of 1812 broke out the embryo lawyer formed a business partnership with a neighbor, and they became sutlers. He successfully evaded the draft for the army, having imbibed from his father a strong feeling against that war; although his principles seem not

[3] "The Honorable Peter White," by Ralph D. Williams; 1907, p. 99.

[4] Since this chapter was written there has come to my notice the manuscript of an exhaustive paper on "The Michigan Fur Trade," by Ida Amanda Johnson, which is to be published by the Michigan Historical Commission. This monograph contains a full discussion of this trade from its beginnings under the French, through the British period and until its decline consequent on the removal of the Indians to make way for white settlers, who turned the forests into farms.

MAP SHOWING INDIAN TREATIES COVERING MICHIGAN, 1796-1842

to have extended to the traffic necessitated by the war. Rix found his creditors as elusive as the Government had found him. He followed the soldiers to Buffalo, Detroit, Green Bay, Dubuque and Mackinac; but ended with no profits and impaired capital. Meanwhile he did some trading with the Indians, and this occupation led to his acquaintance with John Jacob Astor, who employed him for the season of 1818-19 and sent him to the Indians. It so happened that the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company decided that it was necessary to their business to have the Indians refuse to trade with Robinson; but he was too stalwart a man to be trifled with, and he had learned never to show fear of a red man, and never to allow an insult to go unpunished. So the Indians made friends with him and brought their furs to his camp. So successful was the season's work that Robert Stuart, Mr. Astor's agent at Mackinac, wished to renew the agreement; but Robinson determined to be his own master. Accordingly he laid in a stock of tobacco at St. Louis and settled on the Calumet River, at a site now covered by South Chicago. He prospered and soon had posts on the present site of Milwaukee and on the Illinois River. In 1821, he acquired an interest in Mr. Astor's company, along with Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart; and he took over the post at the confluence of the Grand and the Thornapple rivers, on the present site of Ada, where Madame La Framboise had been successfully managing affairs for the American Fur Company since the death of her husband. She was ready to retire from business. Robinson established himself at the mouth of the Grand River, where Grand Haven now stands, and in September, 1821, married, according to Indian rites, the daughter of the principal chief of the Pere Marquette Indians. Their son became a Methodist missionary to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians; and when his wife died Robinson again married a chief's daughter, this time the ceremony being performed by a Baptist missionary.

Robinson established trading posts at Flat River, Muskegon, and on the Kalamazoo River, near its mouth. He fought the Indian bullies and whipped them; he dealt fairly, told the truth and so won the respect of the red men. His marriages increased his influence, and he was highly successful. In 1834 Mr. Astor sold his interests to Ramsay Crooks. Robinson, foreseeing the eventual end of the fur trade, closed out the Kalamazoo post in 1837, the Ada and Grand Haven posts in 1836. Kent County was established in 1831, and when Kent Township was organized in 1834 Mr. Robinson was elected supervisor of an area covering 576 square miles. With

Robert Stuart and Rev. William M. Ferry, he platted the present City of Grand Haven, covering the lands he had occupied with his post; he brought from New York, in 1835, six of his brothers with their families; and their coming brought many other settlers. Going to Washington with a band of Indians, in 1836, he aided in making the treaty by which more than half of the Lower Peninsula was ceded to the Government. Mr. Robinson's Indian family had reserved for them 640 acres valued at $23,000; the land is now covered by the City of Grand Rapids. When Michigan became a state, Rix Robinson was appointed a member of the Board of Internal Improvements to manage the expenditures of the "five million dollar loan;" and the selection was an admirable one. For eight years he was a member of the State Senate; he was associate justice of the Kent County Circuit Court, a member of the constitutional convention of 1850, and only consideration for his Indian wife's feelings kept him from accepting the nomination for governor of the state. She had the spirit and dignity of her race; like Mrs. Johnson, of Sault Ste. Marie, she would speak no English, except when circumstances forced her to do so; she was not uneducated and she was a good housekeeper; but she was not fitted, or at least she was unwilling to encounter the social duties that fall to the lot of a governor's wife. He was large of stature, with a fine head and a carriage that made one turn to look at him as he passed along the street. He was quiet, of pleasing address and social but not convivial habits; his judgment was sound, he told a good story drawn from his long and divers experiences, and in all his dealings he was the soul of honor. He lived until January 13, 1875—nearly eighty-six years—and was buried on the crest of a hill at Ada, where but recently his grave has been appropriately marked.[5]

An Indian treaty, negotiated at Washington in 1836, ceded to the United States the lands north of Grand River, except 70,000 acres reserved north of the Pere Marquette River, 50,000 acres on Little Traverse Bay, 20,000 acres on the north shore of Grand Traverse Bay, with small reservations in different parts. In return the United States were to pay the Indians of Western Michigan $18,000 annually for twenty years; $5,000 annually for twenty years was to be paid for teachers, books and schoolhouses; $10,000 for farm tools and cattle; $2,000 for provisions and $300 for medicines. The Indians were to receive $150,000 worth of goods and provisions

[5] Sketch by George H. White in Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XI, p. 186; see same collection for numerous anecdotes and frequent mention of him.

From the collection of Judge J. H. Steere

St. Mary's Falls—Indians Fishing

on the ratification of the treaty; $300,000 was appropriated to pay the debts of the Indians to the traders and $150,000 for the half-breeds, together with amounts to be paid individual Indians. The Grand River Valley chiefs received $500 each and Rix Robinson $23,000. This treaty was signed by Henry R. Schoolcraft for the United States, and by twenty chiefs for the Indians. The witnesses were John Hulbert, Lucius Lyon, R. P. Parrot, U. S. A.; W. P. Zantzinger, U. S. N.; Josiah F. Polk, John Haliday, John A. Drew, Rix Robinson, Leonard Slater, Louis Moran, Augustus Hamelin,

Ramsay Crooks

Jr., Henry A. Levake, William Lasley, Geo. W. Woodward and C. O. Ermatinger.[6] The treaty having been ratified, a land office was opened at Ionia and the lands north of Grand River were rapidly entered by settlers.

The Indians retained the privilege of hunting on the public lands of the United States, and for many years they remained in the country. Annual payments were made at Grand Rapids for more than twenty years. At the beginning nearly four thousand Indians

[6] Dwight Goss's History of Grand Rapids, 1906.

received pay; but by 1855 the number had dwindled to 1,000. The Pottawattamies were sent to reservations in Indiana, and the Chippewas were transferred to Northern Michigan. Bands of Ottawas were transported beyond the Mississippi, and many individual Indians fled thither when ostracized by their own people or threatened with legal prosecutions by the whites.

On the 31st of July, 1855, at Detroit, a supplemental treaty made with the Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan by the United States Indian agent, Henry C. Gilbert, gave to them annually a cash annuity of $22,000 for ten years and at the end of that time the Government was to pay them $200,000, in four annual payments of $50,000 each; or, if the Indians so elected, they were to receive interest on that sum held in trust by the United States. Also they received $15,000 worth of farm implements and $8,000 for educational purposes. The Government agreed to maintain four blacksmith shops and five interpreters, and also the Grand River Indians were to receive an annuity of $3,500, and to have the use of eight townships of public lands for ten years, at the end of which time they could sell the same at pleasure. Any Indian of Michigan might renounce his tribal relations and become a citizen of the United States. The last payment at Grand Rapids was made October 29, 1857, when $10,000 was paid in gold and silver to about one thousand five hundred Indians, squaws and papooses. After that date payments were made at Pentwater.

Dwight Goss gives a picture of the scene at one of these times: "Indian payments were events in the early history of Grand Rapids. The Government agents would send word that a certain date would be pay day and the Indians would begin to congregate ten days or two weeks before. They camped upon the islands and along the river banks and in the bushes on the higher grounds. Payments were generally made in the fall, before the Indians started for their winter hunts. The agents usually paid at one of the warehouses which stood near the old steamboat landing between Market street and the river. In a large room would be a long table or counter, upon which were the receipts and little piles of coin for each Indian, and about which were seated the agents, clerks and interpreters. The Indians would enter the front door one by one, sign their receipts or make their marks thereon, receive their money and walk out the back door, where stood a crowd of hungry traders, who quickly transferred most of the money from the hands of the Indians to their own pockets, for the payment of old debts. The traders commonly claimed all they could see and the Indians, as a rule, gave

it up without protest. They were generally in debt, but were always ready to pay when they had any money. The traders never hesitated to give credit to an Indian. Abram Pike, who traded with them for years, states that annually he sold thousands of dollars' worth of goods to the Indians on credit, and during all that time he lost less than one hundred dollars on poor accounts. The next day after payment the Indians always departed, none remaining but the drunkards and vagabonds who stayed behind for a debauch. *The Enquirer* of November 2, 1841, refers to the fact that in the week previous was the Indian payment, and facetiously adds that there were about fifteen hundred traders and two gallons of diluted whisky to each trader. The editor enquires, seriously: 'Is there no remedy for this barbarous and wicked system of robbery?' There appears, however, to have been some improvement the next year (1842), when the paymaster stated that there was less dissipation among the Indians at Grand Rapids than at any other place where he had made payments, and the newspaper testified that 'No barrels were rolled out as heretofore, and the heads knocked in that the savage might be allowed to gorge his fill of the destroyer'."

The Indians traded furs, berries and maple-sugar for dry and fancy goods, ammunition and whisky, beads and whisky being legal tender to an Indian. The furs were sent to Detroit, while the berries were shipped to Buffalo. During the berry season Indians camped about the huckleberry swamps and cranberry marshes, picked the berries, which were carried by squaws or transported by ponies to Grand Rapids. During the spring Grand River was alive with canoes bringing sugar which had been made by the squaws in all portions of the valley. It was stirred sugar, packed in "mokirks," which were often elaborately decorated by the squaws.

CHAPTER XXI

POLITICAL EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

In 1842 General Cass returned to Michigan, after an absence of twelve years. Having retired from Jackson's cabinet (1847) to become minister to France, his wealth allowed him to maintain in Paris an establishment much more elegant than that of any representative whom the United States had ever sent abroad. At least such is the statement of Charles Sumner,[1] who began at this time an acquaintance with Cass that never was suffered to lapse on the social side, although politically the two men afterwards opposed each other with all the bitterness born of the irrepressible conflict. The Treaty of Ghent did not settle the principle on which the War of 1812 was fought; and the British Government still insisted upon the right of search. Naturally a man of Cass' training would be ever on the alert to discover and to thwart any attempt on England's part to carry that principle into execution. The opportunity came when the proposition was broached for a quintuple treaty under the terms of which vessels suspected of being slavers might be searched by the men-of-war of the signatory nations. Sumner, then a representative American youth making a grand tour and meeting the choicest spirits of the bench, the bar and the scholarly world of Europe, undertook to defend the principles of the treaty, from the standpoint of humanity; but the more astute Cass persuaded Louis Phillipe to refuse his assent to the treaty, and so for the time being defeated the project. Moreover, when the terms of the unpopular Ashburton Treaty became known, Cass did not conceal his objections to Webster's work, because therein another opportunity to force England to renounce the right of search was neglected. After a sharp interchange of letters between Webster and Cass, the differences developed between the Secretary of State and the Minister

[1] "Mr. Cass is a man of large private fortune, and is said to live in a style superior to that of any minister ever sent by America."—Sumner's Journal. "Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner," by Edward L. Pierce, Vol. I, p. 253.

were such that the latter could come home with flying colors as the defender of American liberty against British diplomacy abroad and British influence at home.

On landing at Boston Cass was invited to address a Democratic meeting at Faneuil Hall, a characteristic honor which he modestly declined; and in New York, in Washington, and on his way to Michigan great crowds assembled to give him welcome. So great was his popularity that in the Democratic Convention of 1844, Cass was leading all competitors for the nomination at the time when James K. Polk's name was successfully sprung upon the assemblage. The next year Cass was sent to the United States Senate to succeed Augustus S. Porter; and during the fifteen eventful years following he was one of the leaders of the Democratic party.

William Woodbridge, his colleague in the Senate, has left a satisfactory explanation of the secret of the hold Cass obtained on the people. "He certainly," says this keen if somewhat prejudiced observer, "unites a superior judgment with a most uncommonly retentive memory. He has an understanding powerful, quick and comprehensive. His acquired knowledge is most widely diffused, but is rather ample than profound. He is ignorant on no subject; he is deeply penetrating perhaps on none. He has a rich imagination, a wonderful flow of animal spirits, and they are wholly subservient to his will. He possesses much fertility of romance, and extraordinary colloquial talents. But every exertion of these has its distinctive object. The world to him is but a play-house; and that drama with him is best which is best performed and most surely conduces to its occult object. He has originated and kept in operation a system of political machinery which few perhaps could have devised or maintained. A more consummate politician will rarely be found." To this portrait there is to be added one important feature. In his personal habits Cass was scrupulously correct; pompous after the fashion of his day, he was pure of mind and of heart, and he found great pleasure in drawing about him young men and in helping them to start life aright. It is the testimony of those whom he used as parts of his political machine, that in his politics as in his life, Cass was an upright and honorable man; and it is also true that he so impressed many of the youth of his time that when they achieved distinction they still retained a high appreciation and sincere respect for the mentor from whom afterwards they were compelled to differ.[2] It is necessary to remember these things as

[2] Judge Campbell often spoke to the writer in the highest terms of General Cass's abilities in the conflict of letters that he waged with Webster.

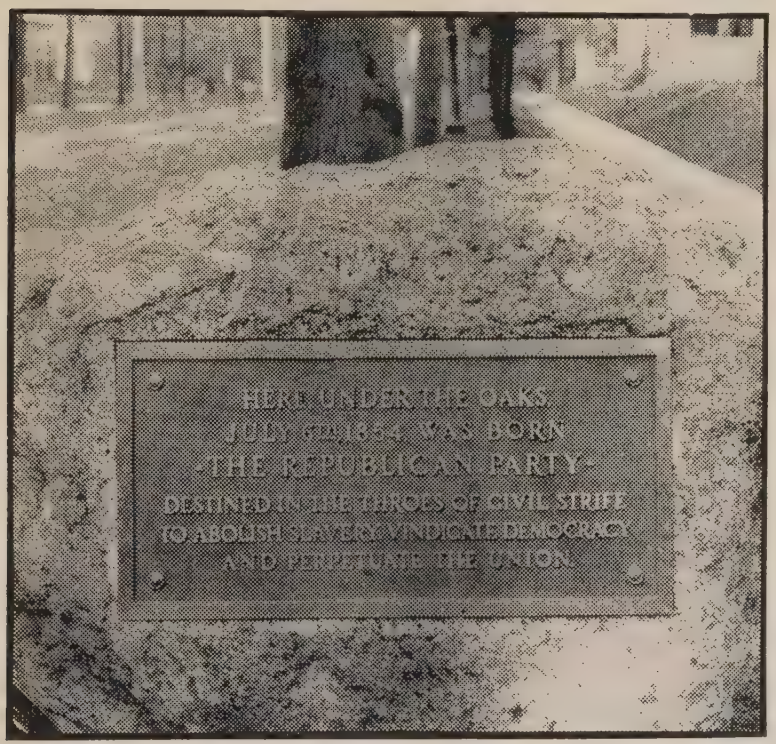
we approach the subject of Cass's relations to the question of slavery.

It is difficult for the present generation not to read into the history of the slavery struggle the ideas of today. To us slavery seems essentially wrong; and we cannot quite understand why it did not seem to Webster, Clay and Cass a paramount evil to be wiped out at whatever cost and hazard. Again, to us the Union appears so strong that we fail to appreciate the condition of mind that induced great statesmen to sacrifice so much lest the bonds of unity should be broken. We are apt not to appreciate properly the fact that from the very beginning of the government, slavery had been a thorn in the national flesh; and that it had become the custom to treat it as an infirmity to be endured with patience, in the confident hope that the national sentiment would in time attain such strength that slavery would cease to impair the lusty vigor of the nation. The end and aim of all statesmanship prior to 1861 was to preserve the Union, and to leave slavery to such adjustments as might be made, subject to that one great end. In this struggle the leaders of public opinion in both parties were all on one side; they differed simply as to means; but they warred against overmastering forces, which were destined to catch up new leaders or to bend old ones and even at times to force their way without conspicuous leadership.

General Cass held, and the dominant party in Michigan held with him, that Congress had neither the right nor the power to interfere with slavery where it already existed; and that even if the right and power were conceded, such interference would produce results which no wise man would willingly encounter and no good man could contemplate without anxiety. Each state had power to say whether slavery should be allowed within its borders; and the people of each Territory should decide whether or not slavery should be permitted. At least, Congress had power neither to impose slavery on a Territory nor to forbid slavery within that Territory.[3] Cass's position was not acceptable to the extreme men in the North, because it denied the right of Congress to deal with slavery; nor did it find favor with the southern extremists, who opposed the idea that any Territory might shut out slavery—the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," as it came to be called. The moderate men in the Democratic party, however, were with Cass; and the convention of 1848, passing over such men as Buchanan, Calhoun, Dallas, General Worth and Levi Woodbury, selected Cass as the party candi-

[3] "Nicholson Letter," written by Cass in 1847.

date for President. The Whigs acknowledged the strength of the nomination of their opponents, by putting aside their party leaders and selecting Zachary Taylor to run on his record in the Mexican War; and the disaffected elements in both parties, known in New York as the Barnburners, and elsewhere as Abolitionists or the



Tablet at Jackson Marking the Birthplace of the Republican Party

Free Soil party, united on ex-President Martin Van Buren, with a platform of "Free soil, free speech and free men."

Throughout the North the political battle was fought with great ardor and much bitterness. Cass, resigning his seat in the Senate, gave his entire time to the management of the campaign, which was conducted with all the political adroitness of which he was so consummate a master. The question of slavery had a large influence in the canvass; and in Michigan an aggravated fugitive slave case that occurred in the county named in honor of General Cass, made the people understand to what lengths the South was ready to go in order to protect its peculiar institution.

Cass County is bounded on the south by Indiana; and two of its townships, Penn and Calvin, were settled largely by Quakers who had left the South on account of slavery. During the ten years from 1840 to 1850 the two divisions of the Underground Railroad, known respectively as the Quaker Line (beginning on the free soil north of the Ohio River), and the Illinois Line from St. Louis, came together in Cass County and extended thence by way of Detroit to Canada. The railroad, so-called, was simply a line of Quaker settlements in which fugitive slaves were sheltered, assisted and guided on their way to security and freedom. So heavy was the traffic on this road before the organization of the Free Soil party in 1848 eventually put an end to its usefulness, that Erastus Hussey, the agent at Battle Creek, estimated that he had fed and forwarded 1,500 fugitive slaves, valued at $1,500,000. By 1846 100 slaves, most of them from Bourbon County, Kentucky, had settled in Penn and Calvin townships, where many of them had become steady and sturdy farmers. In order to put a stop to this assisted exodus, the Bourbon County planters formed an association for mutual protection; and in pursuance of their plan a young man calling himself Carpenter and claiming to be a Massachusetts Abolitionist, came to Kalamazoo to study law in the office of Charles E. Stuart, afterwards United States Senator. Visiting throughout Calhoun and Cass counties, Carpenter (whose real name was Francis Troutman) was welcomed by the Abolitionists, and soon became familiar with their plans and methods. Having gained the necessary information, he sent to Kentucky for a band of men to raid the house of Adam Crosswhite, a slave who had settled on the outskirts of the Town of Marshall. Crosswhite, the son of a white planter and a slave mother, had been the property of his half-sister, but had been sold to one Giltner, with whom he lived until he reached the age of forty-four. Learning that Giltner had proposed to sell his three children, Crosswhite and his wife planned an escape to Michigan, and so well were his preparations made that the five persons, although widely separated on their journey, all eventually reached their destination. Early on the morning of January 27, 1847, Troutman, Giltner and two other Kentuckians beat upon the door of the Crosswhite house and called upon its inmates to go before a magistrate, to be ordered back to slavery. A crowd gathered quickly. Troutman appealed to the people to respect the right of property in slaves, and promised to leave behind a child born to the Crosswhites in Marshall. The crowd, however, took Crosswhite's side and turned the tables on Giltner, Troutman and their

friends by haling them before the magistrate, who fined them $100 for trespass. The Crosswhite family then fled to Canada.

On returning home the Kentuckians at once aroused the people by mass meetings, and a sum of money was raised to prosecute the Michigan offenders and to compel them "to observe the laws of the United States." Suit was brought in the United States District Court at Detroit, against Charles C. Gorman, Dr. O. C. Comstock and Jarvis Hurd, to recover the value of the slaves and exemplary damages. At the first trial the jury disagreed; and the Kentuckians, despairing of securing redress from the courts, organized a raid on the slave settlements. In August, 1847, a party of thirteen men came to Battle Creek ostensibly to sell an improved washing-machine to the farmers. The acute Erastus Hussey, however, was not deceived. Suspecting their motives, he promptly ordered the party out of town. Scattering, they disappeared only to turn up again three days later in Calvin Township, where they laid their plans to seize the negroes and hurry them off to the courts of Indiana, usually favorable to the South. At Josiah Osborn's house an old negro and his two sons were captured in bed and handcuffed; at another place three were taken, but a negro woman alleged to belong to one of the invaders, a Baptist minister named Stevens, escaped, leaving her pickaninny in bed. "If you want the cow tole her with her calf," coarsely advised the minister, as he shouldered the child. The ruse was successful. At O'Dell's mill the Kentucky party came into collision with a band of armed citizens, and after a parley the invaders agreed to submit their case to a Cassopolis justice. "Nigger Bill" Jones, the leader of the citizens, after insisting on being shackled to one of the slaves, forced a Kentuckian to give his horse to the captured negress. Then, headed by the Rev. Mr. Stevens, who was compelled to carry the negro baby, the motley crowd of thirteen Kentuckians, nine negroes, and about two hundred citizens marched off to the town. There a writ of habeas corpus was sworn out and all the slaves were released, on the ground that no certified copy of the Kentucky statutes was produced to show that slavery was legal in that state. The same night fifty-two negroes were transferred to Canada. Then the thirteen Kentuckians were allowed to depart, after giving bail to answer to charges of assault and battery, trespass and kidnapping.[4]

It so happened that the escaped slaves belonged to personal friends and constituents of Henry Clay, and on the floor of the

[4] "Roger's History of Cass County, 1875."

Senate he and other southern sympathizers had no words too severe for "the Michigan rioters." The cases had now become of national interest; and it was apparent that the political success of General Cass required the conviction of those rebellious citizens of his state who had so openly defied the laws. At the second trial of the Crosswhite case, which took place during the campaign of 1848, Cass had the satisfaction of seeing a verdict of $1,900 and costs rendered in favor of the Kentuckians, by way of maintaining the supremacy of the national statutes. For the time being Cass's fortunes were secure; but there was something ominous in the quickness with which the amount of the fine was raised on a subscription paper circulated by Zachariah Chandler, who said to Mr. Gorham, "I am satisfied that this case is being manipulated in the interest of the Democratic party, and that you are to be sacrificed to appease the slave power of the South, so that Cass's presidential chances may not be damaged by the result."

On the night the election returns came in, a great crowd filled the street in front of the Cass residence in Detroit. Mr. Ledyard, the general's son-in-law, approached with the telegram announcing the all-important vote in Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, and on his way to the house he shouted to the crowd the majority for their favorite. While the enthusiastic cheering was still in progress, Cass read the dispatch and said to those about him, "So small a majority in that stronghold of Democracy means that I am beaten. General Taylor is elected, and I—am going to bed." His intuition was correct. Fifteen states, Michigan among the number, gave their electoral votes to Cass; but Pennsylvania, New York and thirteen other states gave Taylor a majority in the electoral colleges. Cass was defeated by defections in his own party.

Loyal to her great leader even in his defeat, Michigan promptly sent Cass back to the Senate, there to serve with Henry Clay on the Committee of Thirteen, that framed the famous Compromise Measures of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law. These measures were supported as ardently by such leading Whigs as Webster and Clay as they were by Cass and Berrien among the Democrats. The statesmen believed that their work was destined to usher in an era of harmony and good will; but instead of peace it brought a sword. At the North pulpits became tribunes; the attempted return of a fugitive slave was the signal for a riot; while every such outbreak of northern hostility to slavery only made the South the more determined to force that institution into every new Territory. Re-elected to the Senate in 1851, Cass was for many

ballots the favorite candidate before the Democratic National Convention of the following year; and it was only when all the real leaders had been put aside, that Franklin Pierce was made the standard bearer.

From its start in 1839 the anti-slavery party had taken root in Michigan; and in 1844 its candidate for the presidency, James G. Birney, was a resident of the Peninsular State.[5] But for Birney's nomination the electoral votes of both New York and Michigan would have been cast for Henry Clay, instead of for Polk, and the brilliant Kentuckian would have been elected.[6] This blunder drove many Abolitionists into the Free-soil party; and when, after the election of 1848, it was found that the Democratic defection headed by Martin Van Buren had for its object the defeat of Cass rather than the advancement of anti-slavery principles, many Democrats and Whigs who had been drawn into the new movement returned to the old parties.[7] Yet so strong was the opposition to the extension of slavery that no Democrat could have been elected to Congress on a pro-slavery platform. Indeed, all three congressmen were pronounced opponents of slavery extension: Robert McClelland, afterwards governor and Secretary of the Interior in President Pierce's Cabinet, acquired the name of "Free-Soil McClelland" by reason of a speech in Congress; Charles E. Stuart, who was sent to the Senate later, took advanced ground [8] against the encroachments of slavery; and Kinsley S. Bingham was such an aggressive opponent of slavery that he soon found himself outside his party. So satisfactory was McClelland to the Free-soilers that they deliberately refused to put an opposition ticket in the field when in 1851 he first ran for governor.[9] The overwhelming defeat of the Whigs in 1852, however,

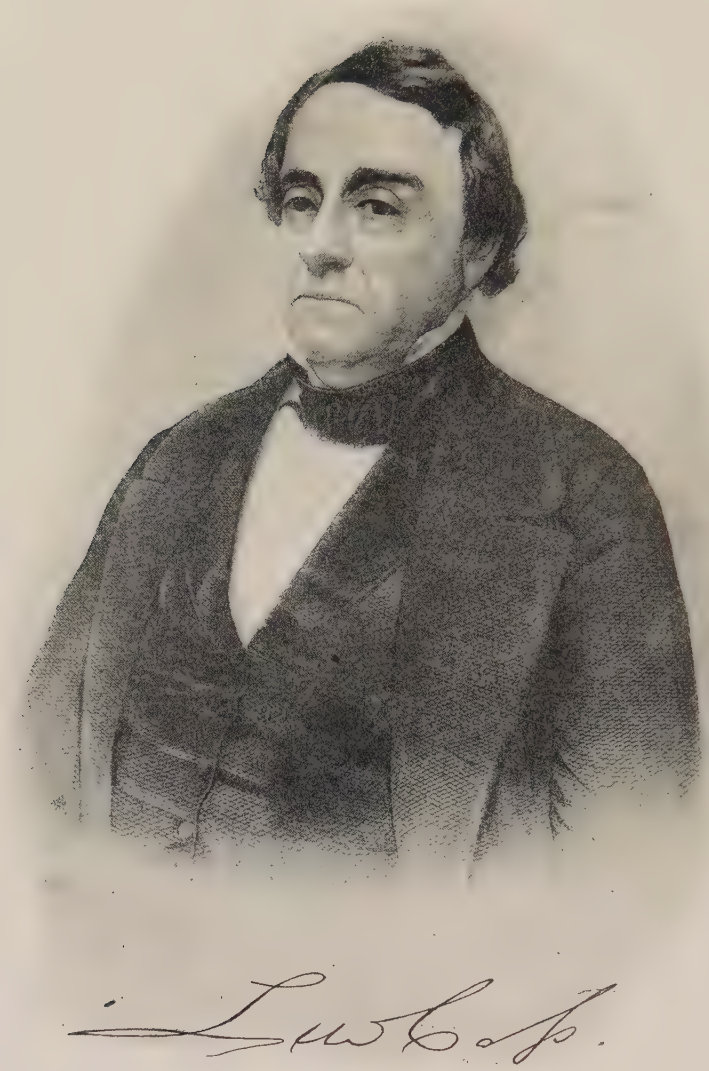
[5] James G. Birney was born in Kentucky, where he freed his slaves in 1834 and was driven from the state for editing an Abolition paper. In 1840 and 1844 he was the candidate of the abolition (or Liberty) party for President. In 1842 he removed to Michigan, and during his residence became disabled for political work by a fall from his horse.

[6] "Lalor's Cyclopædia of Political Science," article on Abolition, Vol. I, p. 4.

[7] The Van Buren electoral ticket in Michigan was headed by Mr. Littlejohn, of Allegan; and James F. Joy. The former went back to the Democratic party; the latter to the Whig. So, too, Austin Blair returned to the Whig party. See letter from Hovey K. Clark in *Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.

[8] In the Flowerfield letter.

[9] At the state election in 1852, McClelland had a majority over Zachariah Chandler, the Whig candidate for governor, and Isaac P. Christiancy, the Free-Soil Democratic candidate.



From the portrait in the Department of State at Washington

convinced both patriots and politicians throughout the country that the times were ripe for a new party; and in Michigan this feeling found expression in 1853 in the organization of a political club, in Grand Rapids, one of whose most active members, Wilder D. Foster, was elected mayor by a combination of Whigs and Democrats calling themselves the Free-democratic party. The new party was fortunate in having the energetic support of the Grand Rapids *Eagle,* vigorously edited by A. B. Turner; and when, on the 22d of February, 1854, a state convention of the Free Democrats nominated a full ticket, headed by Bingham, the *Eagle* promptly urged the abandonment of the Whig organization and the support of the new ticket.

The action of the Free Democrats was merely tentative, and an agreement was entered into by the leaders to withdraw the ticket whenever it should be found that by so doing a fusion of Free-soilers, Whigs and Anti-slavery Democrats could be effected.[10] Events at Washington quickly paved the way for such a combination. On May 30, 1854, the Missouri Compromise was repealed, thereby giving notice to the country that the South was determined to push slavery into the new territory west of the Mississippi. It was at this most opportune moment that Joseph Warren, the editor and part owner of the Detroit *Tribune,* a Whig evening journal, threw the powerful influence of that newspaper into the cause of uniting all the Anti-slavery elements of the state in a new party which should use the established machinery of the Whigs, thus wiping out that party. The Detroit *Advertiser,* the morning Whig organ, violently opposed this programme and bitterly fought the new movement in its every stage. The editor was Alpheus S. Williams, a graduate of Yale College, and a veteran of the Mexican War. In the War of Secession, Williams was Michigan's leading soldier. He entered the service in 1861 as a brigadier-general; but although he commanded a division much of the time, he retained his original rank. It is believed that Zachariah Chandler's influence kept him from deserved promotion; and that this action on Chandler's part arose from the opposition of Williams as editor to the disbanding of the Whig party.

Carrying out the plan of action determined upon, a call for a mass convention of the opponents of slavery extension was circulated throughout the state, and within a fortnight no fewer than ten

[10] The conferences at which this decision was reached were held at the home of Dr. J. A. B. Stone, president of Kalamazoo College. The Kalamazoo Convention of June 21st, formally assented to the withdrawal of the ticket in case the expected fusion could be accomplished.

thousand signatures were obtained. The convention met at Jackson, on July 6, 1854. It was a glorious day. From all parts of the state the people came in such numbers that no hall could hold them, so the convention adjourned to a beautiful oak grove that covered a tract of land known as "Morgan's Forty," where a platform was hastily built and draped with the stars and stripes. Among the sturdy oaks, under the free blue sky the Republican party was born that day.

David S. Walbridge, an old time Whig, was called upon to preside. A committee on nominations, made up of eighty-eight men, representing all the senatorial districts, used the Free Democratic ticket as a basis and, placing Bingham at the head, filled in the remainder of positions with a judicious mixture of Whigs and Free Soilers. Thereupon the committee representing the Free Democrats formally withdrew their party ticket and pledged support to the new one.

Meantime the vast assemblage of men and women was addressed by speakers called from the crowd; and the composition and spirit of the gathering is well illustrated by the brief speech of Zachariah Chandler. "Misfortunes," he said, "make strange bed-fellows. I see before me Whigs, Democrats and Free-Soilers, all mingling together to rebuke a great national wrong. I was born a Whig; I have always lived a Whig; and I hope to die fighting for some of the good Whig doctrines. But I do not stand here as a Whig. I have laid aside party to rebuke treachery. In 1849 McClelland, Stuart and Bingham stumped the State advocating the doctrines of the Wilmot Proviso and pledging their lives, property and sacred honor in the maintenance of those doctrines. None of them save Bingham has regarded his pledges." There was great applause when Kinsley S. Bingham's name was mentioned; as a pioneer farmer, he represented the class of people among whom the new party was to take strongest root, and he was recognized as the most available man to head the new ticket of the new party.

Among the other speakers was Lewis Clark, said to be the "George Harris" of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the son of a Revolutionary soldier and a Kentucky colored girl. He told in simple, effective words how at the death of his father the family was sold on the auction block; and his talk was more powerful than any speech.[11]

[11] The Detroit *Advertiser* report contains the Chandler speech. The most valuable record of the events and incidents leading up to and connected with the formation of the Republican party is to be found in the *Post and Tribune* of July 6, 1879, and afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet.

More important than the ticket were the resolutions. The committee of twelve was headed by Jacob M. Howard, and among its members were Austin Blair, and Erastus Hussey, of Underground Railroad fame. Withdrawing to a grassy knoll on the edge of an oak-opening, the committee went carefully over the draft of the resolutions already prepared by Mr. Howard, making few and unimportant changes. The resolutions began, "The freemen of Michigan assembled in convention in pursuance of a spontaneous call, emanating from various parts of the State," and went on to stigmatize slavery as a great moral, social and political evil, a relic of barbarism and an element of weakness. They pledged resistance to the extension of slavery, called for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and proposed a general convention of free states to adopt measures to resist slavery's encroachments.

The most important of the resolutions historically is the one in which it is resolved that "we will co-operate and be known as Republicans until the contest is ended." Here appears for the first time the official designation of the great party which was to administer the Government during the War of Secession. The name was not selected by chance, nor applied without mature deliberation and large purpose. The choice came about in this way. Soon after Joseph Warren began to advocate, through the columns of the *Tribune,* the organization of all the opponents of slavery into a single party, Horace Greeley voluntarily opened a correspondence with him in regard to the movement, giving advice and counsel. In a letter received a few days before the convention, Mr. Greeley suggested to Mr. Warren the name Republican;[12] and when Mr. Howard was made chairman of the committee on resolutions, Mr. Warren handed the letter to him and urged that the suggestion be adopted, as was done.[13]

The action in Michigan was duly made known through the press, and on July 13, the Wisconsin Free Soilers, in convention at Madison, adopted the name Republican, as did also the Columbus, Ohio, the Illinois and the Vermont conventions, held the same day; Massachusetts followed on July 19. The claim of Michigan as the

The compilation was made by Mr. William Stocking, then one of the editors of that paper, and a writer of strict impartiality. Mr. Stocking's researches have been long, painstaking and fruitful.

[12] Mr. Howard insisted that Mr. Greeley suggested "Democrat-Republican."

[13] Warren's letter, Detroit *Post and Tribune,* July 6, 1879.

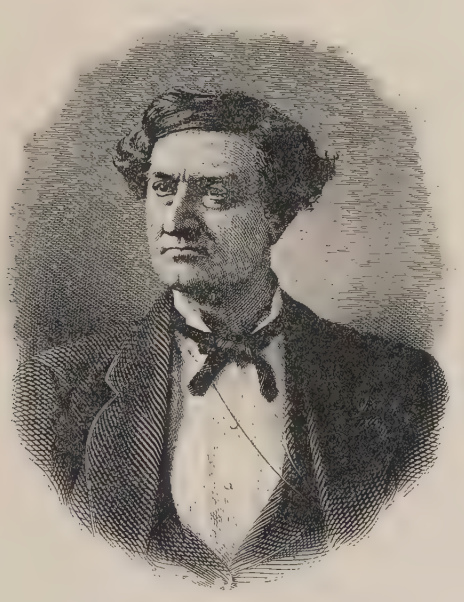
birthplace of the Republican party has been admitted by Henry Wilson in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power;" and although other states have made the same claim,[14] the facts and dates show that "under the oaks at Jackson," on July 6, 1854, the party that was to wipe out slavery and preserve the Union sprang into existence. The ticket nominated at Jackson was elected, and as time gave opportunity Michigan's representation in both the National House and the Senate was changed to correspond with the change in the political convictions of the people.

Of the three Republicans elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress, William A. Howard at once took a leading position in the House, in connection with the Kansas troubles.[15] From the day that the Missouri Compromise was repealed, leaving the question of slavery in the Territories an open one, Kansas became the battleground of the adherents of slavery and the Free Soilers—the Border Ruffians and the Jayhawkers, as the two factions were called. The Border Ruffians were colonists from Missouri and other Southern states, who crossed the Kansas border not to make homes for themselves, but to establish slavery as a system; while the Jayhawkers were settlers from the northeastern states, with a sprinkling of fighting agitators like John Brown and his sons. The pro-slavery party had the powerful support of the administration and of the party in power in Congress; its representatives were accustomed to the use of the rifle, and murder under the cover of a feud was a part of

[14] Hon. Lewis Clephane, of Washington, D. C., puts forward the claim that the Republican party was organized in the District of Columbia, on June 19, 1855, nearly a year after the State Conventions adverted to above. See Chas. W. Johnson's "Proceedings of the first Three Republican National Conventions," Minneapolis, 1893.

[15] Mr. Howard was the second member of the Committee on Ways and Means. He was also second on the Kansas Committee, succeeding to the chairmanship when L. D. Campbell declined to serve. Mr. Howard was a native of Vermont and a graduate of Middlebury College. After leaving Congress in 1861 he was postmaster in Detroit. In the Republican National Convention of 1876, he was the leader of the Michigan delegation. Blaine and Bristow were the leading candidates. The fifth ballot was proceeding quietly when Michigan was reached. Stepping into the aisle and leaning upon his crutches, Mr. Howard in ringing tones cast the twenty-one votes of his state for Rutherford B. Hayes. In an instant the convention was shouting for Hayes, and, as the New York *Times* said, "It was a matter of rejoicing that he who had attended the birth of the Republican party had named the third of its Presidents." Mr. Howard was appointed governor of Dakota by President Hayes; he died in Washington, April 10, 1880. He was perhaps the most distinguished representative Michigan ever had in the House, and his fame as a campaign speaker was national.

their regular life. The Free Soilers, on the other hand, drew support from the New England Emigrants' Aid Society, whose secret agent, Charles Robinson, was the leader of the Free State party, and was elected governor in 1856 and re-elected until Kansas was admitted to the Union in 1861, when he entered upon the duties of his office. In the midst of those exciting scenes, Mr. Howard, as chairman of a select committee of the House of Representatives, set up his legislative court of inquiry. With patience and perseverance the committee investigated the whole subject of the Kansas



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

troubles; and the report, drawn by Mr. Howard with the assistance of John Sherman, was the justification before the American people of the Free State party in seizing the Government and in presenting to Congress a constitution prohibiting slavery in the new state.

Physically weak and often suffering from illness, Mr. Howard was nevertheless an indefatigable worker; and no man had the confidence of the House to a greater extent than he had.[16] For six

[16] This statement is made on the authority of Senator John Sherman, who said to the author, "There is nothing good which you can say of William A. Howard that I would not endorse. He was a very able man and

exciting years he maintained a leadership, his last important work being the report of the select committee of five appointed to consider President Buchanan's message on the seizure of forts and arsenals at the outbreak of the war. Mr. Howard's report from this committee,[17] made on the 28th day of February, 1861, shows clearly the attitude taken towards slavery by those anti-slavery men on whom responsibility rested. "To permit the abolition of slavery in any one of the slave states, by the power of the general government, would be to admit its right to establish slavery in all the free states. Against this the whole body of the northern people are unalterably opposed; and so far from seeking the exercise of any such power in the slave states, it would meet from them (the North) the sternest resistance. . . . Should collision ensue, the government will be acting clearly in the defensive. It will neither coerce a state nor make war upon it. But if it fail to execute its own laws to the extent of the power conferred, it will be recreant to the highest trust ever conferred by any people, disappoint the hopes of the world, and destroy its own existence." There was no difference between the position of Howard and that of Cass, although one was a Republican and the other a Democrat.

When Cass's term expired (1857) the Republicans had control of the Legislature, and the candidates for the Senate were all men who had been active in the formation of that party, and who, sooner or later, were to be honored by the party. There was Austin Blair, who became the war governor of Michigan; Moses Wisner, who was to go out from the governor's place to die for his country; Isaac P. Christiancy, who after distinguished service on the Supreme Bench, was sent to the Senate; Kinsley S. Bingham, who, two years later succeeded Charles E. Stuart, thus far the last Democratic senator from Michigan; Jacob M. Howard, who took the place made vacant by the death of Senator Bingham in 1861; and Zachariah Chandler. Mr. Chandler had become the recognized leader of the Republicans; and on the fourth ballot in caucus he was made the party nominee, receiving in the joint convention eighty-nine votes, to sixteen cast for Lewis Cass.

Like Cass, Chandler was a native of New Hampshire. His

Michigan ought to have sent him to the Senate." The Kansas report was known among Democrats as "The Black Republican Bible;" so important was the document to the pro-slavery men that they used every means to obtain the original copy, which was finally smuggled out of Kansas by Governor Robinson's wife.

[17] Report 91, 36th Cong., 2d Ses.

father was a substantial farmer and his uncle had been a Democratic member of Congress. Leaving his native Town of Bedford, Chandler, at the age of twenty [18] (1833), came to Michigan with the working capital of a fair common-school education and $100. Opening a general store in Detroit, he was alert and energetic by day, and at night he often slept on his counter. He lived on $300 a year; he had a bluff, genial way with customers; and he was scrupulously careful about his credit. His business character rather than his money assets carried him through the panic of 1837; and he was the first merchant in Michigan whose annual sales amounted to $50,000. Having laid the foundations of a large fortune, he was ready to indulge his natural aptitude for politics; and to this end in the Young Men's Society and on the stump he cultivated the art of public speaking until he learned to control an audience. Before his election to the Senate, he had served as mayor of Detroit and had been an unsuccessful candidate for governor on the Whig ticket.

On entering the Senate Mr. Chandler quickly allied himself with the most aggressive Republicans. He made a written compact with Senators Cameron and Wade that they would at all times hold themselves ready to resent the insults of Southern senators, according to the code if necessary; and that in case any one of the three should be killed in a duel the other two would in turn challenge the slayer.[19] The report of such an agreement was circulated and the Senators were treated with due respect.

Three days after the execution of John Brown, when the Southern senators attempted to implicate the Republican party of the North in the affair at Harper's Ferry, Mr. Chandler sarcastically replied to their questions by saying that if a like attack had been made on the Springfield arsenal the women of that town would have been quite competent to deal with the score of rioters. Then in his most incisive and impressive manner he exclaimed: "Brown has been hanged as a traitor; and I demand the records of the

[18] Mr. Chandler was born December 10, 1813. He was forty-four years old when he entered the Senate. His uncle, Samuel Chandler, had been a member of the House. For the Chandler genealogy see the "History of Bedford, N. H."

[19] Senator Hale, a son-in-law of Mr. Chandler, informed the writer that no such agreement had even been found among Mr. Chandler's papers, and that he doubted if there ever was a written pledge. Subsequently Mr. Chandler's copy was discovered but unfortunately it was burned, together with most of Mr. Chandler's papers, in a fire that consumed Senator Hale's house in Ellsworth, Me. The Cameron copy is among the Cameron papers; and the Wade copy also is extant.

Senate shall, in the most solemn form, contain the warning that every traitor shall be hanged, no matter from what part of the heavens he comes; the Southern Governor, who years ago sent his challenge to the government of the United States, no less than the Garrison Abolitionist." This speech, with those of like tenor by Trumbull and Fessenden, blunted the edge of the weapon from which the South had expected to do much execution.[20] This was a fair example of the kind of warfare relentlessly waged by the minority; and, as a writer of the time said, "the effect of Chandler's coming to the Senate was like the addition of a fresh division of troops to an army engaged in a hand to hand conflict with an outnumbering foe. He encouraged, upheld, inspired, coerced others to do things which he could not do himself, but which others could not do without him.[21]

The selection of Chandler by the Legislature resulted in Cass becoming a part of that administration which by weakness and timidity did so much to precipitate civil war. While agreeing with Buchanan that the general government had no right to coerce a state, Cass had not so far forgotten his training in Jackson's cabinet as to admit that the United States was powerless to carry out its own laws; and when Buchanan refused to reinforce the forts in Charleston Harbor, lest he should furnish an excuse for civil war, Cass felt that honor and patriotism alike compelled him to withdraw from so impotent an administration.[22] His first remembrance was of the celebration of the ratification of the Constitution; and now in the despondency that came of the burden of his years and of his intimate knowledge of the situation, he retired from public life crying, "It is all over! The secession of South Carolina is but the beginning of the end. The people of the South are mad; the people of the North are asleep. The President is pale with fear, for his official household is full of traitors, and conspirators control the Government. God only knows what is to be the fate of my poor country!" [23]

[20] "Von Holst," 1859-61, p. 64.

[21] Quoted by Hon. James G. Blaine in his eulogy on Chandler, delivered in the Senate, January 28, 1880.

[22] "The more old age told upon him, and the more absolutely he (Cass) approved the opinions of the President on the right of coercion, the more withering is the judgment contained in the fact that the political and patriotic instinct of this man saw in the policy of passivity an unpardonable mistake." Von Holst, 1859-61, p. 364, note.

[23] Lossing gives these expressions as Cass's statements to him. Garfield, in his eulogy on Chandler, quotes Cass's conversation with him: "I saw the Constitution born, and I fear I may see it die."

CHAPTER XXII

MICHIGAN IN THE WAR OF SECESSION

In January, 1861, as the members of the Michigan Legislature made their slow way by stage-coach and sledge through the snows to Lansing, every senator and representative felt the responsibility imposed upon him by the fact that treason and rebellion in the South were threatening the very existence of the Union. This sense of responsibility became one of determination when, on talking among themselves, the members found but one sentiment among the people; that secession is treason, and treason means war.

A feeling of solemnity came over the assemblage gathered in the church-like little wooden capitol when the Senate and House met in joint session to hear the messages of the out-going and in-coming governors. "We believe," said Moses Wisner, "that the founders of our government designed it to be perpetual, and we cannot consent to have one star obliterated from our flag. For upwards of thirty years this question of the right of a state to secede has been agitated. It is time it was settled. We ought not to leave it to our children to look after." So saying, he left the governor's chair for the camp, and two years later in southern swamps Colonel Wisner sealed his convictions with his life.[1]

Then the tall, gaunt figure of Governor-elect Austin Blair stepped forward. Anxiety gave way to lively satisfaction when he declared with emphasis: "The Federal Government has the power to defend itself, and I do not doubt that that power will be exercised to the utmost. It is a question of war that the seceding states have to look in the face." He recommended that the whole military power of the state be proffered to the President for the purpose of main-

[1] Moses Wisner was born in Springport, Cayuga County, N. Y., June 3, 1815; he came to Michigan in 1837, and practiced law in Lapeer and Pontiac. He was elected governor in 1858. In 1862 he raised the Twenty-second Michigan Infantry, largely from Oakland County. In September, 1862, he took the regiment to Kentucky, and on January 5, 1864, he died of typhoid fever at Lexington. He was an able lawyer, an excellent governor, and a thorough patriot.

taining the Union, a suggestion to which the Legislature quickly responded by the joint resolution of February 2d, which declared that concession or compromise was not to be offered to traitors.

Austin Blair, then entering upon four years of trying service, was born in Tompkins County, New York, February 8, 1818, and was graduated at Union College. Coming to Michigan when twenty-two years old, and making his home at Jackson, he gained a state reputation on the stump as a supporter of Henry Clay. A member of the Legislature for two years, he went into the Free-soil party in 1848 and was prominent at the organization of the Republican party six years later. He led the Michigan delegation in the Chicago Convention which nominated Lincoln, and, with William M. Evarts and Carl Schurz, made up the trio called on to congratulate the convention on its work. During his services as governor, he became one of the most efficient of that illustrious band of "War Governors," which included Andrew of Massachusetts, Buckingham of Connecticut, Morgan of New York, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Dennison of Ohio, Morton of Indiana, and Kirkwood of Iowa,—the men who stayed up Lincoln's hands during the life and death struggle of the Republic.

In the State Senate, the leader was Henry P. Baldwin, afterwards governor, and senator of the United States, whose business ability stood the state in good stead throughout the complicated dealings arising from a defalcation in the treasurer's office; and who proved exceptionally sagacious in disposing of the avalanche of resolutions on national affairs introduced by his often perfervent colleagues, to the sacrifice of necessary business and the engendering of unnecessary friction.[2] The leader of the House was James F. Joy, whose impressive presence and surpassing abilities made him a tremendous power.

The Lansing of war-times had the advantage of being located at the geographical center of the lower peninsula, and the disadvantage of not having as yet emerged from backwoods conditions.[3]

[2] Mr. Baldwin declined a renomination and started for California for the benefit of his health, by way of the Isthmus of Panama. He, with 700 others on the ship Ariel, was captured by Admiral Semmes of the Confederate ship-of-war Alabama. See letter in *Advertiser and Tribune* of January 1, 1863.

[3] The Constitution of 1835 provided that the capital of the state should be at Detroit or other city until 1847, at which date it should be located permanently by the Legislature. When that time came many towns put in their claims. Detroit was rejected as being "at the mercy of the enemy's guns in case of war;" Ann Arbor had the University and Jackson the State

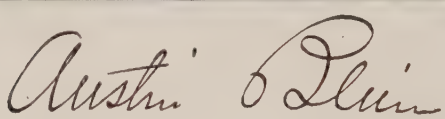
The capitol, a church-like little structure of wood, painted white, stood on the main street of the primitive town; the hotel accommodations were of such a character as to make any change in them a subject for newspaper congratulations; and the means of ingress and egress were by stage to the nearest railroad at Jackson. During the year 1861, however, transportation facilities between the capital and the metropolis of Michigan were vastly improved by the extension of the Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay Railroad from Owosso, and an arrangement of through trains whereby members desirous of consulting constituents could leave Lansing at 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon, and be reasonably sure of reaching Detroit some time after 10.45 o'clock the next day. The newspaper correspondents were so dependent on horseflesh and snow blockades that often during the session the afternoon Detroit papers appeared with a perfectly sincere line of explanation that owing to delays in transmission no report of the previous day's proceedings of the Legislature had been received. Naturally the gentlemen of the press hailed with delight the proposition of the railroad company to build a telegraph line from Owosso to Lansing, provided the state would grant a subsidy of $500! Occasional despatches were sent by messenger to the nearest telegraph office; and it was not until January 20, 1864, that the proceedings were regularly reported by wire to the extent of half a column. Great public approbation was expressed at the enterprise of the newspapers.[4] Difficult as was access to Lansing, however, the third house had a full membership and a full organization.

The military power so freely proffered to the President was not formidable. Twenty-eight independent companies, without regi-

Prison. A combination was formed to locate the capital north of the line of the Michigan Central Railroad, James Seymour had built mills near Lansing, and he offered to give lands for capitol grounds. On March 16, 1857, the acting governor (Governor Felch having been elected to the United States Senate) signed the act locating the capital in the Township of Lansing, County of Ingham. James L. Glen, David Smart and Alonzo Ferris as commissioners fixed the site on section 16, the "school section," and Abiel Silver, Commissioner of the State Land Office, laid out the town. The state received over $100,000 from the sale of lands, during the years of 1847 to 1854. See Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. VIII, p. 130.

[4] The correspondent of the *Advertiser and Tribune* was Charles K. Backus, who was afterwards editor successively of the *Tribune* and the *Post and Tribune*. Charles N. Lewis, known literally to millions of readers as "M. Quad," was the correspondent of the *Free Press*, at least for a time. Mr. Backus exerted a great influence at Lansing; he was able, alert, vigorous, and in spite of his crutches was an active man.

mental formation, uniformed at their own expense, only partially equipped, but well armed, made up the Michigan militia. Feeble indeed they seemed in the face of such an emergency; but they served as the nucleus for the earlier regiments; and when compared



to the militia of other western states, the Michigan companies were in superior condition.

During the month of January, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana followed the lead of South Carolina in attempting to leave the Union. When Texas joined them on February 1st, delegates from all the seceding states met at Montgomery on February 4th, to organize the Southern Confederacy. Virginia, anxious to tread the middle path of compromise, asked the states to send delegates to a convention called at Washington for Febru-

ary 4th, the object being to secure harmony by "giving to the people of the slave-holding states adequate guarantees for the security of their rights." Michigan and four other northern states refused to send delegates to this "Peace Congress," but when the members from the twenty-two states represented began their debates, it seemed advisable to strengthen the number of friends of freedom in that body. Accordingly, Senator Chandler wrote to Governor Blair: "Ohio, Indiana and Rhode Island are caving in, and there is danger of Illinois; and now they beg of us for God's sake to come to their rescue and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope you will send stiff-backed men or none." Then in a postscript, Chandler wrote: "Some of the manufacturing states think a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting, this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush." The Michigan Legislature refused to endorse the peace congress even to the extent of commissioning the two senators as delegates. Mr. Chandler's letter, although a private one, quickly found its way into the columns of the Detroit *Free Press,* then edited by Wilbur F. Story, afterwards editor of the Chicago *Times,* and always a bitter opponent of the war; and Senator Powell of Kentucky was the first of the long line of senators to call Mr. Chandler to account for eagerness to precipitate a struggle. In reply Chandler told the Senate exactly where his state stood. "The people of Michigan," he said, "are opposed to all compromises. They do not believe that any compromise is necessary. They are prepared to stand by the Constitution of the United States as it is, to stand by the government as it is; aye, sir, to stand by it to blood, of necessary!" From this position no one who represented the state ever swerved. There was, however, a strong demand on the Legislature for the repeal of the Personal Liberty laws of 1855, which, in contravention of the national statutes, gave fugitive slaves the right of habeas corpus and a trial by jury, the state paying the costs of the defense. Justice James V. Campbell of the Supreme Court held that these laws were so repugnant to the national statutes as "to subject the State to the imputation of nullification." Justice Christiancy coincided with the views of his colleague, and Chief Justice Martin went so far as to say that "the difference between nullification and secession is not so very wide that we can with justice condemn the one, if we ourselves are guilty of the other." A public meeting held in Detroit on January 28th, with Mayor C. H. Buhl in the chair, and C. C. Trowbridge, United States Judge Ross Wilkins and D. Bethune Duffield among the speakers, called for the repeal of the

Personal Liberty laws; for a return to the Missouri Compromise line, in order to settle forever the question of slavery; for the cessation of kidnapping, and for no further interference with slavery in the South, or in the District of Columbia. With this ineffective meeting, the Cass idea expired in Michigan.[5]

The news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter reached Detroit on Saturday evening, April 13, 1861. The excitement found vent in a public meeting at which Charles I. Walker, the recently defeated Democratic candidate for supreme judge, and George Van Ness Lothrop, a leader in the Democratic party, were among the speakers. These men expressly stated that while their views on national questions had not changed, the fact of war made it imperative that the people sustain the Government, right or wrong. Vigorous speeches were made by prominent Republicans, and resolutions were adopted pledging "the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Detroit in defense of the Union."

That this was no idle boast was attested by the sound of fife and drum calling recruits to the armories of the Detroit Light Guard and the Scott Guards; and the raising of $50,000 by subscription to be placed in the governor's hands to equip troops. On Sunday at Ann Arbor the formation of a University company began; the students at the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, the Detroit German Turners, and the fire department began enlistments. The railroads and the steamboat companies immediately offered free transportation for troops. The hotel-owners ran up the stars and stripes, in order to put to the test of loyalty all stranger guests; and the wholesale and retail houses, the railway stations and the public buildings flung out the joyous flag. The city seemed decked for a holiday.

On April 16th, Governor Blair hurried to Detroit to meet the State Military Board. It was necessary to have $100,000 to arm and equip the regiment President Lincoln had called from Michigan. The state treasury had been emptied by theft; but in the emergency, John Owen, a wealthy ship-owner of Detroit, who had been appointed Treasurer in the place of the defaulter, pledged his personal credit for half the necessary sum, and other citizens subscribed

[5] Ross Wilkins was born in Pittsburgh in 1779; educated at Dickinson College; prosecuting attorney at Pittsburgh in 1820; appointed judge of Michigan Territory by Andrew Jackson in 1832. From 1836 to 1869 he was United States District Judge and never missed a session of the court. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1835 and of the two Conventions of Assent. He died May 17, 1872.

the remainder. Thus provided with funds, Governor Blair issued a call for ten companies. Detroit, Jackson, Coldwater, Manchester, Ann Arbor, Burr Oak, Ypsilanti and Marshall responded by sending their militia companies to Fort Wayne, where the First Michigan Infantry of three months men was organized, under the command of Orlando B. Willcox, a Detroit lawyer, who had graduated at West Point and had spent fourteen years in the regular army.

A Michigan Regiment Off for the Front
(Campus Martius, Detroit.)

On May 13th, a week earlier than the call required, the regiment, thoroughly equipped and armed with new minie-rifles, was on its way to Washington. On the 15th Colonel Willcox had the honor of reporting to General Scott the arrival at the Capital of the first western regiment; and afterwards marched his command to the White House, where President Lincoln made the Michigan boys supremely happy by praising their promptness and soldierly appearance.

When asked where he would camp, Colonel Willcox quickly replied "Across the river." Now the Potomac was the Rubicon of

1861. To cross Long Bridge was held to be the invasion of the "sacred" South and General Scott believed he had no authority to order troops to invade a state. So for eight days the First remained in Washington. In the meantime, ardent Union men like Senators Chandler and Wade labored to remove General Scott's scruples by private consultations with members of the Supreme Court. It was urged that the act of retrocession, by which Virginia took back the territory on the south bank of the Potomac originally included within the District of Columbia, was unconstitutional; and that for the defense of the national capital, General Scott had ample authority to order troops to General Lee's home, Arlington, and to the City of Alexandria, both places being legally under the jurisdiction of the United States. Soothed into acquiescence by these sophistries, General Scott gave the necessary orders, and on the night of May 23d the Michigan men were on their way to Alexandria, the first Union troops to put foot on the soil of the South,[6] General Heintzelman, commanding the second column, destined for Arlington, followed Colonel Willcox's command; and at the same time a third column under Colonel Ellsworth embarked for Alexandria. Arriving at the old town, Colonel Ellsworth, with a single company, proceeded to the Marshall House to haul down the rebel flag that had been flaunting in full view of the capital of the nation. On his way down the stairs with the flag over his arm the daring zouave was shot to death by the hotel proprietor. That shot was the signal for a tremendous uprising at the North.

Colonel Willcox arrived in Alexandria just after Ellsworth fell, and the zouaves reported to him for duty. In Fairfax street about forty rebel soldiers rushed from a large building to escape, but fearing canister from Ricketts' battery, Captain Ball advanced and surrendered his sword. The building from which the rebels came bore the sign "Price, Birch & Company, Dealers in Slaves." As a recognition of the promptness the Coldwater company had displayed in responding to a command to act as skirmishers, it was assigned quarters in the slave market. Seeing in the slave-pen a negro about eighteen years old, who, as it transpired, had been sold recently and was held to be called for, Orderly Sergeant Charles P. Lincoln hunted up the key of the huge padlock that fastened the door of the slave-pen, and released the half-starved and thoroughly frightened negro. The boy became an auxiliary member of the Coldwater

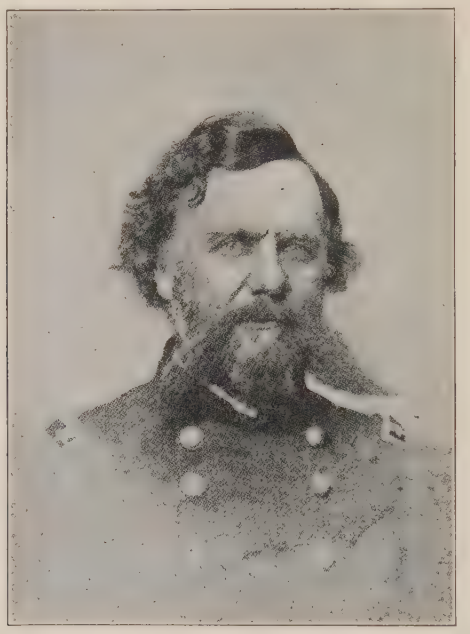
[6] MSS. correspondence of Gen. Byron M. Cutcheon now in possession of the author; also frequent conversations with Gen. O. B. Willcox from 1889 to 1903.

company, and when his master came to the camp on Shooter's Hill to claim him, Colonel Willcox (having no authority to detain a slave) told the slave-owner to take his property if he could find it. The search began under such a shower of missiles that the slave-catcher was only too glad to beat a hasty retreat. George C. Smith, as the negro called himself, fought with the Coldwater company at Bull Run, and afterwards became a member of the first colored regiment recruited in Michigan. He was the first slave freed by the Union arms who remained free.[7]

Alpheus Starkey Williams was among the number of those who promptly offered their services to the state, as was quite natural. As a member of the State Military Board he had done what he could to prepare the militia for a conflict that for years had seemed inevitable. Born in Saybrook, Conn., on September 20, 1810, he graduated at Yale in 1831, studied law and in 1837 came to Michigan to practice his profession. His military ardor early found expression in the Brady Guards, a newly organized crack Detroit militia company in which he served as captain. He had a natural bent for politics; in 1839 he was probate judge of Wayne County, and three years later he was selected as judge of the recorder's court; and he also owned and edited the Detroit *Advertiser*. When the Mexican war broke out he was mustered into service as lieutenant-colonel of the First Michigan Infantry Volunteers, serving from December 8, 1847, to July 29, 1848. Then he returned to the practice of his profession, and served as postmaster of Detroit. On the outbreak of the war, Governor Blair placed him in command of the camp of instruction at Fort Wayne, with the rank of brigadier-general, in which position President Lincoln continued him. In October, 1861, he was assigned to the command of the Third Brigade, Banks' Division, Army of the Potomac. At the battle of Antietam after Mansfield was killed, Williams commanded the Twelfth Army Corps, which fought until completely exhausted. He was in the battle of Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg his corps held Culp's Hill. On April 14, 1864, he was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Twentieth Army Corps, fighting through all the long series of battles leading to Atlanta. Thence he marched with Sherman to the sea, and again northward to Columbia, being present at the surrender of Gen. Joe Johnson on April 26, 1865, two weeks after Appomattox. From January 12th, he ranked

[7] These facts were related to the author by Col. Charles P. Lincoln, Deputy Commissioner of Pensions, 1889-1893.

as brevet major-general of volunteers. No soldier from Michigan had longer, more arduous or more responsible service. He entered the service at the age of nearly fifty-one years; he was twelve years older than Grant, ten years older than Sherman and twenty-one years older than Sheridan; General Hooker wrote of him to Secretary Stanton, "General Williams is one of the oldest brigadier-generals, and with one exception has fought on more fields and fought better than any officer of my acquaintance. He commanded



General Alpheus S. Williams

a corps under me at Antietam, was distinguished as the head of his division at Gettysburg; and on the campaign just ended in Georgia commanded a division of the Twentieth corps, and to him belongs no small share of the glory of its achievements. At Resaca, New Hope Church and in front of Atlanta he won imperishable honors. . . . Irrespective of his services in battle the manner in which he has discharged the ordinary duties of his profession from the incipiency of the Rebellion to the present time reflects the highest credit upon his intelligence, fidelity and patriotism." This letter sums up fairly the claims of General Williams to be considered a typical soldier of the War of Secession, and as the embodiment

of the war-sentiment of Michigan. It is altogether fitting, therefore, that a half century after the war ended, the people of Detroit, led by the Loyal Legion, arranged to place an equestrian statue of General Williams, by Henry Merwin Shrady, in the city he so greatly honored during his life.[8]

Standing side by side with General Williams was Gen. Orlando Bolivar Willcox, who went out as colonel of the First Michigan three-months men. That he did not take the field with the reorganized First was due to the fact that he was then a prisoner in Libby Prison at Richmond, having been wounded and captured at the first battle of Bull Run, after having led his regiment and the Eleventh New York in repeated charges. General Willcox was born in Michigan; he graduated from West Point in 1843 and saw service in the anti-slavery riots in Boston, but resigned in 1857 to practice law in Detroit. General Grant, in his autobiography, expresses the opinion that had General Willcox instead of General Ledlie been selected to lead the charge at Petersburg in July, 1864, the result would have been success instead of the disaster in which the Second, Seventeenth, Eighth, Twenty-seventh, and Twentieth Michigan regiments lost so heavily. In the crossing of the Rapidan, at Spottsylvania Courthouse and at Petersburg he won honors; and after the war he saw service on the Plains. On his retirement he lived in Washington until his death in 1907.

The war was begun for the preservation of the Union, but the abolition of slavery became a logical sequence of the Rebellion. When the Michigan Legislature assembled in special session in January, 1862, Governor Blair's message called for the destruction of the institution of slavery, and the Legislature supported him by a joint resolution advocating the emancipation of all slaves. The Legislature also sent to Congress a vigorous memorial demanding the energetic prosecution of the war and the confiscation of rebel property. Within seven months from the first call, Michigan sent

[8] After the war ended, General Williams was assigned (September 9, 1865) to the command of the Ouachita River District, with headquarters at Camden, Ark.; was transferred in November to the Central District, at Little Rock, and was discharged from the service January 15, 1866. Then he was appointed to examine military claims in Missouri. President Johnson appointed him minister to Salvador, and while absent he was nominated by the Democrats for Governor and was defeated; in 1874 and again in 1876 he represented the First Michigan District in Congress. He died in Washington on December 28, 1878, before the expiration of his term. The pedestal of the statue is to be designed by General Williams' grandson, Alpheus Williams Chittenden, architect, of Detroit.

forward 16,475 men, besides thirteen companies attached to regiments from other states. By July, 1862, 27,000 men, or 6,000 more than their state's quota, had been enlisted, and five infantry regiments and three batteries were recruiting in various part of the state. Then came the news of the disastrous failure of the Peninsula campaign. In the swamps of Virginia, Michigan's sons died by the score, all to no purpose. They had gone South to fight rebels, not to be consumed by fevers. When McClellan showed no disposition to fight, recruiting came to a standstill.

In order to arouse the people, a public meeting gathered July 15 on Campus Martius, in Detroit, to devise means to stimulate enlistments. Help came in disguise. While the speaking was in progress, a mob rushed from the narrow streets that converge at the Campus, and with stones and clubs dispersed the meeting. That rebel sympathizers and refugees from Canada should lead a mob in an American city set the state on fire with indignation. Another and larger meeting was held, with the venerable General Cass as chairman. Enlisting was resumed with vigor, and whenever a lull came, wealthy citizens stimulated the enrollment by promising to pay $10 to each man who would enlist from their respective wards. So sharp was the change in state sentiment, brought about by Detroit's determined stand, that not only were the five regiments completed, but within thirty days eight others were on their way to the front. Wayne County's answer to the mob was the Twenty-fourth Infantry, 1,030 strong, under Colonel Henry M. Morrow. Assigned to the Iron Brigade of the Army of the Potomac, the Michigan boys, fresh from the farm, the workshop and the store, with uniforms new and trappings bright, were received in sullen silence by the Wisconsin and Indiana regiments of that famous brigade; but in the baptism of fire at Fredericksburg, the recruits became veterans, winning high praise from General Doubleday; and at Gettysburg's slaughter, the Twenty-fourth was as near iron as flesh and blood can be.

In towns throughout the state where recruiting was in progress, the life of the place was brightened by the bugle call. Soldiers drilled in the streets, using the picket fences as breastworks, and, in their eagerness to annihilate the imaginary foe, snapping the hammers of their guns on the capless nipples in a way to put their undisciplined officers into a towering passion. The women organize societies to scrape lint, make bandages and havelocks and pack boxes of food and clothing for the Sanitary Commission to dispose of in hospital and Southern prison. The afternoon dress-parade on the public square was the feature of the day for townspeople

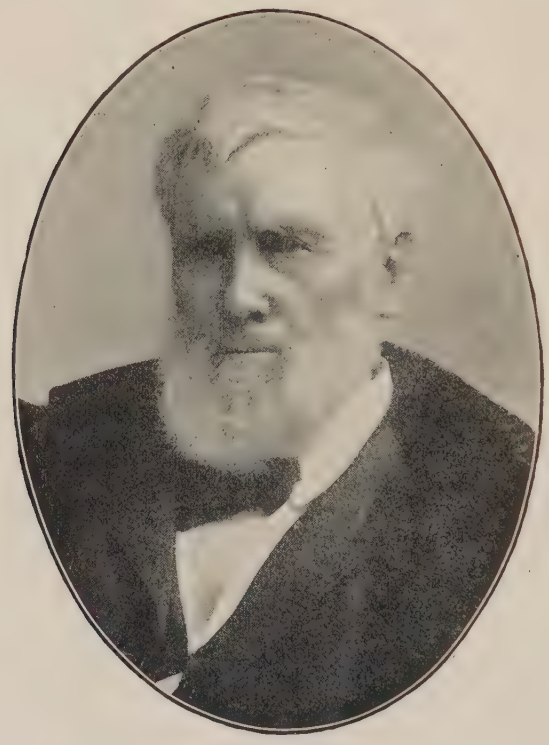
as well as for soldiers, and in the evening there were social gatherings to raise money for some war charity, or dances at which none but the wearers of brass buttons could expect favors from bright eyes. When news came of victories, the most accessible street corner was piled high with pine dry-goods boxes and the great pyramid surmounted by a tar-barrel. As the huge structure became a mass of flame, fire-balls of wicking soaked in naphtha were hurled up and down the streets, making ellipses of flame. After taps, the provost guard made the rounds of the town to gather in the stragglers, and quiet reigned till reveille.

In the fall elections of 1862, the opponents of the war, aided by those who were dissatisfied by the slowness of the Administration, took advantage of mistakes, delays, and defeats, of burdensome taxation, and of the dreaded draft, to return a Democratic majority of ten to the National House of Representatives. Michigan's neighbors, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, joined with New York and Pennsylvania in giving Democratic majorities. In Michigan, Senator Chandler was a candidate for reelection, and that fact made him a target for the opposition. His "blood letting" letter and his vigorous speech in the Senate, in which he unsparingly pointed out McClellan's shortcomings and demanded his removal from command of the Army of the Potomac, were brought up against him. Like some prophet of old, with energy expressed in every movement of his great frame, and with flashing eye, Chandler went from one end of the state to the other proclaiming: "There are now but two classes of men—patriots and traitors. Between these two you must choose. A man might as well cast himself into the gulf that separated Dives from Lazarus as to stand out in this hour of trial!" As the result of this stirring campaign, Governor Blair was reelected and five of the six members of Congress returned were Republicans.

The Legislature elected in the autumn of 1862 gathered on the first Monday of the following January for the stormiest session ever known to that body. Governor Blair had been reelected without material opposition. The main issue in the campaign was the reelection of Senator Chandler, who encountered in Michigan the same kind of opposition that met his particular friend, Senator Wade, in Ohio, whose final triumph was delayed long after the Legislature of his state had convened. Not so with Senator Chandler. In Michigan the battle was short, sharp and decisive. The objections to Mr. Chandler came largely from those conservative natures who looked upon the Wade-Chandler wing of the Republican party with all the terror of persons driven from their homes by

freshets. Running excitedly along the banks, in their despair they thought they saw the Constitution and the traditions of the Fathers being swept down the resistless current.

The main attack on Senator Chandler was made by James F. Joy, the Republican leader in the Michigan House in the previous Legislature. Both Mr. Joy and Senator Chandler were natives of



James F. Joy

New Hampshire; in Detroit they were neighbors; they attended the same church. Both were positive, vigorous, aggressive; but Mr. Chandler was a born leader of men, while Mr. Joy was ever an independent character, ready if need be to stand alone in the consciousness of mental strength and the absolute integrity of his own purposes. Although he had voted the Republican state ticket, Mr. Joy maintained his right to oppose the reelection of Mr. Chandler; and in a pamphlet attacking the senator he asserted that the Wades and Chandlers of the Senate dominated President Lincoln and thwarted such true leaders as Seward and Chase.

As the *Advertiser and Tribune* said, Mr. Chandler was never charged with dishonesty, with neglect of Michigan's interests, or with incapacity; but there were against him disappointed office-seekers, and those who thought the crisis demanded a lawyer rather than a merchant in the Senate. On the other hand, Senator Chandler had been "the errand-boy of every soldier's relative;" and his strength with the soldier element was overwhelming. In the Legis-

Lewis Cass in White Clothes

LEWIS CASS ADDRESSING THREE MONTHS' MICHIGAN TROOPS AT D. & M. R. R. DEPOT ON THEIR RETURN FROM THE FRONT

lature a fusion committee, consisting of Orlando M. Barnes and Hiram J. Beakes, Democrats, and T. W. Lockwood, a follower of Mr. Joy, appealed to the members to elect "a man faithful to the Union and the Constitution, devoted to the suppression of the Rebellion, and whose ability and character shall entitle him to the confidence of the public." In the fusion caucus there was a prolonged struggle between the party men, who insisted on voting for ex-Senator Alpheus Felch, and those who thought it politic to nominate a former Republican. The latter element won; Mr. Joy became the candidate against Mr. Chandler, and in the joint con-

vention was defeated by nearly a two-thirds vote. Some idea of the intensity of the feeling may be had from the outburst of that able correspondent, Charles K. Backus, who cried out in the *Advertiser and Tribune:* "Glory enough for this day! We have fought the fight and won the victory. We have asked no favors and granted none. Fusion smelleth of the grave and the mourners go about the streets. We have now a united party able and willing for future contests." [9]

The Senate of 1863 contained a number of men who were there trained for future usefulness to the state. At the head of the finance committee was Ebenezer O. Grosvenor, who had returned to the Senate after an interval of two years. The second member of the committee was Henry Howland Crapo, who succeeded Austin Blair as governor of the state. At the head of the judiciary committee stood Charles M. Croswell, who served as governor from 1877 to 1881; and the chairman of the committee on state affairs was David Howell Jerome, who succeeded Governor Croswell in the executive office. The presiding officer was the able and polished orator, Charles S. May.

The bad blood engendered in the senatorial campaign speedily showed itself. The front of the offending party was Edward G. Morton, of Monroe, an editor of keenness and audacity, already a legislator of experience, and afterwards the legislative father of the asylums for the insane at Kalamazoo, and for the deaf and dumb at Flint. Mr. Morton ascribed the war to "the damnable sectionalism of the north," and he maintained that "the Abolitionists in their greed of office were determined to prolong the strife as long as possible, destroy the country and raise hell itself." He stigmatized John Brown as an old horse-thief, cut-throat and murderer; he denounced the Emancipation Proclamation; [10] and asserted that the Republican party of Michigan was as much in rebellion as South Carolina, save only for the fact that it was not in arms.

More rabid than the gentleman from Monroe, Judge Pratt of Calhoun, exclaimed against Lincoln as "the damnable Abolitionist who administers the government." "The people," he said, "ought to rise up and hurl him from his chair, since he is prepared to sacrifice the armies of his country. Then in the eyes of God and men the people would be justified." To the hisses that greeted these seditious remarks, he replied, "You may hiss, fellows, but

[9] The date is January 9, 1863.

[10] This speech and the replies to it are printed in the *Advertiser and Tribune* of Jan. 25, 1863, and subsequent issues.

you can't intimidate me!". In vain Mr. Beakes and Mr. Barnes insisted that the Democratic party was opposed to secession and in favor of upholding the Constitution in every portion of the United States; in vain Mr. Deare of Hamtramck attempted to laugh off the whole matter.

In order to appreciate the position of the opposition it is only necessary to quote from the Democratic state platform adopted in convention on February 11, 1863. "The simple issue," said that document, "is now freedom or despotism." Suspending the writ of habeas-corpus; the arrest of citizens by the military power; the denial of trial by jury; the abridgment of freedom of speech and of the press; a secret police; martial law declared in states not in rebellion; freeing slaves of loyal citizens; and the dismemberment of the State of Virginia—such was the formidable array of grievances; and in the character of the list one looks into the "valley of despair" through which this nation was then traveling. In the same breath the convention expressed gratitude to the soldiers and condemned the abolition sentiment inculcated at the University of Michigan. George W. Peck was allowed to speak of Lincoln as "the despot at Washington; the tool of usurpers;" and to assert that this Government was made wholly for white men. More potent than platforms or speeches was the widespread influence of the Detroit *Free Press,* then as always a powerful ally in any cause it chooses to support.

On the floor of the Senate, Chandler was a radical of the radicals. He upheld General Fremont's Missouri proclamation freeing the slaves belonging to persons engaged in rebellion, and was deeply disappointed when the Administration modified that order. He introduced a bill to confiscate the property of rebels, and was galled at its defeat. He strenuously opposed Mr. Seward's policy of giving up to England the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell. Yet, unlike several of his intimate friends, Mr. Chandler had high respect for President Lincoln and sincere faith in his unflinching loyalty. As for Mr. Stanton, the crossed bayonets at the door of that irascible but loyal Secretary were no bar to the Michigan senator. He stalked between the surprised sentries and stormed at the Secretary until he obtained what he came for. Sustaining cordial relations with both radicals and the Administration, Senator Chandler was enabled to carry out a series of negotiations which formed, perhaps, his greatest single service to his country. When the question of Lincoln's reelection came up there was a considerable element in the party which believe that "the imbecile and vacillating

policy of the present Administration in the conduct of the war (being just weak enough to waste its men and means to provoke the enemy, but not strong enough to conquer the Rebellion) calls in thundertones upon the lovers of justice and their country to come to the rescue of the imperiled nationality and the cause of universal and impartial freedom, threatened with betrayal and overthrow." Among those who so thought were Wendell Phillips, B. Gratz Brown, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and James Redpath, all of whom signed the call for the Cleveland convention at which John C. Fremont was nominated for President. Resigning his command, General Fremont bitterly denounced President Lincoln and prepared to make a vigorous canvass. To add to the misfortunes of the Administration, Secretary Chase unexpectedly resigned the Treasury portfolio; those strenuous opponents of slavery, Senator Wade and Representative Henry Winter Davis, issued a manifesto opposing Lincoln's reconstruction policy; and Early's Shenandoah raid and the heavy but apparently useless fighting of Grant and Sheridan, all made the national cause seem well-nigh hopeless. Moreover, George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate against Mr. Lincoln, still had his warm admirers, who regarded him as a martyr to the President's ambitions.

Going first to Senator Wade, Mr. Chandler secured from that war-horse the concession that if Montgomery Blair (whom the radicals regarded as President Lincoln's evil adviser) should be dismissed from the Cabinet, Wade would no longer despair of aggressive action on Lincoln's part. From the President, Mr. Chandler obtained assurances that a new Postmaster General would be installed in Mr. Blair's place. On going to Mr. Davis at Baltimore with Lincoln's promise, Davis also agreed to cease his opposition. The hard part of the work, however, was to secure the withdrawal of the Fremont ticket, but that also Mr. Chandler accomplished. On reporting his success to President Lincoln, the latter immediately called for Mr. Blair's resignation, and it was promptly forthcoming. Union victories in the field aided in bringing about the second election of Mr. Lincoln, but Chandler's work was of great service at a time when he, almost alone among the politicians, was Lincoln's friend.[11]

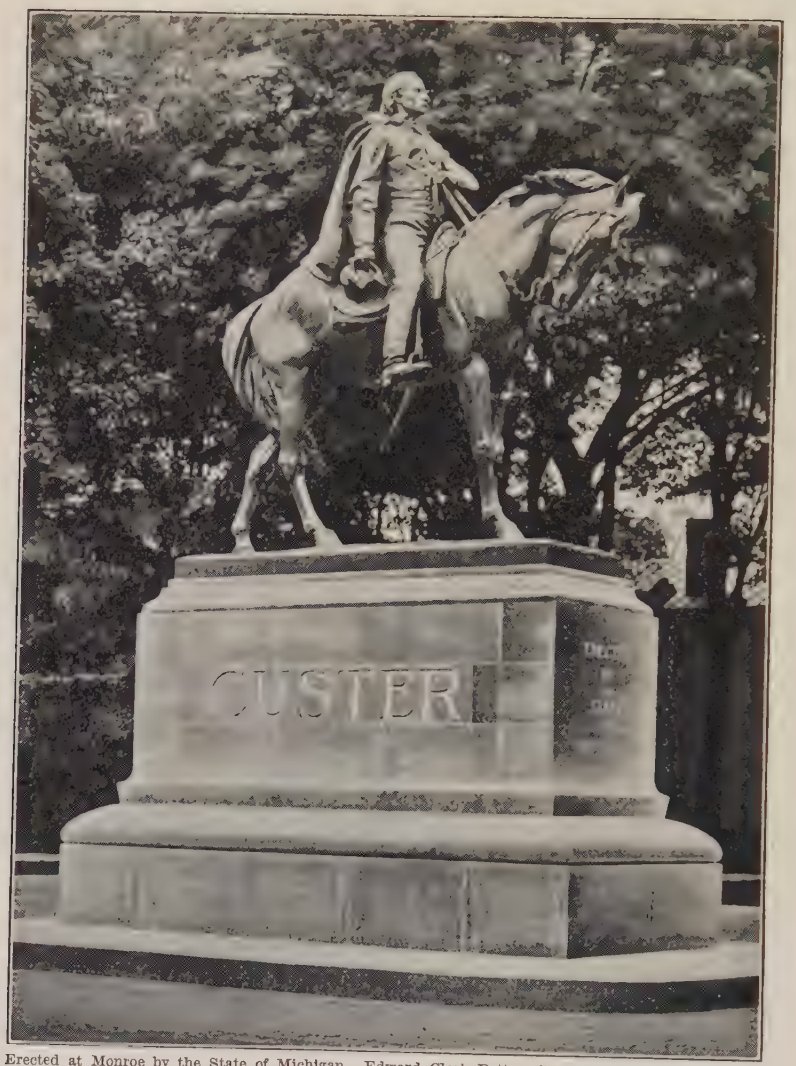
Among the 2,000 regiments that made up the Union army during

[11] See *Post and Tribune* "Life of Chandler." The late E. O. Grosvenor of Jonesville had a part in the negotiations, and I have letters from him relating the facts. These statements were confirmed in a conversation I had with Gen. John C. Fremont in Washington on March 4, 1889.

the Rebellion, the Fifth Michigan stood fourth among infantry regiments in respect of the number of men who were killed in action or who died of wounds received while fighting; the Sixteenth stood eighth, the Twenty-seventh stood ninetenth, the Second stood twentieth, the Eighth stood twenty-second, the Seventh stood thirty-second. All of these regiments are in the list of the forty-five infantry regiments that lost in killed more than two hundred men.

The Fifth, organized at Fort Wayne, was made up of companies from Detroit, Mount Clemens, East Saginaw, Owosso, Saginaw, Brighton, St. Clair, Pontiac and Port Huron. Mustered into the service of the United States in August, 1861, in September it left for Virginia under the command of Col. Henry D. Ferry. With bands playing and flags flying gaily, the regiment marched to the steamer; but the silk banner borne so proudly at the head of the regiment was soon to have its gold fringe torn and its shining folds shot away, piece by piece, as soldier after soldier snatched the standard from the hands of the falling color-bearer and bore it into the thick of the fight. Ten men lost their lives in defending that flag before peace gave rest to its tatters.

For some months previous to the outbreak of the war, the martial zeal of Coldwater had found vent in the Loomis Battery of light artillery. When Sumter fell, this command immediately volunteered for service. After the usual hesitation, the Government accepted and the battery of six gleaming brass six-pounders started for West Virginia, under the command of Col. Cyrus O. Loomis. After Rich Mountain, the battery exchanged its old brass guns for ten pound Parrotts sent by General McClellan as a reward for driving the enemy from a position he had regarded impregnable. Sometimes the battery was divided; one captain would take a gun on board a steamer for work along the rivers; another would mount his cannon on a flat car, protect it with a screen of iron, and go dodging up and down the railroads about Nashville. The battle of Perryville was opened and closed by the Loomis Battery. In the thickest of that fight the colonel was holding the enemy in check to permit the withdrawal of other regiments; orders came to spike his guns and retreat, but such was Colonel Loomis' fondness for his Parrotts that he decided to stay with them. So he fought on in spite of orders, and after repelling five charges and losing eighteen men and thirty-three horses, he brought out every one of his guns. In an artillery duel at Murfeesboro, Colonel Loomis, "the envy of all artillerists" as a New York *Herald* correspondent called him, in rapid succession dismounted five of the enemy's guns and drove a



Erected at Monroe by the State of Michigan. Edward Clark Potter, Sculptor

STATUE OF GEN. GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

second battery off the field. At Chickamauga, Lieutenant Van Pelt commanded the battery now famous throughout the Army of the West, and even by the enemy deemed invincible. Soldiers felt sure that where those stern black rifled guns were at work, the line could not be broken. Van Pelt loved his guns, and as the enemy rushed upon the Federal line, he poured canister into their ranks and cooly watched for a good place to plant another shot; but his men dropped fast, his horses were shot down and the enemy pressed in hordes too great for even those swiftly-handled guns to subdue; the supporting infantry was gone; almost alone, Van Pelt, sword in hand, stood by his guns.[12] "Scoundrels," he cried, "don't dare lay hands on those guns." As he spoke he fell dead, and the on-rushing enemy bore away five of the six cannon. At Mission Ridge, when the Union army captured all but four of the eighty-six guns in Bragg's artillery, three of the Loomis cannon were among the number, and the other two were recovered at Atlanta.

The Indians, who have been in every fight from the beginning of Michigan's history, had their place also in the Rebellion, albeit a very small place. Attached to Colonel DeLand's First Michigan Sharpshooters was a company of civilized Indians who won fame at Spottsylvania. On that bloody 9th of May, 1863, the Federal line, advancing with a cheer, met the charging enemy in a dense thicket of pines, and in the hand-to-hand struggle that followed, the Union forces were slowly forced back. On a little rise of ground, the Fourteenth New York Battery, supported by the Second and Twenty-seventh Michigan Infantry and the First Michigan Sharpshooters, was doing its best to hold the ground. Again and again the Confederates fought their way up to the battery and laid hold on the cannon to turn them upon the Union forces; but to touch one of those guns meant instant death at the hands of the sharpshooters. In this desperate encounter, the Indians were commanded by Lieutenant Gravereat, of Little Traverse, an educated half-breed. Under a perfect storm of lead, their numbers seemed to melt away, but there was no sign of faltering. Sheltered behind trees, they poured volley after volley at the on-coming foe, and above the din of battle their war-whoop rang out with every volley. At dusk the ammunition gave out, but with the others, the Indians rushed forward at the shout of "Give 'em steel boys!" from the twice wounded but still plucky Colonel DeLand. When darkness came to end the

[12] Two of the guns now flank the statue of Austin Blair, in the Capitol grounds at Lansing.

bloody day, Lieutenant Gravereat was among the 117 wounded sharpshooters, and a few months later he died of his wounds.

On the day before the Battle of Bull Run, George Armstrong Custer, fresh from West Point, reported at Washington for duty and was sent by General Scott with dispatches to General McDowell. It is not written how the young Monroe officer fought in that battle, but it is recorded that he ran with the others. By chance, he was assigned to the staff of Gen. Philip Kearney, an officer superlatively brave but outrageously strict; and Custer gave to Kearney the sincerest flattery of imitation, not only in his virtues, but also in his failings. When Regular Army officers were no longer allowed to serve on the staffs of men holding volunteer commissions, Custer returned to the Second Cavalry. One day in May, 1862, General McClellan, resplendent in speckless blue and dazzling buttons, sent his still more gorgeous staff-officers to find the young fellow whose reconnaissance at Bottom Ridge on the Chickahominy established the fact that the enemy's pickets could be cut off. When found, Custer appeared before his general a veritable male Cinderella, dirty, muddy, his coat creased in the devil's press, his trousers ragged from hard riding, his cap discolored by rain and sun. McClellan, pleased at the boy's story, took Custer on his staff. "I felt that I could have died for him," said Custer, and never after would he admit that McClellan had a fault. At his home in Monroe, Captain Custer grieved over McClellan's retirement, and as he heard of the defeats of Burnside, he prayed "Give us back our old General!" Then the exacting Pleasanton called him a third time to staff duty.

At Aldie General Gregg struck the advance of Stuart's cavalary and drove them back. Stuart gathered his forces for an overwhelming charge. On came the yelling line of rebel cavalry, in the path mowed for them by shells from well planted batteries that shrieked on their deadly way. Before the cloud of dust that marked the onset the Second New York fled. Then through the Union lines dashed Kilpatrick and Doughty and Custer, whose long yellow curls flowed from beneath a broad-brimmed plantation straw hat. High above his head he flashed a long, straight Toledo blade, a prize of battle taken from a rebel who could not live up to the motto written in Spanish on its face—"Draw me not without cause, sheathe me not without honor." Setting spurs to Black Harry and shouting "Come on boys, Come on!" Captain Custer made for the enemy. In those short moments of ecstacy, Custer did not know that Kilpatrick was down and that Doughty had tasted death. Straight through the enemy he rode, fighting as he went a duel with a single pursuer,

whose dead body dropped from his horse in the quiet rear of the terrible fighting. Then back through the panic-stricken enemy, his straw hat a disguise, rode Custer to join his own men.

Four days later, when Meade took command of the Army of the Potomac, he asked that Farnsworth, Custer and Merritt be made brigadier generals; and it was done. To crown his joy, Custer was appointed to command the Michigan Cavalry Brigade, in which was the Seventh Cavalry, the command of which Governor Blair had refused him, because he was fond of McClellan. Hated by the men over whose heads he had been jumped, and despised for his dandified appearance, Custer at the age of twenty-four assumed command, and on the first night established a discipline which combined the rigidity of Kearney with the severity of Pleasanton. Next day he started for Gettysburg. It was on the second day of the great fight that Kilpatrick ordered Custer to attack Stuart's cavalry. Captain Thompson of the Sixth Michigan was expecting to command the attack, when Custer said carelessly, "I'll lead you this time, boys." Away dashed Company A in the wake of the broad white hat and the yellow curls. The Michigan boys found the enemy too many for them. Thompson fell with a mortal wound. Custer's horse was shot dead and as he struggled to his feet, young Churchill first shot the man who would have killed the General, and then mounted Custer on his own horse, and carried him back to his men. On the next day Custer, finding the cavalry battle with Wade Hampton going against him, had but one available regiment, the First Michigan Cavalry. The Confederates, who had just repulsed the stubborn Seventh, outnumbered the First by five to one; but at a mad gallop they rode down the front rank of the enemy. The long, heavy, rebel column stood its ground for but a moment. The flashing sabers mowed down Wade Hampton's men till the flower of Stuart's cavalry turned and ran. "I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant or a more successful charge of cavalry," wrote Custer in a report that studiously omits the fact that he himself led the charge.

That was a glorious day for Monroe, when Custer, with his long locks clipped so that he was no more "the boy general with the golden curls," stood up in his brigadier general's uniform, and was married to the daughter of Judge Daniel S. Bacon, the beautiful and stately girl who was henceforth to share his lot in camp and barracks and afterwards to perpetuate the memory of his deeds in the volumes which have been read by so many thousands. The army is no place for women, said those who shook their heads at her

going, but because of her presence the Michigan Brigade were better soldiers and better men.

On coming East, Grant put all the cavalry under an infantry division commander, Philip Henry Sheridan, who had begun his career with Governor Blair's commission as colonel of the Second Michigan. At the Wilderness, Custer, with the Michigan Brigade, was again at work on his old enemy, Stuart. Colonel Russell A. Alger and Major James H. Kidd, with the Fifth and Sixth Michigan, were holding back the Confederate cavalry, and the Union forces were then within four miles of Richmond. While the First Michigan was charging the enemy, a Confederate general with his staff rode up in full view of the Fifth, and one of the soldiers fired at the party. "You shoot too low and to the left, Tom," said John A. Huff, who had been one of Berdan's sharpshooters. "I can fetch that man, Colonel," he added. "Try him," said Colonel Alger. Huff fired, and as the officer fell, coolly remarked, "There's a spread eagle for you." He had killed General J. E. B. Stuart, the greatest of Confederate cavalry leaders.

In the Shenandoah Valley on the beautiful 8th day of October, 1864, Custer, a division commander now, rode out in front of his lines in full view of the enemy. His yellow hair once more flowed over his shoulders, a broad sailor collar, a streaming scarlet tie, and a velvet jacket well nigh covered with gold braid, made him a dazzling spectacle as he gracefully doffed his sombrero to salute his gallant foe. The attention was meant for Rosser who had been Custer's class-mate and rival at West Point. "You see that officer?" said Rosser to one of his staff, "that's Custer the Yanks are so proud of, and I intend to give him the best whipping today he ever got; see if I don't." The words were no sooner out of his mouth than Custer, at the head of the Third Division, was bearing down upon him. Rosser's artillery helped him drive back the Michigan boys, till the Union guns in turn broke the force of the enemy's onslaught. Then there was fair battle. Rosser vainly tried to meet Custer's sabres with powder; his men turned and fled and for twenty-six miles to Mount Jackson there was a clear track for what came to be known as the "Woodstock Races." So General Custer became a major-general, and by way of celebrating, in February of 1865, he followed Early from Staunton to Waynesboro, seventeen miles, through mud and rain and whipped him and Rosser unmercifully. Appomattox found Custer next to Sheridan, the most brilliant

cavalry officer in the army, and the Confederate General Kershaw asked the privilege of surrendering his sword to him as "one of the best cavalry officers this or any other country ever produced." On the final review at Washington, when Custer's unruly horse bore him indecorously past the reviewing stand, the excited multitude, fearing for the life of a soldier whom rebel bullets could not harm, gave a tremendous shout of joy as the General, his horse calmed, rode gravely back to pass the stand a second time, and to receive the garlands of flowers prepared for the conquerors of peace.[13]

To the Fourth Michigan Cavalry belongs an honor unique in the history of war. On May 7, 1865, Lieutenant-Colonel B. D. Pritchard was ordered by Colonel Minty to picket the Ocmulgee River to prevent the escape of Jefferson Davis. At Abbeyville Pritchard got on the track of the fugitives and also met Lieutenant-Colonel Harnden, of the First Wisconsin Cavalry, who was on the same errand. The two officers took separate roads, and as the result of information obtained after parting with Harnden, Pritchard struck across from Wilcox Mills to Irwinville, through an almost unbroken waste of pine forest. At the latter place he passed his men off as a Confederate force that had become separated from the Davis party, and thus gained information that enabled him to overtake the fugitives about a mile and a half down the Abbeyville road. Halting his command near the supposed camp, Pritchard sent twenty-five men under Lieutenant Purinton to cut off the retreat. Then he lay quiet till dawn, and was within four or five rods

[13] See "Personal Recollections of a Cavalryman," by Gen. James H. Kidd; Ionia, 1908.

On the beautiful Sabbath morning of June 25, 1876, Custer, at the head of the Seventh United States Cavalry, rode into the Valley of the Little Big Horn in Dakota, as the advance of the force that was to "snuff out" Sitting Bull. With characteristic rashness he planned to fight the battle unaided by Generals Terry and Gibbon, who were to join him next day. Riding ahead with his brother, Capt. Tom Custer, and with his favorite officers, Cook and Keough, as his eyes caught sight of the Indian tepees, he exclaimed, "Custer's lucky, the biggest Indian village on the continent!" So it was and thrice as large as he thought. Away he dashed with his command, only to become hopelessly entangled in ambushes backed by swarms of Indians. Reno, on whom he had counted to make an attack on the flank, failed through cowardice or incapacity, and Custer, with his brave men, was cut to pieces. So complete was the slaughter that only the Indians could tell the story. See Captain Cook's article in Vol. 81 of *Harper's Magazine*.

of the camp before he was discovered. A dash completed the capture. A chain of guards was thrown around the camp, and before the inmates of the tents could grasp their weapons they were prisoners. At this juncture firing was heard in Lieutenant Purinton's direction, about one hundred rods in the rear of the camp. Thinking that he had been attacked by the Confederate guard, Pritchard ordered all his force into action. The persistency of the attack and the peculiar sound of the firearms, however, led him to suspect a mistake, and ordering his men to cease firing, he hailed his assailants, to find that they were the First Wisconsin. Two of the Michigan men were killed and one severely wounded; four of the Wisconsin men were seriously wounded. It seemed that the Wisconsin sergeant in charge of the advance party had refused to give a proper answer to Lieutenant Purinton's challenge, and that both parties were overzealous.

The prisoners included Mr. and Mrs. Davis, her sister, Miss Maggie Howell, Postmaster-General Reagan, Colonels Johnson and Lubbock, Burton Harrison, private secretary, and several other officers. On returning to camp Pritchard was accosted by Mr. Davis, who asked if he was in command. Replying that he was, he asked what he might call his questioner? "Whatever or whomever you please," was the answer. "Then I will call you Davis," said Pritchard, and after hesitating, Mr. Davis said that was his name. Then suddenly "drawing himself up in true royal dignity," as Pritchard reports, he exclaimed: "I suppose you consider it bravery to charge a defenseless camp of women and children, but it is theft, it is vandalism."

The capture was made on the morning of May 10th, but it was not until the afternoon of the 11th that Colonel Pritchard learned of the offered reward for the capture of Mr. Davis. The Fourth Michigan took their prisoners to Macon, Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah and Fort Monroe, arriving at the latter place May 22d. On the 23d Pritchard was ordered by the War Department to procure the disguise worn by Mr. Davis. Accordingly he received from Mrs. Davis a lady's waterproof cloak, or robe, which Mrs. Davis said was worn by Mr. Davis as a disguise at the time of his capture, and which was identified by the men who saw it on him at the time. On the morning following the remainder of the disguise was procured; this consisted of a shawl which was identified and was admitted by Mrs. Davis to be the one worn. These articles were deposited at the War Department. Such is Colonel Pritchard's

account.[14] A commission appointed by the War Department decided that the Fourth Michigan Cavalry was entitled to the reward of $100,000 for the capture of Mr. Davis; but when the bill came before Congress the First Wisconsin put in a claim, and shortly before the close of the session, in July, 1868, Congress set aside the report of the commission and gave $3,000 to each, General Wilson, commanding the United States cavalry in that region; Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, Lieutenant-Colonel Harnden and Capt. Joseph A. O. Yoeman, of the First Ohio Cavalry. The remainder of the sum was distributed equally among the members of the organization with the expedition.

During the dark days of the Rebellion, Canada was the refuge, if not the asylum, of marauders who served the Confederacy to the best of their ability. In November, 1863, Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, notified the State Department that he had been informed by the governor general of Canada of a plot to seize several Lake steamers, capture the man-of-war Michigan and release the Confederate prisoners confined on Johnson's Island near Sandusky. At this time, six companies of infantry and a battery of artillery, stationed near Detroit, were relied on for protection against aggressions from Canada. Arms and ammunition were kept in readiness for use by the citizens and armed steam tugs patrolled the river. Indeed, the rumors of plots to burn the chief American cities kept the people of Detroit in a state of constant apprehension. Month after month passed, however, without any overt acts on the part of the Canadian contingent. On the 19th of September, 1864, the little steamer Philo Parsons left her dock at Detroit on her usual trip to Sandusky. At the Canadian towns of Sandwich and Amherstburg, three men stepped up to the clerk of the steamer, Mr. Ashley, and threatened to shoot him if he resisted them. Having easily gotten possession of the boat, the captors ran alongside the little steamer Island Queen, which they captured, together with twenty-five United States soldiers. After transferring passengers and crew to the Parsons, the captors set the Queen adrift and left her to sink. Instead of steering for Johnson's Island, however, the pirates put a Confederate flag at half mast, landed the passengers on American territory, talked about

[14] Colonel Pritchard's official report is dated at Washington, May 25, 1865. See pamphlet by Julian G. Dickinson on the capture; also my letter in the Washington *Post* for March 28, 1895, and Detroit *News* of same date. Compare Mrs. Burton Harrison's account in her Reminiscences.

running to Grosse Isle to rob Mr. Ives, the Detroit banker, and finally looted the boat, smashed the piano and deserted the craft at Sandwich. Bennett G. Burley, one of the leaders of the raid, was proved to be a master in the Confederate Navy, and when he was arrested and brought before the court at Toronto on an application for extradition, Jefferson Davis, in a manifesto dated December 24, 1864, assumed full responsibility for the raid as a legitimate act of war. Lieutenant Colonel Hill, commanding the District of Michigan, had full knowledge of the plot, obtained from a former Confederate soldier who was to be one of the party; and the captain of the Michigan was warned. Inasmuch as the Confederate agent at Windsor at the time was no less a personage than Colonel Jacob Thompson, who had been Secretary of the Interior in Buchanan's cabinet, it was thought best to allow the plot to ripen so as to get a case against the British government for harboring traitors and conspirators. Through the efforts of United States District Attorney Alfred Russell, Burley was extradited and tried at Port Clinton, Ohio, for robbery, which charge, instead of that of piracy, was made because the Lakes were not then included in the high seas. The court charged that Burley's deed was an act of war and the jury disagreed; before a new trial could be had, Burley's friends helped him to break jail and escape to his native Scotland.[15]

On July 4, 1866, the last of the Michigan soldiers having been mustered out during the previous month, the regiments assembled at Detroit. Down Woodward Avenue they marched with Generals Willcox and Custer, Ord, Williams and Casey at their head. Thinned and broken were the ranks, and tattered the flags they bore so proudly now for the last time. The day had come when the regiments were to deliver to the state the standards in whose defense they had left their dead nearest the enemy at Bull Run; the flags that they had borne through the toilsome Peninsula campaign under McClellan, with Banks in the Shenandoah, with Grant at Shiloh, with Butler at New Orleans; the flags that stubbornly met Pickett's charge at Gettysburg and that bravely faced disaster at Chickamauga; that fought their way inch by inch through the Wilderness, and marched with Sherman to the sea; the flags that were the first

[15] The McMillan bill, which was passed by the Fifty-first Congress, extended the criminal jurisdiction of the United States over the Great Lakes and their connecting waters. In the Alaska Pirate's case Mr. Justice Field decided that the Great Lakes were the high seas; but there were strong dissenting opinions.

to snap defiance on the deadly ramparts of Petersburg and that waved in rejoicing at the surrender at Appomattox.[16]

The city streets, spanned by triumphal arches; the gaily decorated houses, stores and public buildings, the roar of cannon and the shouts of immense crowds told of the joy that the war was ended. The returning columns massed themselves in Campus Martius, that well-named center of Michigan's civic life. There Bishop McCoskey gave thanks to God "whom it has pleased by His Almighty hand to put down all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion, and to restore to this nation the blessing of peace."

Then General Willcox recalled the valor of the Michigan boys in blue, saying, "At Alexandria we dictated terms to the rebels in the shortest proclamation of war, which was printed by men detailed from the ranks. We lent independent companies of sharpshooters to New York, Illinois, and the United States; and some of the cavalry, impatient to get into the service, rode off to Missouri and there took the name of the Merrill Horse. The charge of the Seventeenth at South Mountain; the recapture of cannon by the Fourth at Williamsport (cannon that had been lost at Bull Run); the passage of the Seventh at Fredericksburg, led by a drummer boy; the repulse of John Morgan's cavalry by the Twenty-fifth at Green River, with Colonel Moore's immortal words: 'The Fourth of July is not the day to entertain a proposition to surrender'; the emphatic westernism of Colonel Innis at Laverque: 'We don't surrender much'; and the achievements of our cavalry under Custer in the East and under Minty and Pritchard in the West, culminating in the capture of Jeff Davis, the head center of the rebellion—all these and many other feats of war give us name and fame abroad."

As the regiments, one by one, marched past the speaker's stand, they delivered the blood-stained colors to the representatives of the state, and white-robed girls crowned the flags with garlands of flowers. Then Governor Crapo, accepting the sacred emblems, exclaimed: "They are our flags and yours. How rich the treasure! They will not be forgotten nor their history left unwritten. Their stories will be as household words, and the minds of those who come after us will dwell upon the thoughts of manly endeavor, of staunch endurance, of illustrious achievements which their silent eloquence

[16] Two flags borne by the Twenty-second Michigan at Chickamauga were lost under circumstances of great bravery, and were recaptured at the fall of Richmond. In July, 1894, through the efforts of Senator McMillan, these flags were restored to the state. See Senate Reports, 53d Congress, 2d Session.

will ever suggest." When the sun went down that day, Michigan soldiers of the Rebellion had broken the last tie that bound them to the army. Henceforth they were no more warriors, but citizens; and the tramp of the little remnant of regulars, as they marched off to Fort Wayne, sounded war's taps.[17]

[17] "Michigan in the War;" compiled by Jno. Robertson, Adjutant General; Lansing, 1880.

The Michigan flags are now in the rotunda of the Capitol in Lansing; and on the floor below is a military museum of great interest. Over 14,000 men of Michigan lost their lives in the War of Secession. The whole number of troops furnished by the state was 90,119; of this number nearly 9,000 were Canadians; 21,000 were native born, and 31,000 were born in New York, New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

The procession was directed by Inspector General James E. Pittman; the colors were presented to the State by Gen. Orlando B. Willcox, the first colonel who left the state for the field; the returned troops were commanded by Brigadier General William L. Stoughton, the ranking colonel at the time of the muster-out of the regiments; the first division was commanded by Brevet Maj. Gen. R. H. G. Minty; the second, by Brevet Maj. Gen. Henry A. Morrow; the third, by Brevet Brig. Gen. Oliver L. Spaulding; and the fourth by Brevet Brig. Gen. Heber Le Favour.

The record of Michigan sailors is very incomplete. The state is credited with 598 enlistments. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that William Gouin, of Detroit, enlisted at Boston, Massachusetts, January 1, 1862, and served on board of the Ohio and the Kearsarge, and died June 27, 1864, in the hospital at Cherburg, France, from wounds received during the engagement between the Kearsarge and the Alabama. On the Union side his was the only life lost as the result of that engagement. Fred Walden, also of Detroit, under the alias of John Pope, enlisted on board the Kearsarge at Cadiz, Spain, January 26, 1864, as a coal heaver, and was in the memorable engagement. He was discharged November 30, 1864, and is now a resident of Redford, Michigan. The Kearsarge was wrecked while under the command of Oscar F. Heyerman, who entered the naval academy from Michigan November 29, 1861.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UPPER PENINSULA

Michigan's industrial preeminence came after the War of Secession ended and the country began to develop and expand with unprecedented rapidity. In the commercial race Michigan has held the first place in the production of copper, iron and lumber; it shares with New York State in the size of the salt product, and it is first in the manufacture of automobiles, a source of wealth beside which mines and forests dwindle. The history of the mineral development of the Upper Peninsula began with the history of the state.

During the long winter months while Detroit was shut away from the world by the barriers of snow and ice, the French inhabitants found amusement in pony races on the River Rouge, and long nights of dancing and revelry in the log cabin built for the purpose on the edge of the Grande Marais, near the present Belle Isle bridge. The Americans, however, craved more intellectual diversions, and to this end Lucius Lyon,[1] in 1830, made the journey to the Van Rensselaer Polytechnic School at Troy, New York, to secure a lecturer on the natural sciences. The choice fell upon Douglass Houghton, a graduate of that institution, and, at the time of Mr. Lyon's visit, an assistant professor. The same autumn, Doctor Houghton, then twenty-one years old, appeared in Detroit to enter upon a career brief indeed, in so far as years are counted, and yet so many-sided and so important as to place his name among the very first of the commonwealth-builders in Michigan.

It was to him a very congenial society that welcomed the young scientist to Detroit. There was Governor Lewis Cass, who used his high position and wide opportunities to establish firmly in the new

[1] "Memoir of Dr. Douglass Houghton," by Alva Bradish, Detroit, 1889. Also see "Letters of Lucius Lyon," in Michigan P. and H. Col., Vol. 27, p. 445. Mr. Lyon states that the object of the lectures was "to prevent the pesky old bachelors and gay young belles, puny young beaux and prim old maids from suffering so much from ennui as to cut their throats during the long season that by mud and water, frost and snow, they are almost cut off from the world."

Territory those means of mental and moral culture which are the New England birthright; and, after Cass, the handsome, dashing Governor Mason, proud of his Virginia ancestry, yet ardent, ambitious, companionable to the last degree, and honest and honorable in thought and deed. Then there were also John Norvel, Territorial delegate at Washington, and afterwards one of the first Senators; Dr. Zina Pitcher, a former schoolmate of Houghton at Troy and an early prop of the University; Henry R. Schoolcraft, who would leave his home at Mackinac in charge of his wife while he made the voyage to Detroit to give accounts of his researches in Indian lore and of his geographical discoveries; Maj. Henry Whiting of the Army, poet, local historian, gentleman and Christian; Bela Hubbard, explorer and scientist, whose wealth and leisure contributed to the beauty of the city of his adoption and to enriching the literature of travel and history; and Charles C. Trowbridge, whose influence like a thread of gold runs through Michigan history for many years.

Shortly after his arrival Houghton was made surgeon and botanist of the Schoolcraft expedition to discover the sources of the Mississippi; during the cholera season of 1834 he zealously gave his professional experience to stay the plague. To large and keenly appreciative audiences gathered in the old Council House he expounded the marvels of the natural sciences: in 1832 he helped to organize the Detroit Young Men's Society, long the most powerful intellectual force in Michigan; and his Sunday school class was crowded with eager listeners. So for six years he went in and out among the people, who soon learned to respect and admire the lively little doctor whose stories were as efficacious as his medicines, and whose laugh was a tonic.

Among Doctor Houghton's warmest friends was young Governor Mason, and when Michigan became a state, the doctor and the governor with one accord took up plans for a geological survey. There are well authenticated stories relating how a farmer member of the Legislature from Macomb County was induced to visit Houghton's rooms for a friendly game of cards; and although he had come to scoff at the doctor's collections of stones and herbs he went away determined to vote for anything wanted by so good a story-teller as was his jolly little entertainer. By means of uniting to some extent the topographical and geological surveys, Doctor Houghton was able to make the best use of the meager appropriations furnished by a comparatively poor state: and so accurate was his work, especially in the Upper Peninsula, that his reports anticipate every discovery since made in that phenomenally productive region; yet so at vari-

Typical Lake Freighter

ance were his deductions from the accepted canons of mining districts elsewhere that among eastern scientists he was contemptuously spoken of as "the backwoods geologist." Threading forests where the moccasined foot of the Indian had left no track, and the stillness had been unbroken by human voice since the days when Ménard, wandering from the lake-side, had uttered his vain cries for help before laying himself down to die, Doctor Houghton braved the sudden storms, the prowling bears and hungry wolves, and, hardest of all, the pestiferous mosquitoes.

The year 1844 found Doctor Houghton's old friend, Lucius Lyon, Surveyor-general of the United States; and with such influence to help him, Houghton was able to get the contract for a combined geological, mineralogical, topographical and magnetic survey of the 4,000 square miles of Government lands in the Upper Peninsula. Placing a force of surveyors in the field, Doctor Houghton threw himself into the work. Now and then he paused to lecture to the students of Michigan University in the hope of making recruits for his little army of science: but when the presidency of that institution was offered to him, he put it aside, saying that "he could be of more service outside for the present." [2]

On the night of October 13, 1845, Doctor Houghton gave the last instructions to a surveying party that was to remain in the woods during the winter; then with four stalwart oarsmen, he pushed off and headed his open mackinac boat for Eagle River, eight or ten miles away. The night was cold, the wind was rising and at intervals snow scuds filled the air. Yet there was no thought of danger. Houghton was at the helm, with his devoted spaniel lying at his feet. At length, the lights of Eagle River appeared hazy through the driving storm. A call of "Pull away, my boys, we'll soon be there," was scarcely off his lips before a breaker instantly overturned the boat; but the boatmen were soon in again and once more they strove to reach port. Then came a huge roller that lifted the stern high in air and turned the boat completely over. The icy waters closed forever over the brave young explorer and with two of his companions he found a grave in the unknown depths of the treacherously beautiful waters of Lake Superior.

The results of his explorations are summarized in a letter which the young geologist wrote to Hon. Augustus Porter, United States Senator, in December, 1840: "I do not speak of this subject with-

[2] At the semi-centennial celebration of Michigan University, Judge Campbell, speaking of the work of Houghton adverted to him as the man "to whom Michigan owes more than to almost any other man that lived in it."—"Proceedings," p. 222.

out knowledge," says Houghton, "for I have traversed the length of Lake Superior by canoes, oar, and sailboats five times: have ascended frequently, though not always, to the sources of every stream entering the lake from the south side; have crossed from the lake to the Mississippi River by three different lines, and have made many hundred miles of traverses of land where I did not follow the course of the stream." Houghton was confident copper was abundant: but that it was not to be found without labor. The copper district, he thought, resembled that of Cornwall and Devon; but the veins of Keweenaw Point were wider and the mineral area was greater than in Great Britain and at the same time the American ores were much richer. He, himself, had taken out four or five tons of ore.[3]

Houghton's first report as Michigan state geologist was published in 1841, and notwithstanding his conservative estimates and his repeated cautions, the result of the publication was to draw to Lake Superior hundreds of explorers and geologists, not only from this country but from foreign countries as well.

Two years later, Julius Eldred,[4] a Detroit hardware merchant, after long and hard labors, removed the Ontonagon Boulder from its resting place and brought it to Detroit, with the intention of exhibiting it as a natural curiosity. The Government, however, seized the copper rock and it was taken to Washington, where it has found resting place in the National Museum.

Among the adventurous spirits drawn to Keweenaw Point by Houghton's reports was John Hays, a Pittsburg druggist, one-half of whose expenses were paid by his townsman, Dr. C. G. Hussey. For $1,000 Hays purchased from a Bostonian named Raymond a one-sixth interest (subsequently increased to two-thirds) in three leases obtained from General Cunningham, the United States Mineral Agent of Fort Wilkins, Copper Harbor. In the spring of 1844, Hays sank a shaft near Lake Fannie Hoe, and uncovered a vein of black oxide yielding 86 per cent of pure copper, and mined twenty-six tons during the season. Doctor Hussey visited the mine and endeavored to send supplies for the winter, but was unsuccessful; and the miners were supported during the season by Captain Clary, commandant of Fort Wilkins, a stockade built by the United States Government to protect settlers from Indians. The fort's supplies for that winter had been rescued from a

[3] Houghton correspondence in Bradish's memoir.

[4] See Chapter I, *ante*.

wrecked brig, John Jacob Astor, which went ashore at Copper Harbor in September, leaving the Algonquin as the only vessel navigating the upper lake.

On November 18, 1844, at Eagle River, Hays discovered the Cliff Mine, famous for being the first mine to yield pure copper, a discovery at first scouted by the scientific world because the British Museum contained no specimens of metallic copper, and the mineral

Dr. Douglass Houghton

was not then known to exist in its pure state. In order to announce the discovery to his partners and to obtain means for working the mine, Hays was compelled to make an overland trip to Pittsburgh. He borrowed $100 and supplies from Charles Brush, the sutler at Fort Wilkins, and on December 18th set out from L'Anse Bay with two Indians. Ten days brought them to Kitson's, a station of the American Fur Company, on the Menominee River, where he paid each of his Indians $1 per day, and sent them back. By sleigh he

went to the saw mill at the mouth of the Menominee, owned by Doctor Hall, the first mill on the river. The mail-carrier took him to Fox River; thence he secured teams to carry him to Fond du Lac. He walked thence to Milwaukee, where he took one stage to Chicago and another to Marshall, from which town he reached Detroit over the Marshall & Detroit, a strap railroad. At Detroit he showed his specimens to Doctor Houghton, who was much interested in the discoveries. He reached Pittsburgh by way of Cleveland by stage on January 10, 1845. Up to that time the entire venture had cost $1,854. Hays retraced his former route, the Indians met him at Kitson's, and he was in Copper Harbor on March 21st. The black oxide was treated at the Roxbury Chemical Works, Boston.

That summer Hays found near Eagle River a mass of copper weighing 3,100 tons and another, eighty-one tons. Being ill, he turned his work over to his partner, Doctor Pettit, but spent the winter of 1846 and 1847 in the copper country. Then Dr. Edward Jennings, an experienced miner from England, took charge, and Hays went to London to investigate smelting-works, taking with him a mass of copper weighing 3,852 pounds, which was sold to King's College, while smaller specimens went to the British Museum. His visit did much to make known the riches of the copper country, and to enlist capital. In 1848 he built furnaces at Pittsburgh, where the first sheet-copper west of the Alleghanies was rolled from Hays ingots at the Shoenburger mills. The Cliff Mine, from 1846 to 1856, expended $108,000; the receipts were $3,858,000.[5]

During the year 1845, the year after the discovery of the Cliff Mine, Dr. J. L. Whiting, J. Nicholson Elbert, Henry H. Brown, George C. Bates, Chauncey Hurlbut, Samuel Brady, John Hulbert and other Detroit men obtained from the United States Location 98, on which the Minnesota, National and Peninsula mines were opened. John Hulbert was appointed superintendent, and in 1846, the contact-vein known as the Minnesota lode was discovered. Edwin J. Hulbert, who had been educated in Detroit and Ann Arbor, accompanied his father to Lake Superior; and at the age of seventeen began his diversified career.[6]

[5] "The Honorable Peter White," by Ralph D. Williams, Cleveland, 1907, pp. 9-18. Mr. Williams says that Hays was born in Zelienople, Butler County, Pennsylvania, October 9, 1804, and died in Cleveland in April, 1902, at the age of nearly ninety-eight. He never profited financially by his discoveries.

[6] In 1824, John Hulbert started from the Town of Guilford, Connecticut, and on horseback travelled through the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, until he came to Fort Dearborn. Thence he made

In 1853, young Hulbert picked up near the forks of Eagle River a float piece of copper-bearing rock unlike any other with which he was familiar. The rock in question was not strictly a conglomerate. That is to say, it was not composed of rounded, water-worn pebbles, joined by strings of copper. Instead it was breccia, made up of angular fragments of copper joined by a cement of copper. At the time Hulbert was ambitious to become a mining engineer, and already he had worked in mine-profile drawing at the Cliff, the North American and the Copper Falls mines. Elated by his discovery, yet with the caution born of experience among prospectors, Hulbert showed his find to a geologist whom he met. The man of science pronounced the rock a mere accidental occurrence, not unknown in the Ural Mountains and in Cornwall, but never found in paying quantities. To the young man's further inquiry: "If in the Lake Superior country the rocks produce native copper in such large quantities in transverse veins, why may I not hope to find the bed from which this fragment came?" the answer was that such search would be but a waste of time and money. Still undaunted, Hulbert asserted that he would seek the breccia while at other work, with the hope of finding millions of tons in the bed from which nature had dislodged his fragment. Laughing at his youthful zeal, the geologist replied: "Only one thing is certain: that is Death. All of us pursue our way amid uncertainties; therefore, God speed you in your search!"

From the heights of elation, Hulbert plunged into the depths of despair. Work in the mines was slack; he became discouraged and, with John Simpkins of Yarmouth, Massachusetts, returned to Sault Ste. Marie with the intention of becoming a stock-broker in New York City. But the North held him. At the Sault he found employment as a copyist in the Government Land Office. From Lieutenant Booth of the army he purchased a set of incompleted maps of the copper country, and these he finished and published under the title of "Maps of the Mineral District of Lake Superior."

At this time the ship-canal around St. Mary's Falls was nearing completion under the superintendency of Charles M. Harvey, and already the canal company had placed a large "C" on the Govern-

his way along the western shores of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, and thence to Fort Brady, at Sault Ste. Marie. There, on April 30, 1829, his son, Edwin J. Hulbert, was born. Edwin's mother was a sister of Henry R. Schoolcraft, the explorer and ethnologist, who in 1819, had accompanied the Lewis Cass expedition to the sources of the Mississippi River; and of James L. Schoolcraft, sutler to the troops at Fort Brady, who was murdered in July, 1846, by Lieutenant Tilden of the United States Army.

ment lands which were to be the compensation for their work. The knowledge obtained while at work on the maps was not the least valuable part of Mr. Hulbert's training. Having completed his task and with some money saved, he returned to Eagle River. In 1855, we find him engaged in mining work at Black River, west of Ontonagon; and later he found employment as a road-surveyor. In 1858, while running lines through virgin forest in Section 6 of Houghton County, he picked up a float-piece of breccia containing five per cent of copper. After examining it carefully he buried it in the ground, out of sight of his chain and axe men. The next day he came across a second piece of breccia, which also he buried. That night, while his companions were playing cards, he lay before the fire dreaming of the bed from which the two specimens of rich, red colored rock had been torn. Perhaps the glacial tides had borne them from the barren wilds of Labrador, and if so, farewell to any hope of finding their birthplace among the rocks of Lake Superior. He completed the survey of the Dover without finding another fragment.

One day while camping close to the spot where is now Hecla Shaft No. 1, Hulbert discovered an immense block of breccia, covered with moss and lichen. The boulder was flat, about seven feet by nine, and contained from six to eight per cent of copper cement. Its edges were rough and sharp, indicating that it had not been transported by glacial drift nor by ice-flood; but had arisen to the surface by the combined action of frost and sand-falling—in the language of the country, it had "grown" out of the ground. Walking, compass in hand, along the course of the bedded rocks (the trend of which had already been determined instrumentally), he came to an artificial depression, like in form one of the pits of the Ancient Miners, which are not uncommon on Keweenaw Point.[7]

Reasoning naturally that if the Ancient Miners had discovered anything of value there would be other like pits along the line of the formation, he searched both to the northeast and to the southwest, but without finding another opening of any kind. His next thought was, "Why did not the ancient people break up this breccia rock, standing so close to their excavation; and why did they not dig for the copper rocks beneath it?" Evidently they had not disturbed it, for no stone-hammer or other tool was to be found in the neighborhood. Thoroughly puzzled, Hulbert went his way. He finished his survey; the road was completed and was traveled daily by John

[7] See Chapter I, *ante*.

Senter's powder-wagons or the other teams that furnished communication between Portage Lake and Eagle River. But no one was interested to stray aside into the woods which concealed the breccia boulder.

In the seclusion of his own quarters, Hulbert traced out the line of the formation, taking the rock for a meridian. The line

From a miniature painted in Rome, now in possession of Judge Harry Hulbert of Detroit, a nephew

EDWIN J. HULBERT, DISCOVERER OF THE CALUMET AND HECLA COPPER MINE

passed through the ancient pit, through Section 6, whereon stood the "Charley" Mellon half-way house, in whose grounds he had found float-pieces of breccia, and south of the forks of Eagle River, where the first float-piece was found five years before. The lands, as he discovered on consulting his maps, belonged to the St. Mary's Canal Company. "Should he venture all on the intangible hopes aroused by finding a few stray pieces of copper rock, the like of which had never been found in paying quantities?" he asked himself.

The year 1859 found him surveying on the western side of Portage Lake, near Ontonagon. His secret he kept closely locked in his own breast, only venturing this vague prophecy to John Senter, during a winter drive from Portage to Eagle River: "Mr. Senter, some day you will see more copper sent out from this part of the forest than has yet been sent from the entire copper country." [8] In the September of 1859, Hulbert returned alone to the breccia rock, this time taking tent, blanket, compass, food and a steel-legged tripod. Eluding all travelers, he made sure that the smoke of his camp-fire should not betray him to explorers made curious by the loneliness of those dense woods where, as Xenophon has said of other forests, "the very silence was full of noises." At midnight he would awake in a fit of nervousness at the cry of the screech-owl, come to investigate his smouldering fire; and then lie gazing into the blackness of the forest, thinking of his great quest. From an Ojibway chief, he and J. Tallman Whiting had learned to make a blind trail by bending or breaking twigs at distances recognizable but not too distinct; and so he marked the trail to the west line of section 13, north of the present Calumet No. 4 Shaft. He advanced to the breccia boulder, lifted the edges of its carpet of moss "as tenderly as a mother would lift the embroidered blanket of a babe in a crib," carefully examined the edges and surface of the rock and satisfied himself fully that the boulder had been brought to the surface during a long period of time by the action of water making its way down the fissures in the rocks and by the irresistible force of the expansion of ice formed by the winter cold. Then, with the tripod-legs, he began sounding at the edges of the boulder. On the southeastern side only, he touched bottom. Continuing his soundings, he became convinced that the breccia boulder lay directly above the nest from which the elements had lifted it; and that underneath his feet lay the "red breccia" that for six years had filled his thoughts by day and his dreams by night.

Next day he explored the ancient pit, distant from the boulder only a few hundred feet. Over the shallow depression stood a black birch and a hemlock, like Jachin and Boaz, twin sentinels that for at

[8] Mr. Senter, who died in Houghton in 1913 at the age of eighty-three, has told me many tales of the gay, handsome, light-hearted Hulbert, who was the life of every party, and whose frisky fiddle set all feet dancing. Mr. Senter lived not only to see the prophecy come true, but also to profit by it. For a sketch of Mr. Senter's life see Mich. P. & H. Rep. Vol. XXX. This writer repeats the common error in regard to the removal of the Ontonagon Bowlder. See Chapter I, *ante*.

TUG WITH TOW ON THE GREAT LAKES

During the 1860's Freight was Transported by Sailing Vessels Which Were Towed Between Lake Huron and Lake Erie by Powerful Tugs The Champion, Sweepstakes and Satellite Were Names of Well-Known Tugs Capable of Handling Five or Six Barks and Schooners, as Shown in the Cut.

least two centuries had stood guard over the treasure house, but not the smallest fragment of red breccia was to be found. Here, indeed, was a very Sphinx of the Forest. He argued first that had the Ancient Miners opened a profitable exploration pit, they would have made other openings in the neighborhood, as was found not to be the case; second, that they had not sunk the pit deep enough to find copper breccia beneath it; third, that it was in all probability a cache, or temporary storehouse for copper in transit from the place whence it was taken to the lower lakes, an occurrence not infrequent in those regions. This third conclusion was found to be correct. The cache on the hill at Calumet was made evidently by a band of Ancient Miners who derived their product from Isle Royale, near the north shore of Lake Superior, and who conveyed it across the traverse from the great lake to the head of Torch Lake, thus avoiding the dangerous rounding of Keweenaw Point. Afterwards when the pit was opened it was found that a layer of four feet of earth had been deposited by the Ancients to cover the top one of several layers of copper, thus indicating that the product of a number of years had been stored. That the cached copper was not mined on the spot was proved by the fact that no hammers or other mining tools were found within the depression; but on the contrary there were found the remains of birch-bark mattocks, or baskets, together with skeins of narrow flat threads of spruce-root for binding the bark into baskets, and pieces of deer-skin tanned after the Indian fashion and used for moccasins. The copper itself had been turned into a green-carbonate by the action of the elements, and from the pit fifty barrels of this precipitate of copper were taken. Carbonate of copper would have been as useless to the Ancient Miners as the sands of the lake shore. Equally certain was it that they never mined the Calumet breccia, which is unworkable by any implement known to them. Thus was the riddle of the Sphinx ultimately solved.[9]

Neither United States surveyors, nor the Government geologists,

[9] It is necessary to go into detail as to the solution of this mystery; because in after years, various stories as to the discovery of the Calumet and Hecla Mine were based on the deposits found in this pit. These tales were told by the mining captains in order to take from Hulbert the credit of the discovery; because he was at war with the powers in control of the mine. One of these stories, told me at Calumet in 1891 by the captains, was to the effect that Charles Mellon, missing his pigs, found them at the bottom of the pit; and on getting them out accidentally discovered the great copper vein. This story, printed in the Detroit *Tribune*, went all over the country; and the mistake then made led me to collect the facts embodied in these paragraphs, which have been gathered from time to time during the past twenty years.

Houghton, Foster, Jackson and Winchell, ever encountered the copper-bearing breccia. Yet some one had seen that kind of rock; for in a modern pit, not over twenty-five years old, Hulbert found a water-worn boulder of breccia weighing about one ton: but no rock in place was found beneath it. Probably it was one of the pieces found by John R. Grout and C. C. Douglas about 1845, and by them neglected as being only a float-piece and therefore of no consequence.

In February, 1860, Hulbert purchased lands aggregating 2,720 acres, sending his selections to Sault Ste. Marie by the Indian runner Springwalk, who in twelve days accomplished a snow-shoe journey of 260 miles, with two days for rest, an average of twenty-six miles a day. That selection (U. S. Patents 2607 to 2618) comprised the lands on which the first shafts of the Calumet and Hecla were sunk.

In 1861, the Humboldt Mine, of which Mr. Hulbert had charge, failed. There was depression in the copper market; the Cliff Mine shut down completely; war was impending; and, selling his personal belongings, Hulbert came "down below" to take up the life of a soldier. He applied for a commission in the Michigan regiment of engineers, miners and sappers, but failed to receive it.[10]

In the spring of 1862, Hulbert returned to the copper country, and found employment at the Carp Lake Mine in the Porcupine Mountains. He retained his land holdings, but was too poor to add to them and much too poor to develop what he had. By a great fatality, he became superintendent of the Huron Mine, in which he became deeply involved. In 1864, he again visited his precious boulder and found that no man had been near it. Having determined that the time had come to put his theory to the test, he selected a spot in wet lands near the line between Sections 14 and 13, miles away from the Cliff on the northeast and the Albany and Boston on the southwest. Meantime, he with others to whom he had sold three-quarters of his interest had acquired additional land in Section 13;

[10] His three brothers had enlisted in the infantry; but at the instance of Senator Zachariah Chandler, as he alleged, he was refused because of too freely expressed "Copper-head" sentiments. For this action, so galling to his pride, he says he took his revenge when, as a member of the Michigan Legislature in 1874-5 he was one of the little band who defeated Chandler for the Senate, and secured the election of Judge Christiancy. This story is an excellent illustration of the magnifying effects of memory. Hulbert was a Democrat and voted with his party. He could not have done otherwise without sacrificing his political career. As for the commission, the opportunities for a commission were comparatively few, as Michigan had but one regiment of engineers. A monument to this regiment stands in the Capitol grounds at Lansing.

Unloading an Ore Carrier of Eleven Thousand Tons in Three Hours

and had formed the Hulbert Mining Company. On August 15, 1864, he sent his brother John and his confidential man, Capt. Amos Scott, with orders to sink a shaft to bed-rock at the point where now stands Calumet No. 4 shaft. On September 17th, they completed their work sufficiently to disclose the Calumet conglomerate, a lode which has paid more in dividends than any other copper-bearing lode in the world. The discovery was reported next day to his Boston partners, with a request that they organize a new company to be called the Calumet Mining Company of Michigan. This was done. On November 15th, a barrel of conglomerate was shipped to Boston, and the stockholders were asked to form a third company to be called the Hecla. This also was done. On February 15, 1866, the ancient pit was opened and underneath the caches of copper was found the Calumet conglomerate, exceedingly rich. This was on the third location, and is now Calumet Shaft No. 1. Hulbert's allotment of stock was 10,833 shares, which were worth on the day of his death $5,280,000.

After the discovery of the Calumet conglomerate and while the mine was in the early stages of development, Hulbert directed his energies toward other explorations and discoveries. The opening of the Hecla Mine on a continuation of the Calumet lode was a direct outcome of his discovery, and other mines in the vicinity of Calumet followed. At one time, shafts were sunk in the territory now embraced in the Village of Red Jacket, one of which was just north of Pine Street on Fifth and the other at the site of the former Light Guard Armory. The Red Jacket Mine, as these development pits were called, did not prove very successful. Hulbert surveyed the streets of the Village of Red Jacket and made his residence there for a number of years. Although he had ability as a geologist, and overcame many obstacles, he lacked business ability, and in the late '60s lost control of the properties which he discovered.[11] As

[11] Upon his retirement from active work, Mr. Hulbert took up his residence in Rome, and during the later years of his life was an invalid and lived largely in retirement. He never returned to Houghton. He died in Rome, October 20, 1910, at the age of seventy-one. His nephew, Judge Henry J. Hulbert, of Detroit, says that while in Rome, he was retained by Chickering & Company of Boston, manufacturers of pianos, because of his exquisitely accurate and discriminating ear for musical sounds. For several years, he spent his summers on Nantucket Island. The author corresponded with him frequently during the publication of his letters to the *Ontonagon Miner*, beginning March 17, 1873. These letters were collected and published in pamphlet form as "The Calumet Conglomerate."

a result he became embittered against those who succeeded him in control.

The discovery of a copper mine and its development are two distinct things. For the former, imagination, tenacity, experience and judgment—all personal qualities—are required; for the latter, money in large quantities must be forthcoming, and the investors must have confidence in the management. Among the Boston men whom Hulbert interested in his discoveries was Quincy A. Shaw, who was already an owner in Lake Superior copper properties, and who purchased a controlling interest in the Calumet. Later, Hulbert exchanged his holdings for stock in the Huron Mine, in which Mr. Shaw was interested, and which went to pieces, nearly ruining Mr. Shaw, and quite ruining Hulbert. Later, when the Calumet became prosperous, Mr. Shaw made a new settlement with Hulbert, giving him a thousand shares of Calumet, which property was dissipated; and still later Mr. Shaw settled upon the discoverer an annuity. In the summer of 1866 Mr. Shaw's brother-in-law, Alexander Agassiz, then the manager of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University, came to Michigan to see the new mine. Agassiz was then thirty-one years old; his income was insufficient to meet the needs of his family, and he had tried to better his condition by managing from Boston some Pennsylvania coal mines, in addition to his other duties. On arriving at the Calumet Mine, he found a stratum of felsitic-porphyry from twelve to fourteen feet wide, carrying native copper and dipping to the northwest at an angle of about thirty-seven degrees. The formation being quite uniform, Agassiz obtained such an impression of the value of the property that Mr. Shaw and other Bostonians bought the land to the south, on which the pit of the Ancient Miners was situated, and organized the Hecla Mining Company. Borrowing some money, Agassiz went into the venture. On his return to the East, he was made treasurer of both the Calumet and Hecla companies.[12]

At this time Messrs. Shaw and Hulbert were operating the

[12] Alexander Agassiz, a son of the great naturalist, Louis Agassiz, was born in Neuchatel, Switzerland, December 17, 1835, six years after the birth of Hulbert. He came to America in 1849 to join his father, then professor of natural history at Harvard. Alexander graduated at Harvard in 1855, and at the Lawrence Scientific School two years later. He worked on the Coast Survey, and subsequently became connected with the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge. After making the mines successful, he lived in the East, visiting the copper-country twice each year.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL AT SAULT STE. MARIE

Thirteen Vessels in the Poe Lock at Sault Ste. Marie, During the Semi-Centennial Celebration in 1905. On the Left is the Weitzel Lock, Built on the Site of the First State Locks in 1855. On the Right a Third Lock Has Been Constructed. Towards the Top is the International Railway Bridge.

His temper, evidently, was not of the best, and his impatience was such that he became a driver of his men. But he succeeded. Meantime, Mr. Shaw in Boston was compelled to raise the money that was necessary to retrieve blunders and furnish equipment; and his task was only less difficult than that of Agassiz. On December 15, 1869, the Hecla paid its first dividend; and Calumet followed the next August, and thereafter no dividend was passed, nor was any

The First or State Locks at Sault Ste. Marie, 1855

money borrowed, save in 1909, when notes were issued to pay for stock purchased in other companies.[15] In May, 1871, the Hecla, Calumet, Portland and Scott properties were combined, Mr. Shaw becoming president, a position he a few months later resigned to Agassiz, who retained the presidency until his death on March 27, 1910, in mid-ocean. By this time, the mine had assumed vast proportions; its lowest point was 8,000 feet on the lode, the area mined and opened up could be measured by square miles, with 200 miles of passages, from which had been taken about thirty-seven million tons of rock. During the same time, a practically new mine which promises to rival the conglomerate lode had been opened on an underlying amygdaloid lode. The company was employing 5,600

[15] A dividend was passed in 1915, owing to the European war.

men and was taking out 9,300 tons a day, yielding nearly eighty-three million pounds of copper for the year. Up to December 31, 1909, the company had paid to its stockholders $110,550,000 in dividends. Fifty thousand people directly dependent on the mines were well paid and well housed: they have churches, schools, libraries, clubs, bath-houses, and wash-houses. No miners in the world are so well cared for or have such steady work,—a result which has been accomplished largely by the foresight of Alexander Agassiz,

"Judge Steere's Island" in St. Mary's River
Showing the Cut Made for the Vessel Channel.

who was willing to endure the reproach of extravagance in his management in order to provide adequately for the future.

The wealth that Agassiz won from the mines has been spent for the advancement of human knowledge. In the fields of morphology, geology and zoology he became preeminent; and today the vast museum at Cambridge is a memorial to him and to his illustrious father. Of all the money made in the State of Michigan, that made by Agassiz and his associates has benefited most greatly the producers and the world in general. It is given to few men to carry out so completely the plans formed in early life.

Among the Government surveyors at work in the Upper Peninsula in 1844, was William Alvin Burt, a native of Worcester County, Massachusetts, who at the age of fourteen years had mastered sur-

veying and had acquired some knowledge of astronomy. The family emigrated to Erie County, New York, when he was seventeen and he saw service in the War of 1812. In 1822, when he was thirty, he removed to Michigan and built a saw-mill at Auburn, Oakland County. As a member of the Council of Michigan Territory in 1826 and 1827, he labored to advance the project for a canal around St. Mary's Falls; and in 1833 he secured a much coveted appointment as deputy surveyor for the district northwest of Ohio. While at work on the survey of the territory near the foot of Lake Huron, Mr. Burt invented the solar compass, an instrument by means of which variations of a magnetic needle due to local causes could be remedied. For this invention, he had received the medal of the Franklin Institute at Philadelphia in 1835.[16]

On September 19, 1844, a surveying party consisting of Mr. Burt, William Ives, compassmen; Jacob Houghton (a younger brother of Doctor Houghton), barometerman; Henry and R. S. Mellen, James King, and two Indians, were running the east line of township 47 north, range 27 west. While running the line south, as they reached the hills to the south of Teal Lake, Ives began to notice fluctuations in the variation of the magnetic needle. They were using the solar compass, and Mr. Burt, highly elated, exclaimed, "How would they ever survey this country without my compass—it could not be done!" Then the compassman called the party to see "a variation that would beat them all." They looked at the instrument and saw the north end of the instrument traversing a few degrees to the south of west. Thereupon, Mr. Burt called to his men: "Boys, look about and see what you can find." They left the line and, some going to the east and some to the west, all returned with specimens of iron ore, mostly gathered from the outcrop. This was along the first mile from Teal Lake.[17]

Having found iron-ore, the surveyors, as in duty bound, recorded the fact on their maps; but they made no further use of their discovery. A half-breed named Louis Nolan, who lived at Sault Ste.

[16] In 1847, Mr. Burt wrote a manual for the use of the solar compass and in 1851, he received from the Prince Consort Albert a prize medal at the London World's Fair. Later inventions have superseded the use of the solar compass. For a sketch of Mr. Burt, and description of his invention, see "The Honorable Peter White," pp. 19-20. The original compass is in the museum of the Michigan Historical Commission at Lansing. Later inventions have superseded the solar compass, so that no mention of it is to be found in standard dictionaries or encyclopædias.

[17] Diary of Jacob Houghton, quoted in "Memoir of Douglass Houghton," by Alvah Bradish, Detroit, 1889, p. 106.

Marie, and an old Chippewa chief, Madjigigig, located for the time being at the mouth of Carp River, learned of the find from the surveyors, and their imaginations were duly inflamed. Early in 1845 Philo M. Everett, of Jackson, was drawn to the Upper Peninsula by reports of copper and silver to be found there. At Sault Ste. Marie, he met Nolan, who told him of the iron ore discovery of the surveyors and thereupon was employed to guide Everett to the spot. Arrived at Teal Lake, the guide failed to find the iron. Disappointed, Everett started for Copper Harbor, and on his way, encountered the Chief Madjigigig, who piloted him to the two mountains of iron subsequently called Mounts Jackson and Cleve-

The Jackson Iron Mines

land. The actual rediscovery was made by T. S. Carr and E. S. Rockwell, who were in the Everett party. Having in their possession several Government permits to make mining locations, they used one issued in the name of James Ganson to locate the Jackson property. Then they gathered some ore and returned home. The next year a party made up of Mr. Rockwell, F. W. Kirtland, W. H. Munroe, and A. V. Berry returned to the location, built a house upon it, and carried out on their backs 300 pounds of ore. Berry took this ore to Sault Ste. Marie where he encountered Dr. J. Lang Cassels, a mineralogist, who had been sent north by Cleveland men to examine and report upon the mineral resources of that region. Cassels visited the location and covered it with a permit. Then Berry took the ore to Jackson, where two attempts were made

in vain to melt it in a cupola-furnace. Some of the ore was taken to Mr. Olds at Cucush Prairie, who, with the aid of a blacksmith's furnace, made a bar of iron, the first iron made from Lake Superior ore.[18]

In 1847 the Jackson Company built a forge on Carp River, about three miles from the mine, and on February 10, 1848, Ariel N. Barney produced the first iron made in the Lake Superior region.

Package Freighter About 1870

A freshet, having carried away the forge, it was rebuilt by Mr. Everett, who resumed production, the first iron being sold to Eber B. Ward, for use in the walking-beam of his steamer Ocean. Each of the four fires of the forge produced a lump every six hours, and these lumps were hammered into blooms four inches square and two feet long. The daily product of six tons was hauled ten miles to the lake shore. The expenses of carriage were too great for profit, and in time the forge was abandoned.[19]

[18] In "The Honorable Peter White" Mr. Williams has related with accuracy and detail the development of the Michigan iron industry. I have examined many accounts of this development, but find none so trustworthy as that of Mr. Williams.

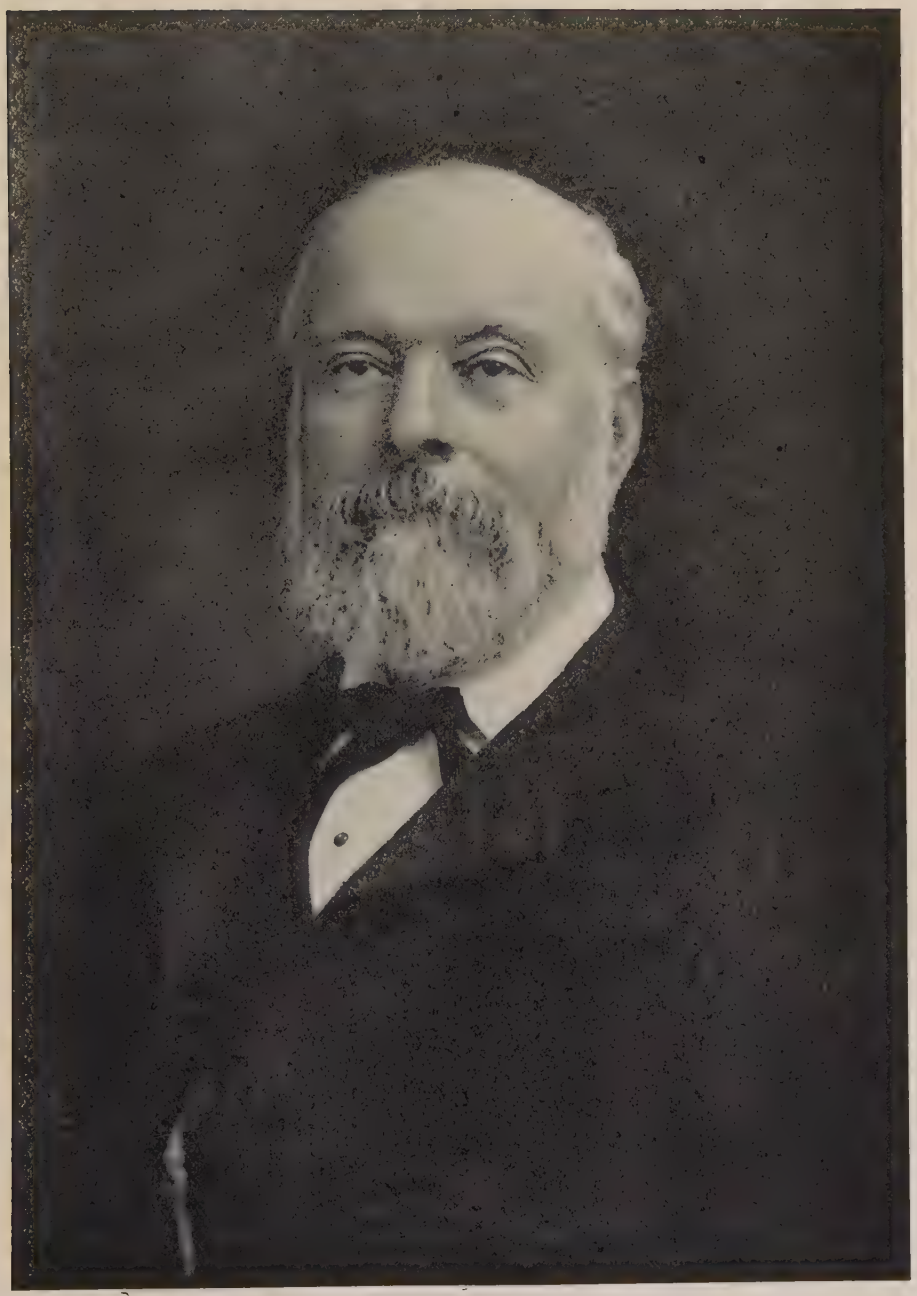
[19] Philo M. Everett was born in Winchester, Conn., October 21, 1807;

In 1848 Robert J. Graveraet met at his home in Mackinaw City, Dr. Edward Clark of Worcester, Massachusetts, sent by Waterman A. Fisher, a cotton manufacturer, to investigate the prospects of copper products. Graveraet induced Clark to go to the iron country, and showed him the Cleveland location which had been preempted by John H. Mann and Samuel Moody, and also the Lake Superior location preempted by Dr. Edmund C. Rogers. Some of the Jackson blooms were taken to Worcester, where they were drawn into excellent wire. Graveraet himself went to Worcester, having walked from the mines to Saginaw on snowshoes; and in 1849, the Marquette Iron Company was organized. The machinery was built in Worcester under the direction of Amos R. Harlow, who joined in the enterprise. Meantime, Graveraet had raised a company of workingmen at Mackinac Island, and in the party he took to Carp River was Peter White, then a youth of eighteen.[20] The forge of the Marquette Company was located on the shores of Marquette Bay, and the settlement was first called Worcester after the Massachusetts town of the owners. The name was soon changed to Marquette. The company operated the Cleveland Mine and also worked in the territory afterwards controlled by the Lake Superior Iron Company.

Neither of the smelting enterprises was successful. Peter White described Marquette in 1851-52 as "a few houses, a stumpy road winding along the lake shore, a forge which burnt up after impoverishing its first owners, a trail westward just passable for wagons, leading to another forge (still more unfortunate in that it did not burn up), and to the undeveloped iron hills beyond; and a few hundred people uncertain of the future." For many years after the discovery of iron ore, the Jackson, Lake Superior and Cleveland were the only mines operated. The first ore shipment was made

he died at Marquette, September 27, 1892. He did not profit from his discoveries. The Jackson Company gave to Madjigigig twelve undivided one-hundredths part of the interest of the company. The chief died in poverty, but his papers were left to his daughter, Charlotte, and son-in-law Charles Bawgam. The original company having failed, the new company refused to carry out the contract, but the Michigan Supreme Court sustained it, and the two were supported for life from the proceeds. Bawgam's sister, Lisette, married John Logan Chipman, an able lawyer and judge of the Superior Court of Detroit, and a representative in Congress.

[20] Peter White was born at Rome, Oneida County, New York, October 31, 1830. He fell on the street in Detroit and died almost instantly on June 6, 1908. His grandfather, Capt. Stephen White, on August 6, 1777, raised the first United States flag over Fort Stanwix.



Peter White, of the Upper Peninsula

on July 7, 1852, by the Marquette Iron Company on the steamer Baltimore. The bill of lading, which is still preserved, was made out by Peter White; the ore was consigned to B. L. Webb of Detroit, secretary of the Jackson Iron Company. In May, 1853, the Marquette Iron Company expired, A. W. Fisher having lost heart when the Cleveland Company made good its title to the property. He was reimbursed for his expenditures.

In 1853 the Cleveland Company shipped ore to the Sharon Iron Company, of Sharon, Pennsylvania, and this was the beginning of the great traffic which resulted from the new plan of sending ore to be treated near the Pennsylvania coal fields. The financial success of these shipments depended on two things: the building of a railroad from Marquette to the mines and the construction of a ship-canal around the St. Mary's Falls.

In 1797 the North-West Company, then a rival of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, but afterwards consolidated with it, built on the present Canadian side of the river, a small lock which may still be seen [21] in restored form, the original having been destroyed by the Americans during the War of 1812. On January 2, 1837, Governor Stevens T. Mason recommended to the Michigan Legislature an appropriation for a ship-canal around the Falls of St. Mary, and that body took favorable action on March 27th, the project being a part of the large scheme of internal improvements then entered upon.[22] Thereupon, John Almy made the necessary surveys and report. The state appropriated $25,000 for preliminary work and a like sum contingent on a grant of land by Congress; and Rix Robinson, as commissioner, contracted with James Smith and Urial Driggs of Buffalo for the construction of the canal. Subsequently, the contractors made over a third interest in the contract to Aaron Weeks of Mount Clemens, the owner of the Aliza Ward, which was to carry the supplies. At the instance of Senator John Norvel, the United States Senate agreed to a resolution inquiring as to the feasibility of such a canal. The state advanced to the contractors $5,000, but when Weeks began to work in May, 1839, he was met by the commandant at Fort Brady, Captain John-

[21] Judge Steere found the remnants of the old lock and Francis J. Clergue restored and maintained it as a curiosity. He also rebuilt for use as a residence the old block house near by, and in it dispensed an elegant hospitality for several years, about 1900.

[22] For a detailed history of the canal see "The Saint Mary's Falls Canal," edited and compiled by Charles Moore, Detroit, 1907. The history was prepared by John H. Goff.

son, with a file of soldiers, who refused to allow any work to be done that would interfere with the mill-race on Government property. So the work was stopped, and there is a question as to the

GEN. ORLANDO M. POE, U. S. A.

good faith of the contractors, who had received an advance, but who probably foresaw that future payments would come slowly if at all. It was not until 1857 that Congress finally made the requisite grant of lands; and meanwhile the long-disputed question of internal improvements had been fought out in Congress.[23]

[23] The bill was introduced by Senator Alpheus Felch and was warmly supported by Senator Cass; in the House, it was backed by Representatives

In 1835 the American Fur Company had built a log warehouse at Sault Ste. Marie, near the head of the rapids, and had launched the John Jacob Astor, a brig of 112 tons, the first American vessel on Lake Superior. Nine years later, she was wrecked at Copper Harbor. The first steamer on the lake was the Independence, which was hauled over the portage in 1845. She was 150 feet long, and she, too, sailed for nine years, when her boiler exploded and she sank near Sault Ste. Marie. In 1846, the Lake Superior fleet included two steamers and nine sailing vessels, the largest being of one hundred and eighty tons. All freight was transported on land around the falls by the Chippewa Portage Company, consisting of Sheldon McKnight, a gray horse and a French cart until 1850, when McKnight and J. T. Whiting built a strap railroad about a mile in length, thereby providing rapid transit.

Congress in its grant gave to the State of Michigan 750,000 acres of land, conditioned on a canal at least one hundred feet wide, with a depth of water of twelve feet; the locks were to be 60 feet wide and 250 feet long. The plans were prepared by Capt. Augustus Canfield of the Topographical Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., assisted by William A. Burt. On April 5, 1853, the state commissioners entered into a contract for the construction of the canal with Joseph P. Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, Vermont; John W. Brooks, of Detroit; Erastus Corning, of Albany; August Belmont, H. Dwight, Jr., and Thomas Dwyer, of New York, as principals; and Franklin Moore, George F. Porter, John Owen, James F. Joy, and Henry P. Baldwin, of Detroit, as sureties. Charles T. Harvey, the superintendent of construction, wheeled the first barrow of earth on June 4, 1853, and on June 18, 1855, the west-bound steamer Illinois was the first boat to be locked through.

In twenty-two months, Mr. Harvey built the canal at a cost of $875,000, being within the estimates both as to time and expense; and the work was done much more substantially than the contract called for. At the time of their completion, the locks were the largest in the world; the canal was built on the outskirts of civilization; the machinery for submarine excavation was invented on the spot, and all adjacent Canada was scoured on snowshoes by men in search of blacksmiths' bellows for use in making the forgings. The blasting powder came from Connecticut and Delaware; the laborers were immigrants sent in gangs from New York City; the

Stuart and James L. Conger. It was signed by President Fillmore, August 26, 1852. The Legislatures of Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania sent favorable memorials to Congress.

nearest telegraph station was at Detroit, 450 miles away, and much of the work was done in winter with the mercury often 35° below zero, and with only eight hours of daylight. When the cold was intense a man was detailed to stand at the head of each of the runways for barrows, and when he saw a face frost-bitten, he would rub it with snow until circulation was restored, so that the barrowman need not leave his work. Several enormous fortunes were made from the sale of the canal lands, and there is a case on record where an Englishman invested $100,000 in the company's stock, and in twenty years received $500,000 as a part of his reward.[24]

On the 2d and 3d days of August, 1905, the national, state and municipal governments, together with the mining and vessel interests of the Great Lakes, combined to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the St. Mary's Falls Canal. The leading figure was Peter White, who had secured at Washington and Lansing and from his mining friends the necessary funds for the celebration. All of the development of the Upper Peninsula he had seen, and in it all he had some part. The United States Navy was represented by the one war vessel permitted on the upper lakes by the Agreement of 1817 with Great Britain, the Wolverine, formerly the Michigan, whose obsolete appearance served to emphasize the triumph of peace on the greatest of inland waters during nearly a century. In the Poe lock, thirteen vessels, most of them larger than any on the Great Lakes fifty years before, were raised at one time from the level of Lake Huron to that of Lake Superior. Then, crossing to the Canadian side, all of these vessels made the descent in the Dominion lock. Vice President Fairbanks, on the deck of the revenue cutter Tuscarora, the representatives of Canada on the Philadelphia, Governor Fred M. Warner and members of the Michigan Legislature on the cutter Morrill took part in the procession of ships which circled about the white falls under the bluest of skies in an atmosphere so clear and exhilarating as to make it seem that Nature herself rejoiced to have part in the mighty pageant. The land procession, which included a detachment from the First United States Infantry stationed at Fort Brady, the Third Regiment of the Michigan National Guard and the sailors and marines from the

[24] The canal remained under state control until 1881, when it was transferred to the Federal Government, and in September of that year, the Weitzel lock, constructed by the United States at a cost of $2,180,000, was opened. The State lock continued to be operated until 1886, when it fell into disuse and the Government then replaced it with the Poe lock, with a length of 800 feet, a width of 100 feet, and a depth of twenty-one feet.

A Lake Freighter of 1905 in the Poe Lock

naval reserve steamer Yantic, was led by Charles T. Harvey, who fifty years before had seen his labors crowned by the opening to traffic of the two state locks, and who now shared with Peter White the honors of the occasion. On the old site of Fort Brady was an encampment of Indians, whose wigwams recalled a long past, during which only habitations such as theirs greeted the voyager in his passage from lake to lake. At night the sky was ablaze with fireworks, the Canadians fairly outdoing the Americans in this expression of joy.

The changes which had taken place in the past half century were strikingly set forth by Theodore E. Burton, then chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the United States House of Representatives. Here, he said, was a canal the idea of which Henry Clay had scoffed at because the location was beyond the utmost boundaries of commerce—if not in the moon. Now its tonnage was twice that of the Suez Canal, and its cargoes were three times as great, every pound of which passes through American or Canadian locks without payment of tolls. The tonnage passing through the canal equals one-seventh of that carried by all the railroads of the country at a cost of one-tenth of the railway charges. "Those who have studied the development of American commerce," said Mr. Burton, "will always give full credit to the State of Michigan for having invited this great enterprise in the face of opposition and even ridicule." William Livingston, president of the Lake Carriers' Association, called attention to the fact that during the half century the commerce of the St. Mary's Canal had increased from 15,000 tons to more than thirty-six million tons; that instead of vessels carrying less than a thousand tons, the lakes then had steamers handling 11,000 tons; that half of the wheat crops of the United States during the great year of 1901 was carried by lake transportation; and that whereas in 1855 nearly three weeks were required to unload 300 tons of iron ore, now 10,000 tons are unloaded in four hours.[25]

[25] The number of vessel passages through the canal for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, was 23,795; net tonnage, 58,000,000; freight tons, 79,700,000; value $866,000,000.

The memory of the celebration is perpetuated in an obelisk of red granite forty-six feet in height, bearing inscriptions reciting the history of Sault Ste. Marie under French, British and American rule and commemorating those men who in their public capacity carried on the work of construction and management. The monument was designed by McKim, Mead, and White, architects, of New York; and the work was executed at a cost of $20,000.00 by Norcross Brothers, of Worcester, Mass.

A Break in the Locks—Fleet of Vessels Awaiting Repairs

While the St. Mary's Falls Canal is historically the most important public improvement in Michigan, it now forms but one link in the long chain of improvements conducted by the National Government in order to make the navigation of the Great Lakes safe and expeditious. A waterway from Keweenaw Bay to Lake Superior, constructed by a private corporation with the aid of a land grant by the Federal Government, was taken over by the United States on August 3, 1891, and is now used by all shipping navigating Lake Superior.[26] On account of the rapids and shoals that impeded navigation in St. Mary's River, the Government in 1882 began to construct ten miles of artificial channel through islands and shoals, and by its use eleven miles of navigation is saved. In 1892 Congress provided for the general project of a ship channel having a navigable depth of twenty feet in the shallows of the connecting waters of the Great Lakes between Chicago, Duluth and Buffalo, at an estimated cost of about three and a half million dollars. Prior to the dredging at the South Pass of the St. Clair Flats from 1852 to 1858, there was but six feet of water over the bar; now a double channel allows the uninterrupted passage of the largest vessels. From 1874 to 1879 the Government constructed a channel known as the Lime Kiln Crossing in foreign waters between Bois Blanc Island and the Canadian shore at a cost of $1,000,000; and in 1913, the Livingston Channel, constructed at a cost of about six million dollars, was opened to navigation, thus furnishing a separate passage for down-bound traffic, and leaving the Lime Kiln Crossing for the up-bound vessels.

The year 1905 may be taken as a measure of lake commerce. When ore shipments began not even a wagon-road existed in the iron region, the ore being hauled on sledges in winter from the mines to the shores of the lake; by wheelbarrows it was loaded on schooners and taken to Sault Ste. Marie, where it was unloaded, portaged around the falls, reloaded on the decks of vessels and taken to Ohio ports. When cargoes were large enough to be carried in the hold, the work of unloading by shovels was long and tedious, three handlings being required to place the ore on the dock. Then came the horse with block-and-tackle, followed by the deck engine which was used from 1867 to 1880, when self-filling buckets

[26] For a full history of this work and its purchase, see "Report of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.," 1902, Appendix 111. The Portage Lake Ship Canals are twenty-five miles in length: 5.5 miles of Portage River, seventeen miles of Portage Lake and 2.5 miles of canal between that lake and Lake Superior.

taking from five to ten tons were placed in operation. Now loading docks, vessels and unloading machinery, all are parts of one mechanism, so that vessels carrying from ten to fourteen thousand tons can be loaded in thirty minutes, make the voyage to Ohio ports, unload in four hours, load with coal and be back for another cargo in ten days' time. Besides the ore traffic in 1905, the lake vessels carried 900,000,000 feet of lumber, about sixteen million tons of coal, and over two hundred million bushels of grain; thirty-three steamers of the highest type were launched and forty others were contracted for.

This enormous commerce was not conducted without paying toll to Father Neptune. The storms of 1905 were the most disastrous ever known; December, October and November each was marked by gales that tossed about the big steamers like cockle-shells. Their engines were powerless to keep them from going astern; twenty steel vessels were driven ashore and the vessel losses amounted to about four million dollars.[27]

Michigan holds her waterways in trust for the nation. The ships which carry the copper and iron from her mines and the diminishing supplies of lumber sawed from her few remaining forests are but a portion of the mighty fleet which handles the enormous freights of ore from Minnesota and Wisconsin mines, and the grain from the fertile fields of the Northwest. Westward the star of commercial empire has taken its way. This state once stood first among the producers of copper, iron ore and lumber. The day of such supremacy has passed; but Michigan copper still is essential for electrical purposes and commands the highest prices in the market; while the ore fields of the state appear to be inexhaustible.

The St. Mary's Canal indeed opened for more than half the year a commercial highway to the Upper Peninsula; but during the remaining four or five months, when ice locked the Straits of Mackinac, the only way of reaching the towns of the Lake Superior region was through Chicago and Milwaukee, a recourse neither convenient in itself nor yet consoling to state pride. Indeed, the lucrative Lake Superior trade had been taken from the merchants of Detroit by their Chicago rivals; and the upper country had begun to agitate the question of political independence. Urged both by commercial

[27] Ralph D. Williams' article on "Commerce of the Great Lakes in 1905" in "The Saint Mary's Falls Canal." This publication contains a complete account of the conditions prevailing on the Great Lakes in 1905; lists of vessels, owners, captains and engineers, etc.

MACHINERY THAT UNLOADS THE LARGEST VESSELS IN LESS THAN THREE HOURS

and patriotic considerations, from 1880 to 1887, a number of Detroit capitalists, headed by James McMillan (on whom the burden of the undertaking afterwards devolved), formed a syndicate to build a line of railroad to connect Duluth and Sault Ste. Marie, and Houghton and St. Ignace. The work involved a costly bridge across the St. Mary's River to give the road a connection with Montreal by the old route of Indian missionary and explorer; but especially it called for some means of forcing a winter passage across the Straits of Mackinac, a distance of nine miles. This was finally accomplished by means of a powerful steam ferry, with a small wheel under the bow to draw the water from beneath the ice while the big wheel at the stern forces the heavy vessel upon the broken ice cakes, a device copied by Russia along the Siberian railway. As the agricultural lands of the Upper Peninsula come into use, and the country becomes more settled, this means of winter communication becomes more and more important; and since the connection was made the bands of steel have been typical of the closer political relations between the two sections. About the same time Minneapolis and St. Paul manufacturers secured eastern capital to build a second line across the Upper Peninsula, using the southern route and thus avoiding the "snow-belt" near Grand Marais and Munising. Both railroads ultimately passed under the control of the Canadian Pacific and became a part of its system.

CROSSING THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC IN WINTER

CHAPTER XXIV

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The University of Michigan has been one of the dominating forces in the history of the state. Not only has it sent into every portion of the commonwealth graduates from the literary, the law, the medical and the engineering departments who have been powers for good in their several communities; not alone has it inculcated in these men a common interest in and duty to the state, but also the public has found among its faculty trained men who could be called upon from time to time to serve the state in highly technical matters where character has been no less valuable than expert ability. Nor has this service always been bounded by state lines. Not infrequently the nation has called upon one or another of these men to aid in the solution of its problems. In such instances the state has willingly surrendered for the general good the time and ability of those selected for such duties, feeling it a just tribute to the institution not less than to the individual that they were so called. Thus the prestige of the University has been increased by the reputations of many of its professors, and standards of public service have been established to the great benefit of the community.

In June, 1887, the University of Michigan celebrated its semicentennial, although, as President Angell said at the time, the institution in a very just sense might have celebrated that year the centennial of the life of the University. For the germ of that life and of the life of all state universities in the West is found in that great document, the Ordinance of 1787. On Sunday, the 26th of June, the graduating classes of the six departments, over four hundred in number, listened to an address by Prof. Henry S. Frieze; the two succeeding days were given over to class-day exercises; on Thursday the alumni gathered from all portions of the country for their reunions, and for a series of historical addresses by Prof. John M. B. Sill, principal of the State Normal School, ex-Governor Austin Blair, Mr. Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court, Charles W. Noble, president of the Alumni Asso-

Birdseye View, University of Michigan.

ciation, and United States Senator Thomas W. Palmer, of the class of 1849; and on Thursday President Angell delivered the commemorative oration, delegates from other institutions offered felicitations, and at the dinner reminiscences were the order.[1]

Doctor Angell traced the growth of the university from its slender beginnings, paying just tributes to the efforts of Rev. John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary, who laid the deep and broad foundations on which the institution has been built. He adverted to the grave mistakes made in disposing of the lands granted by the Government at a low price, so that instead of a fund of $921,000 the endowment was $547,897.51, with but 125 acres unsold. A portion of the lands are now covered by the City of Toledo.

In September, 1841, when the doors of the University were opened to students, Professor Whiting and Doctor Williams welcomed one sophomore and five freshmen, all but one of whom were living at the time of the celebration. In 1845 the first class of eleven members was graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts; but for five years the policy of distributing professorships among the various religious denominations and the lack of a president limited the number of students to about fifty. In 1850, with the aid of Dr. Zina Pitcher, the medical department was organized with a class outnumbering the students in the literary department, and with Doctors Palmer, Ford, Gunn, Douglas and Allen for instructors.

The constitution adopted by the state in 1851 provided for the election of regents by popular vote and the new board at once set about finding a president. Dr. Henry Phillips Tappan was their choice. He was a man of commanding presence, strong intellectually, with a reputation as an author; he was familiar with the history of education, and had ripe experience as a college teacher. He was in hearty accord with Crary and Pierce in admiring the Prussian system of education, and he was attracted to Michigan by the broad views they had embodied in the plan of state education.

Doctor Tappan was born at Rhinebeck, on the Hudson, New York, April 18, 1805. On his father's side he was descended from the Huguenot family of Tappan, of Lorraine, who emigrated to Holland, and thence to America; and through his mother from the

[1] The report of the exercises is to be found in a volume of over three hundred pages published by the University in 1888, a book of such rare beauty of typography that one reads it with ease and pleasure. Prof. I. N. Demmon, Raymond C. Davis, A. B. Prescott, W. W. Beman, Victor C. Vaughan and W. H. Pettee were responsible for it.

DeWitts of Holland. His father, Maj. Peter Tappan, took part in the siege of Yorktown. He acquired a good property, but through unfortunate indorsements he lost his savings and his youngest son, Henry, at the age of fourteen was cast entirely on his own resources.[2] He graduated with honors at Union College in 1825, and studied theology at Auburn Theological Seminary. April 7, 1828, he married Julia, eldest daughter of Col. John W. Livingston, and soon after marriage they settled at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Here he labored for three years as minister of the Congregational Church, when an affection of the throat compelled him to resign his charge and go to the West Indies. At the age of twenty-seven he was called to the chair of moral and intellectual philosophy in New York University, where he remained until 1838, when he, with the great body of the professors, left in consequence of troubles in the university. In 1839 he published his first work, a "Review of Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will." Then "The Doctrine of the Will Determined by an Appeal to Consciousness" followed in 1840, and was succeeded by "The Doctrine of the Will Applied to Moral Agency and Responsibility." "Edwards and the Necessitarian School," published in Glasgow in 1857, attracted attention among the scholars of Europe, and gave Doctor Tappan rank as a scholar, an original thinker, and a philosopher. In 1841 he published "Elements of Logic," much used as a text-book in colleges. In 1856 he was made a corresponding member of the Institute of France, in the department of philosophy. The *North American Review* said of him: "The name of Henry P. Tappan is one well known in the world of letters, and its owner, whether viewed as a polished gentleman, a profound scholar, or a Christian philosopher, stands among the first men of his age."

He also published "A Treatise on University Education" (1851), "A Step from the New World to the Old and Back Again, with thoughts on the good and evil in both" (1852), together with a number of orations, addresses, tracts, etc.; and contributed an introduction to "Illustrious Personages of the Nineteenth Century" (1853), and articles to the *Biblical Repository,* and *Methodist Quarterly Review.*

His work on The Will and his Review of Edwards were written at a time when one who exercised freedom of thought was in danger of being stigmatized as being in advance of his age. But the spirit of the DeWitts stirred in him, and his free utterances on

[2] Address by Henry M. Utley, Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. V, p. 27.

philosophical topics, which he continued all his life, ultimately led to his undoing.

About 1849 he spent two years in European study and travel; then he was recalled to his former chair in the University of New York. After his return from Europe he was appointed president of the University of Michigan. The board of regents consisted of Michael Patterson, Edward Moore, William Upjohn, James Kingsley, Elisha Ely, Charles H. Palmer, Andrew Parsons and Elon Farnsworth. They had previously invited George Bancroft, the historian, to the presidency of the University; but he declined the appointment and suggested Doctor Tappan.

In September, 1852, Doctor Tappan accepted the appointment, and in his inaugural address, delivered December 21, he took his stand in favor of higher education by the state. He said: "Institutions of learning have been founded both by individuals and the state. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the University of Paris were the work of individual munificence and enterprise. So, also, most of the colleges of our country have been created by individuals. Prussia and Michigan are examples of states creating educational systems. The institutions of Prussia, like ancient learning and art, stand before us as models which we are constrained to admire, to approve, and to copy. The institutions of Michigan are yet in their infancy, but we think there is the promise of a bright career, of a full and ripe development, which cannot well disappoint us." He contrasted the prevailing methods of education with the Prussian system which took the child into the primary school, passed him thence to the gymnasium, where he remained until he had completed his eighteenth year, when he could pass into the university, provided he was prepared to undergo the examination. In the university were courses in theology, law, medicine, philosophy, or general science and literature. Most of the colleges in this country were modeled upon the English plan. The educational system of Michigan closely resembles that of Prussia, with the primary school, the high school (which fills the place of the gymnasium of Prussia), and the university. Doctor Tappan continues: "I have not therefore been traveling out of the record in giving an exposition of the Prussian system as a just and adequate exemplification of what is meant by a system of public instruction. I have indeed taken high ground as to education, but I have done no violence to public sentiment. I have only been reiterating and expounding the thoughts and words of the men who laid the foundations of the educational system of Michigan, of the men who have been and are now its acknowledged supporters."

He found a university organization with a faculty giving instruction in the gymnastic or collegiate course. He proposed an immediate advance. There was a department of medicine; there should be one of law. There should be schools of science, of civil engineering, of mining, of agriculture, of mechanics. There should be a library, a laboratory, an observatory, a museum, a gallery of the fine arts. Post-graduate courses should be established for those who wished to remain at the university and continue their studies after completing the course laid down for a degree.

There was at this time in operation the literary department, which embraced the usual undergraduate classical course, and which was attended by about fifty students; and the medical department, which had an attendance of about one hundred and thirty students. The students of the literary department were lodged in dormitories in the university buildings. Doctor Tappan believed that the true policy was to expend money for libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories, rather than to provide dormitories for students. He said: "Why not let young men provide their own board and lodging? Our colleges are not located in the wilderness, but in pleasant towns where accommodations are abundant." So the dormitory system was abandoned and the students found homes among the people of Ann Arbor. Those who objected to this innovation were told that the students were residents, if not citizens, of Michigan and Ann Arbor; and as such were amenable to all laws and social usages. Furthermore, it was one of the fundamental principles of his discipline to put every student upon his manliness, rather than to treat him as a schoolboy, who must be watched in anticipation of truancy. The interiors of the buildings were remodeled into classrooms, lecture rooms, and rooms for the literary societies. In one building was a chapel for morning devotions and Sunday afternoon religious lectures. The upper floors of this building were given up wholly to a library, museum, and art gallery.

The university had a library of about forty-five hundred volumes stored in a small and inconvenient room. Four thousand volumes had been purchased in Europe in 1844 by Prof. Asa Gray.[3] Some member of the faculty held the nominal office of librarian.

[3] Asa Gray was born in Paris, Oneida County, N. Y., November 18, 1810. He was the son of a farmer and received no formal education. He received the degree of M. D. from the Fairfield (N. Y.) Medical College; and from 1835 he made constant contributions to the science of botany until his death at Cambridge, Mass., January 30, 1888. He was called from Michigan University to Harvard in 1842.

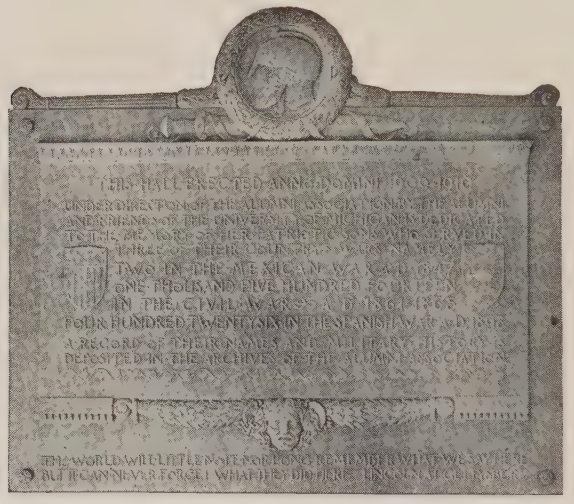
while a student gave out books once or twice a week. The library consisted mostly of miscellaneous English books; and was especially deficient in classical and scientific works, in American literature, and in works of reference. Doctor Tappan appealed to the citizens of Ann Arbor, who responded with a subscription of $1,500. After this the regents made an annual appropriation for the purchase of books and periodicals. A room was fitted up and the books were arranged by John L. Tappan, a son of the president, who had been appointed librarian, an office which he is said to have filled with ability.

Through the personal influence of Doctor Tappan citizens of Detroit subscribed $15,000 for an observatory, of which sum Henry N. Walker gave $4,000 for the purchase of the transit instrument and the meridian circle. The remainder of the cost, amounting to some $6,000, was paid by the regents. The observatory was one of the best equipped at that time. Under advice of the regents the president first offered the position of director to Prof. W. A. Norton, of Yale College, and afterward to Dr. B. A. Gould, of Boston. Subsequently the position was accepted by Doctor Brunnow, a pupil and then assistant of the celebrated Encke, of Berlin. This offer was made with the advice and warm commendations of Gould and Agassiz, and Doctor Brunnow was urged by the great Humbolt to accept it. After coming to Ann Arbor he married the only daughter of Doctor Tappan. The laboratory for analytical chemistry was established through the instrumentality of Doctor Tappan, seconded by Dr. Silas H. Douglas, who continued for many years in charge of it.

Doctor Tappan set about providing a museum of zoology, mineralogy, geology and botany. Contributions had been made by Houghton, Sager and others, but they were stored away in a garret. Galleries were provided above the library and the specimens were classified, arranged, labeled and made available. An agricultural department was established and placed in charge of a lecturer and instructor. It was Doctor Tappan's theory that all sciences should be taught in the university, and that they could be pursued by students to the greatest advantage in an institution which gave instruction, not specially in one branch, but in all; which was equipped with laboratories, museums, libraries, and apparatus, and which called together a great and learned body of professors and instructors. To this end he labored to induce the state to turn over to the university the appropriation made by the general government for an agricultural college, and thus make that college a de-

partment of the University. But this proposition met with determined hostility on the part of representatives of the farmers, and in 1855 the Agricultural College was established as a separate institution at Lansing.

At the beginning the University was not popular with the people. The requirements of the ancient languages for admission to the academical department were objected to and Doctor Tappan suggested the plan, afterwards adopted by the regents, of three courses—the classical, the scientific, and the optional. In the scientific course the Military Academy at West Point was followed as



MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY TABLET IN ALUMNI HALL, TO THE MEMORY OF THE STUDENTS WHO SERVED IN THE MEXICAN, CIVIL AND SPANISH WARS.

a model, and two professors educated there were secured to conduct it. The optional course was intended to meet the want of those who aimed at special acquirements. The plan proved a success; prejudices against classical studies died away when these studies appeared no longer to monopolize the University. The number of students rapidly increased, attracted from almost every state in the Union.

Before Doctor Tappan came to the University the faculty of its academic department consisted of P. Williams, professor of natural philosophy and mathematics; D. D. Whedon, professor of logic and history; J. H. Agnes, professor of Greek and Latin; S. H.

Douglas, professor of chemistry, mineralogy and geology; and Louis Fasquelle, professor of modern languages. Of this number only Professors Williams, Douglas and Fasquelle were in actual service when Doctor Tappan began his labors. He at once set about strengthening this faculty in numbers, as the scheme of studies was enlarged and new courses opened. E. O. Haven was called first to the chair of Latin, and subsequently transferred to that of history and English literature. When he vacated the latter chair to engage in editorial work in Boston, Andrew D. White filled the position for several years. Henry S. Frieze was called to the chair of Latin; James R. Boise became professor of Greek language and literature, and Alexander Winchell, professor of geology, zoology and botany. Francis Brunnow became professor of astronomy, a position which he held with great distinction for nine years, and when he retired he was succeeded by his pupil, James C. Watson. G. Peck was made professor of physics and mining engineering, and P. Trowbridge was made professor of mathematics, both graduates of West Point. Charles Fox became professor of theoretical and applied agriculture, but had only fairly entered upon the work when he died, and owing to the action of the Legislature in establishing the Agricultural College, the chair was never again filled. Devolson Wood succeeded Professor Peck in the chair of physics and civil engineering, and Edward P. Evans became professor of modern languages upon the death of Professor Fasquelle. Thomas M. Cooley became lecturer upon constitutional law.

In the medical department, Dr. A. B. Palmer was called to the chair of materia medica and practice of medicine; Doctor Ford, to that of anatomy; Dr. Edmund Andrews, to that of comparative anatomy; Dr. S. G. Armour, to that of institutes of medicine. A school for the fine arts was included on the same plane with schools of science, engineering, law, medicine, agriculture, and the mechanical and industrial arts, as necessary to make up the University, and galleries of the fine arts were advocated. The idea was cordially seconded by Frieze and White; the former purchased during a visit in Europe casts of the Apollo and other works in Rome, together with a large collection of engravings and photographs. To these was subsequently added a collection of medallions, in plaster, the gift of Professor White, and named in honor of his father. Mrs. Tappan added a set of engravings of the cartoons of Raphael, and Doctor Tappan gave a copy of Raphael's Madonna and a valuable collection of engravings and lithographs of works in the Munich and Dresden galleries. One of the graduating classes presented a

full-size copy of the Laocoon; a citizen of Dresden presented an engraving of Holbein's Madonna; the people of Ann Arbor procured copies in marble of the statues of Nydia and Ruth by the Michigan sculptor, Randolph Rogers. The department so auspiciously started was allowed to languish, but it has been revived and is slowly making its way, thanks to several gifts of collections of various kinds and degrees of merit. There is now a professor of art, a professor of architecture and another of landscape architecture; but the work done is as yet more or less tentative.

The fact that the University is a state institution has tended to discourage gifts; but as needs develop which are beyond the province of the state to supply, private benefactors are constructing gymnasiums, halls and dormitories for women, while the alumni are awakening to a decided interest in providing for special needs. As men realize that the poorest place to build one's monument is a cemetery, the University is reaping the benefit of the change in opinion.

The University was in the high tide of prosperity when the War of Secession broke out in 1861. All the students whose homes were in the Southern states of course disappeared. The Sunday following the attack upon Fort Sumter, the excitement was intense. On that spring afternoon hundreds were assembled under the trees in front of the courthouse; Doctor Tappan was called upon to speak. He did so; and earnest, impressive, and thrilling as he usually was upon the platform, he was infinitely more so upon this occasion. "His patriotism," says Henry M. Utley in describing the scene, "was as lofty and unquenchable as that of any hero of song or story. He spoke at some length. He reviewed the course of events which led up to the overt act of war; he expressed the belief that the conflict would be long and deadly; that many must fall, and that many others must press forward to fill up their places. But his heart did not quail, nor his step falter at the prospect. He declared there was nothing to do but to go forward to the maintenance of the integrity of the country, with a firm faith in God and in the righteousness of the cause of the Union. His address aroused to even greater ardor the patriotism of the young men. But this was not a sudden and temporary ebullition of patriotism on the part of Doctor Tappan. The sentiment was a profound and earnest one. Many of the students of suitable age and circumstances were disposed to enlist, and he encouraged the disposition. Not only then but throughout the whole subsequent events of the war he was a radical sympathizer with President Lincoln and the Government.

He declared his sympathy upon every suitable occasion, public and private. He was also active on behalf of the Union cause in contributing to the work of the Sanitary and Relief Commissions, and in doing what lay in his power to mitigate the suffering and sorrow which invariably follow in the footsteps of war."

Doctor Tappan's connection with the University closed in the summer of 1863, when he was summarily dismissed by the board of regents upon the eve of its dissolution to be succeeded by a new board. The dismissal was the result of intrigue on the part of persons in and out of the board of regents who regarded Doctor Tappan as a heretic and who professed to fear the results of his teachings in philosophy on the youth of the state. It in no way reflected upon Doctor Tappan as a man, or in any of his relations to the University. He and his friends were deeply grieved over it, and felt that a great personal wrong had been done him. This feeling found expression several years later in the action of a subsequent board of regents in rescinding the offensive resolutions of its predecessor and unanimously inviting Doctor Tappan to return to the University as its guest, and to receive at the hands of its corporation and of its professors, students, and alumni a reception which should be, as far as possible, a reparation for the injury done him. But Doctor Tappan's advanced age and the great distance to be traveled to reach Ann Arbor prevented his acceptance of the invitation. The wound to his feelings had been deep and sore; the more so, from the very wantonness of its infliction.

The dismissal of Doctor Tappan created so much of a commotion at the time, and the allusions to the action are so frequent even now, that calm discussion of the subject by Professor Hinsdale is pertinent.[4] He says: "Whether a man of Dr. Tappan's type in such an office as the one he held gets on pleasantly with his board of regents or not, depends almost wholly upon who those regents are. He was a constitutional officer, placed at the centre of the University work; he had the courage of his convictions, and he proceeded upon the theory that while it was the board's business to legislate, it was his business to administer, which was indeed the language of the Constitution. His relations with the first board were as pleasant as possible, no root of bitterness ever springing up between them. But, unfortunately, the state Constitution provided that the regents should all be elected at one time, thus breaking the

[4] "History of The University of Michigan," by B. A. Hinsdale; edited by Isaac N. Demmon; 1906.

continuity of the board every six years. Unfortunately, too, the leading spirits of the new board that came into office in 1858, had ideas, temper and character which incapacitated them for working harmoniously with the President, and it soon became manifest that there was friction between them. Only two of the board, even after some changes had taken place, had enjoyed a college education, and none of the others had any special familiarity with educational matters. The board, as Dr. Tappan thought, invaded his province, and he repelled with dignity their invasion. The particular points of conflict need not be recounted; it was not at bottom a question of ideas or of policy, but of personal antipathies and antagonisms. One or two members were positively insulting in their intercourse with the President. The University Senate made an effort to compose the difficulty, but with little success; on the other hand, the tension became more and more taut.

"The state of affairs was intensified by some hostility to the President within the faculty of arts, and by an external opposition that had grown out of one root and another. For one thing the President, conformably to the custom of the society in which he had lived, kept wine in his cellar, and sometimes put it on his dinner table; which scandalized the radical temperance people of the state. So at the June meeting of the Board in 1863, the regents adopted a resolution declaring that the interests of the University demanded certain changes in the officers and corps of instructors, and that Dr. Henry P. Tappan be removed form the office and duties of President of the University of Michigan and Professor of Philosophy.

"This action was a clap of thunder out of a clear sky. Nobody, or at least few, had anticipated it. The action of the regents was the more inexcusable because their successors had already been elected and would take their seats at the beginning of the new year. The students, the alumni, and the citizens of Ann Arbor and of many other towns and cities were deeply stirred. Indignation meetings were held, resolutions adopted, speeches made, and articles written all aglow with indignation. The students and alumni regarded the President with the greatest respect and affection; they looked upon him with both pride and love, and they could not reconcile themselves to the thought of his removal, much less such a removal. A committee of the alumni appointed at a special meeting held in Ann Arbor issued a strong 'address to the people of the State of Michigan,' reviewing the whole ground, in which they denounced the removal of Dr. Tappan and demanded his recall.

Dr. Henry Barnard, the veteran editor of *The American Journal of Education,* voiced the larger thought of the country when he said he could bear personal testimony to the magnitude of the work that Dr. Tappan had done in ten years—work 'without a precedent in the educational history of the country,' and pronounced his removal, under the circumstances, an 'act of savage, unmitigated barbarism.' President Tappan retired from the office that he had not only honored but in effect created, followed by the devotion of the students and alumni of the University, a majority of the professors and many others; while his successor was left to confront the dangerous situation that the Regents had created.

"In taking leave of the board pending the passage of the resolution of removal Dr. Tappan said: 'This matter belongs to history; the pen of history is held by Almighty Justice, and I fear not the record it will make of my conduct, whether public or private, in relation to the affairs of the University.' Within a few years the regents virtually expressed regret at the action of their predecessors in removing him. In June, 1875, they passed resolutions recognizing the distinguished ability and the valuable services which he had rendered to the interests of the University in its early history, and to the cause of education in the state, and expressing regret that any such action should ever have been taken as would indicate a want of gratitude for his eminent services. The verdict of Time has vindicated him and condemned his accusers. At this day his general policy and specific views are often invoked by professors in the discussion of University questions. The story of his removal teaches two lessons: the unwisdom of any arrangement which breaks the continuity of college and university boards at frequent intervals, or, indeed, at any interval, save for grave reasons; and the unwisdom of a college or university board's acting in serious matters with unnecessary unbecoming haste." [5]

In 1863 he took up his residence in Berlin. Here he devoted his time to the study of philosophy. Scientists, metaphysicians, litterateurs welcomed him to their gatherings. Dove said to a citizen

[5] The names of the regents who served from 1858 to 1863 were: Benjamin L. Baxter, J. Eastman Johnson, Levi Bishop, Donald McIntyre, Ebenezer L. Brown, Henry Whiting, Luke H. Parsons, Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr., William M. Ferry, and George Bradley. On the 25th of June the Board of Regents adopted the following: "Resolved, that Dr. Henry P. Tappan be and is hereby removed from the offices and duties of the President of the University and Professor of Philosophy therein." Five voted in the affirmative, two were absent and one was excused from voting. Proc. Board of Regents, 1855-1864, p. 178.

of this state who visited Berlin in 1866: "Michigan must be superlatively wealthy in great men that she can afford to send away from her borders such a man as Dr. Tappan." He transferred his residence to Basle, and finally to Vevay, in Switzerland. His tall and erect form did not bend with the weight of years, though his hair and beard became snowy white. His physical strength endured remarkably and his intellectual vigor was unimpaired. Citizens of Michigan traveling in Switzerland always made it a point to visit him. He invariably greeted them with great cordiality and entertained them with hospitality. He watched with satisfaction the progress of Michigan; he saw with pride the growth of the University. Surrounded by every personal comfort, with a devoted family and a wide circle of friends, he died in November, 1881.

President Tappan's successor was a former member of the faculty, Rev. Erastus Otis Haven. Mr. Haven was born in Boston, November 1, 1820. His father was a Methodist preacher.[6] He graduated at Wesleyan University in 1842, and soon after his graduation he assumed the principalship of a private academy at Sudbury, Massachusetts, but in September, 1843, he entered Amenia Seminary, Dutchess County, New York, as teacher of natural science. In 1846 he became principal of the institution. He was married July 28, 1847, to Miss Mary Frances Coles, of New York, a daughter of Rev. George Coles, for many years editor of the *Christian Advocate,* in New York. The following year Principal Haven resigned his position to join the New York conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1850 he was designated to proceed to Oregon as a missionary; he accepted the appointment, but the plan was changed, and he was sent to Red Hook mission on the Hudson River. In 1853 he was called to the University as professor of Latin language and literature. In 1856 he resigned his professorship to become editor of *Zion's Herald,* the oldest Methodist newspaper. From 1858 to 1863 he was a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and member of the State Board of Overseers of Harvard College; in 1862, and again in 1863, he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate.

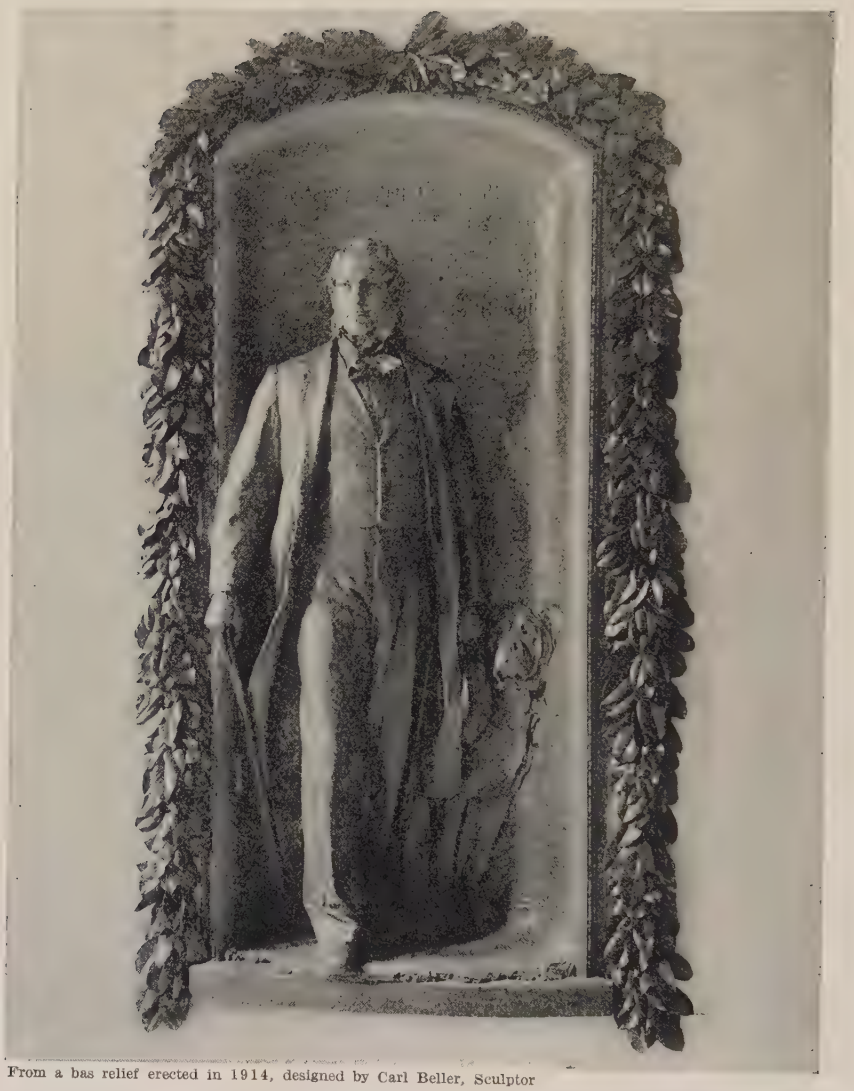
On the 25th of June, 1863, the board of regents recalled Doctor Haven by a unanimous vote to the University, to assume the presidential chair. This action, by instruction of the board, was mailed "forthwith" to Doctor Haven, and five days afterward he accepted.

[6] Address of Prof. Alexander Winchell before the University Senate August 5, 1881. Professor Winchell was a schoolmate of Doctor Haven.

"What would have been his decision," says his friend and schoolmate, Professor Winchell, "had he known by what means the presidency became vacant, it is idle to conjecture." The testimony is that Doctor Haven did not know the method of action; but the intrigue had been in progress for some time and Doctor Haven's friends were active in it. A timid man might well have shrunk from the storm which was preparing. The University Senate made a wise and conservative attempt to forestall the consequences of the coming reaction. Forbearing to express any opinion on the wisdom of the action taken by the board of regents, they resolved to "recognize the appointment of Dr. Haven as an accomplished fact—as the present legally established order of things in the University—which its peace and best interests will not allow to be treated as unsettled, or open to agitation and doubt," and to "cordially extend to our new President our pledge of an earnest disposition to unite with him in laboring for the purposes to which we have agreed to devote ourselves by assuming our respective offices, and we receive him in full confidence that his character and ability will enable him to secure the respect and reliance of the public, and the continuance of the esteem with which we welcome him."

President Haven delivered as his inaugural address "Universities in America." While he recognized the disadvantages of "church colleges," he insisted that state institutions of education were essentially and necessarily religious, because the people who create and maintain them were a Christian people. "I maintain," he says, "that a state university in this country should be religious. It should be Christian without being sectarian." He adds: "Especially should the bonds of union between science and revelation be shown. The professors should be men capable of perceiving and illustrating the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity, in language, mathematics, the laws of material things and of vegetable and animal life; in history and art, and in the mind of man. . . . Those questions upon which denominations differ—however vital they may appear—should be left to their acknowledged teachers out of the university, or be so respectfully and impartially stated as not to offend the conscience of any sincere believer."

On the 1st of February, 1864, an entirely new board of regents entered upon office. Those who deposed the late president and installed his successor were now powerless; and it was the belief of a considerable number of people that it would be the duty of the new board to restore the former status. The friends of the old president and the new manifested a deep interest in the issue which



From a bas relief erected in 1914, designed by Carl Beller, Sculptor

HENRY PHILIP TAPPAN, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

it was understood would be reopened. On meeting the board, President Haven proceeded at once with his official communications. In the course of the morning, however, one of the regents introduced memorials from students requesting the reinstatement of the late president. Doctor Haven preserved the imperturbability of a summer sky. The crowd of onlookers was in a state of excited expectation. Resolutions were adopted deprecating the interference of students in the matter of appointments and concluding with permission to the petitioners to withdraw their petitions.

The University had reached financial straits. The cost of living was enhanced by the inflation consequent upon the prosecution of the war; but the income of the University was a fixed quantity. All the unprofessional employees of the institution were demanding increase of compensation; and the increase granted between 1864 and 1866 amounted to 50 per cent. The salaries of the professors had remained the same as in ante-bellum period, until 1881, when a slight increase was temporarily ordered. But the treasury was absolutely exhausted, and the current expenses were in excess of the regular income. The finance committee pointed out the seriousness of the situation; they enjoined the most scrupulous and exacting economy, ending their report with the painful confession: "We have passed the point where the current revenues of the University meet the current expenses. . . . . It is very important that immediate steps be taken to increase the permanent fund of the University. Your committee are not prepared to recommend a plan to that effect, but urge the consideration of the subject upon the board at its present session."

But the board was powerless. The Constitution forbade the imposition of charges upon the students for tuition, though the increasing number of students imposed an increasing expense. A slight advance was made in matriculation and annual fees, but the relief was trifling. It was at one time contemplated to make an appeal "to the people of Michigan," declaring "the present condition of the University," and "urging the immediate attention of the people to this subject." Professor Haven drew up a memorial to the Legislature of 1867 in which he set forth plainly the serious fact that the University had attained the utmost limit of its development unless the endowment could be increased. In this condition it must begin immediately to fall in the rear of all progressive institutions of similar grade—even of those of more western states which had, so far, followed the University of Michigan as a model. He vindicated the popular character of the University, cited the

eulogies which had been bestowed upon it by the highest educational authorities, and expressed his trust in the purpose of the people to come to their own university with such aid as seemed to be imperatively needed. He suggested an addition of $200,000 to endowment or a small annual tax upon the property of the state.

The appeal succeeded. A bill was introduced imposing an annual tax of one-twentieth of a mill on the property of the state. A proviso was appended conditioning the aid on the appointment of a homeopathic professor in the medical department of the university; and thus the bill became a law. The regents at first contemplated establishing a separate homeopathic college; as they were persuaded that the introduction of homeopathy into the medical department would result in its disintegration. The project, however, was postponed for a year. Meantime the accommodations of the medical department imperatively demanded enlargement. Women were pressing for admission. The chemical laboratory was also calling for larger quarters, and a sum was borrowed from the "reserve fund" to supply this demand.

In his annual report for 1867 Doctor Haven argued against the admission of homeopathy, and advised the regents to decline the proffered aid with its impractical conditions. The question of coeducation of the sexes in the university pressed upon the attention of the authorities. President Haven recommended that no change be made. The government of the University, however, felt the increasing demands for ampler financial means and it was decided to accept the aid proffered by the state, under the belief that the law would be fulfilled by the location of a homeopathic college at some other point than Ann Arbor. The Supreme Court, however, prevented such action.

On the assembling of the Legislature of 1869, President Haven was invited by resolution to address that body on the needs of the institution. He pleaded for the removal of the condition on which public aid had been offered by the preceding Legislature. He succeeded. The tax of one-twentieth of a mill levied and collected for two years was then due the University and the whole amount was eventually paid. This consummation brought immediate relief to the University, based on the principle that the amount of annual aid should grow with the population and wealth of the state.

At this juncture President Haven announced his intention to resign his office at the close of the collegiate year. The presidency of Doctor Haven was attended by great progress. He found the literary department with 266 students and left it with 422; the

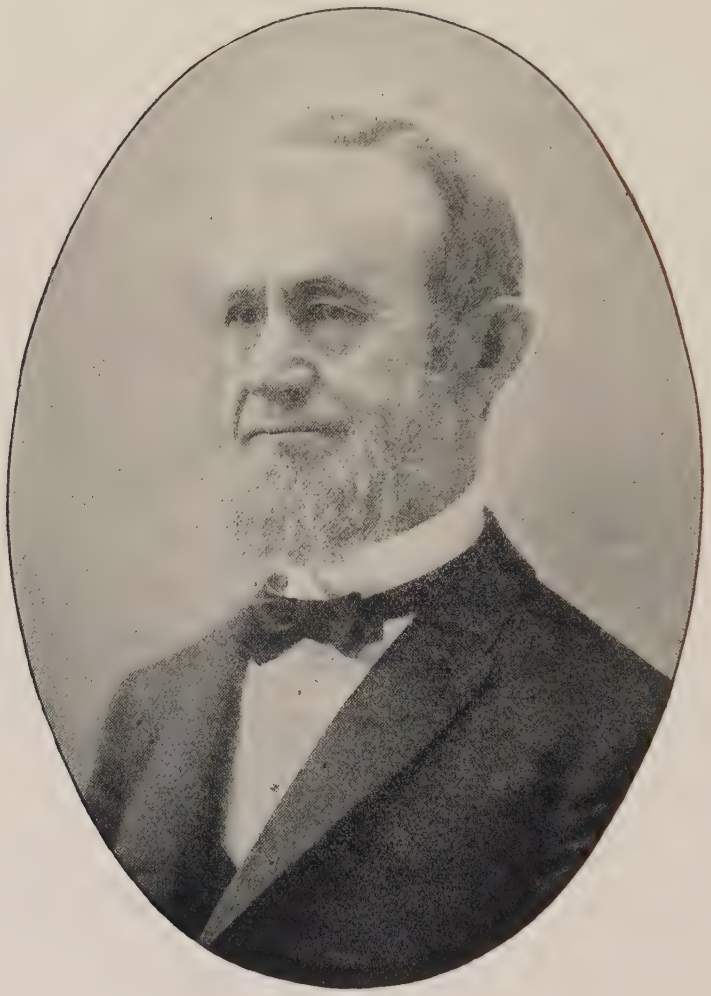
medical department with 252 students, and left it with 358; and the law department with 134 students, while he left it with 342. He found the University with 652 students, and left it with 1,114.

The question of coeducation in the University had been before the attention of the authorities and people since a discussion in the State Teachers' Association in 1855, in which Doctor Haven, then professor of Latin, was a strong advocate of the principle. It was "Resolved, That in the opinion of this Association, co-education of the sexes is in accordance with true philosophy, and it is practically expedient."[7] The State Senate adopted a report in 1857, strongly favoring the system. In March, 1858, Miss S. E. Burger notified the board of regents that she and several other young ladies would make an application for admission in June, and this was done, but the application was refused. In September, 1858, the regents, after long examination of the question, were led to adopt an adverse report, resolving that "at present it is inexpedient to introduce this change into the institution."[8] In 1859 a petition was received from 1,476 citizens in favor of the admission of women, and Miss Burger and three other women renewed their application. The regents, however, only reaffirmed their action of the previous year. It is tradition, however, that their action would have been favorable but for opposition proceeding from respresentatives of the faculties of the University. The question remained dormant till 1867, when the Legislature adopted a joint resolution declaring "that it is the deliberate opinion of this Legislature that the high objects for which the University of Michigan was organized will never be fully attained until women are admitted to all its rights and privileges." In pursuance of this declaration, Regent Willard induced the board, in April, to refer the question again to the executive committee.

The subject was discussed by President Haven in his annual report for 1867, and the measure was pronounced inexpedient. In his report for 1868, however, he expresses the conviction which he had enunciated thirteen years before, that women have rights in the University which it is expedient to respect. But the subject was passed over until the April meeting of 1869, when Regent Willard renewed his attempt by introducing the resolution "That in the opinion of the board no rule exists in any of the University stat-

[7] *Michigan Journal of Education,* Vol. II, p. 139.

[8] Proceedings Board of Regents, 1858-1864, p. 31. Governor Moses Wisner, in his inaugural message of January, 1859, took strong ground in favor of admitting women to the University—a fact that seems to have escaped the historians of the institution.



Thomas McIntyre Cooley

utes which excludes women from admission to the University." The majority, however, feared that conservatism in the faculties would prevent the experiment from receiving a fair trial, and that some expensive rearrangements of the buildings would be demanded. This was the status of the question when President Haven resigned. But the germ of success was developing. After the retirement of President Haven,[9] Regent Willard introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Board of Regents recognize the right of every resident of Michigan to the enjoyment of the privileges afforded by the University; and that no rule exists in any of the university statutes for the exclusion of any person from the university, who possesses the requisite literary and moral qualifications." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 6 to 2, on January 5, 1870.

While the regents were looking for a successor to President Haven, the affairs of the University were administered for two years by Professor Frieze, as acting president. These were two of the most epoch-making years in the history of the institution. Women were admitted to all departments, a result brought about by an energetic movement among the women of the state who claimed their rights equally with men to share in instruction provided at the expense of the whole body of taxpayers. It is the testimony of President Angell that experience has justified most, if not all, the expectations of those who advocated the change, and has removed the doubts and fears of those who opposed it or who supported it with hesitation. Hundreds of women have availed themselves of the privileges offered and have gone forth, some as missionaries, as teachers in high schools or colleges, and others to domestic life. The success of the experiment of admitting women to Michigan University has been influential in opening to them the doors of many colleges in this country and was not without effect abroad.

Second change during President Frieze's administration was the establishment of the diploma system, by which graduates of

[9] Doctor Haven, in 1869, became the president of the Northwestern University. He resigned his position in the summer of 1872, a step as mysterious and unexplained as both his resignations from the University of Michigan. He accepted the secretaryship of the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and discharged its duties for two years. In June, 1874, he accepted the offer of the chancellorship of Syracuse University. For six years he labored with fidelity; but the situation was depressing. In 1880 the general conference at Cincinnati cast its vote for Chancellor Haven as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His official residence was San Francisco. He died at Salem, Oregon, August 2, 1881.

those high schools which had been approved by a committee of the faculty were admitted to the University without examination. The voluntary establishment of the diploma connection between the University and the high schools set up a quasi-organic relation between them, bridged over the space that had separated them, and so left the road plain and open for every child to proceed easily from the primary school up through the high school, and through the university.

Dr. James Burrill Angell was first invited to undertake the presidency of the Michigan University in 1869, but at that time he declined it on account of pressure on him to remain as president of the University of Vermont. In 1871 when the invitation was renewed he accepted the appointment and on June 28th of that year delivered his inaugural address. He found among the faculty men of strong individuality and high attainments. There was Doctor Frieze, a lover of art and music, a man of the finest literary taste and an inspiring teacher. Also Benjamin F. Cocker, professor of philosophy, once a Methodist circuit preacher in Yorkshire, England, afterwards a miner in Australia; he had been wrecked on an island in the Pacific inhabited partly by savages. From the care of a small country church he had risen to important posts in the ministry, and finally had been called to a chair in the University. Both as a preacher and a teacher he had a charm of voice and manner which, added to his clearness and simplicity in discussions of the problems of philosophy, made his instruction a delight to his pupils, among whom he was most loved and revered. There was Edward Olney, professor of mathematics, who learned his geometry while following the plow. While not a great mathematician, he was a fine teacher and was able to make mathematics popular among his students; and Charles Kendall Adams, the professor of history, who had studied under Andrew D. White when he filled the chair of history in the University. Mr. Adams had recently returned from study in Germany and he introduced the seminar method at Michigan before it had been put in use elsewhere in this country. He was a student of university problems both in America and Europe, and afterwards he served as president of Cornell University and of the University of Wisconsin. Moses Coit Tyler was the professor of rhetoric and English literature—an attractive and inspiring teacher, who was making those studies which he afterwards published in his "History of American Literature." Alexander Winchell, while giving elementary instruction in the natural sciences, was acting as state geologist and was giving those popular lectures which he gathered

into the volume called "Vestiges of Creation." Afterwards he became president of Syracuse University. James C. Watson, the professor of astronomy, had received his entire training in the public Schools of Ann Arbor and in the University. While a student he made a telescope and with it discovered a comet; and while still a young man he discovered asteroids and wrote a text book on astronomy that gave him a reputation among astronomers in America and Europe. To him mathematical demonstrations came as an inspiration and his capacity for work was unlimited. He spent his nights in the observatory and his days in study. George S. Morris, professor of modern languages, was deeply imbued with German philosophy and later he divided his time between the University of Michigan and Johns Hopkins University, teaching philosophy in both. Edward L. Walter, first instructor in Latin and then professor of German and of the romance languages, was a gifted man and a delightful companion. In the prime of his strength he was lost by the sinking of the steamship Bourgogne. Martin L. D'Ooge, professor of Greek, was an elegant scholar and a charming companion; and there were Elisha Jones and Albert H. Pattengill, exceptionally fine teachers of the classics.

In his "Reminiscences," President Angell, discussing the admission of women to the university, relates that when Mr. Durant, founder of Wellesley College, was making up his first faculty he encountered difficulty in finding women with suitable training to fill professorships. He wrote President Angell, who recommended a graduate of the class of 1874 for the chair of history at Wellesley. She proved so satisfactory that Mr. Durant asked him to recommend thereafter any woman whom he should deem competent. One after another was sent, and among them was Alice Freeman, subsequently president of Wellesley.[10] President Angell also adverts to the benefits derived by the high schools of the state from having a body of women teachers who had graduated in the same classes with the most scholarly men who were teaching; so that both scholars and the school board had confidence in the training of their teachers. The schools in which a majority of the teachers had always been women took on new vigor and life.

In 1873, largely through the influence of Judge Claudius B. Grant, at that time a regent of the University and a member of the Legislature, the Legislature was persuaded to give the University the proceeds of a twentieth-mill tax, which was subsequently raised, first

[10] See also "Life of Alice Freeman Palmer," by George L. Palmer.

to one-eighth, then to one-quarter and next to three-eighths of a mill; thus enabling the authorities to use the funds granted more effectively and more economically.

From 1875 to 1879 the University suffered severely from a controversy growing out of a deficit in the accounts of the chemical laboratory. The controversy spread beyond University circles; it got into politics, and was carried into the Legislature and the courts. It divided the board of regents into factions; but at last the fires of controversy having consumed all the available material burned themselves out, leaving the institution unharmed. The cause of the difficulty was removed by instituting a proper system of accounting.[11]

During the past thirty years there has been a constant enlargement and enrichment of the work of all of the departments. Engineering has been developed into a separate department with many branches, including architecture; and that department now has over three hundred more students than were in the entire University in 1871.

In February, 1909, having reached the age of eighty years, President Angell renewed a request he had made four years earlier, to be relieved of his duties as president. This time the regents acceded to his request and appointed him president-emeritus, and amid the surroundings in which he has spent the best portion of his life he is passing a serene old age. On May 5, 1910, the professional and business men of Detroit gave to President Angell a dinner in testimony of their appreciation of his services to the university and to the state. Clarence A. Lightner, president of the Detroit Association of Alumni, acted as chairman, with Henry M. Campbell, a son of the late Justice Campbell, as toastmaster. Mr. Otto Kirchner spoke of the indebtedness of Detroit to the university; Governor Warner discussed the relations of the state to the college; former Secretary of State John W. Foster paid a tribute to Doctor Angell as a diplomat; President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, spoke of Doctor Angell as a university president; Doctor Walcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, commended his services to that institution during the years he had been one of its governing body; and Professor D'Ooge aroused the emotion of the

[11] This controversy was known as the "Rose-Douglas troubles." Rice A. Beal, editor of the Ann Arbor *Courier* and a power in state politics, took up cudgels for Doctor Rose. During the controversy one of the regents broke his "pair," thus creating a scandal which was intensified because of the fact that the regent was a doctor of divinity.

company by a feeling tribute to the personal characteristics of Doctor Angell; to all of which felicitations the guest made response in the manner which has given him fame as a speaker of rare charm.

Doctor Angell was forty-two years old when, in 1871, he came to the University as its president.[12] He graduated at Brown University, the *alma mater* of the first superintendent of public instruction, John D. Pierce, who with Isaac E. Crary, a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, had reestablished and had shaped the development of the University of Michigan; his training as an educator had been obtained as a professor at his own college and as president of the University of Vermont; and to this technical education he had added what was quite as important—a training in statesmanship acquired as editor of one of the ablest newspapers in this country, the Providence *Journal,* during the entire period of the War of Secession. In 1880 he was sent to China by President Hayes as the American minister and also as a member of the commission to deal with the delicate, complicated and highly important crisis developed by the demand of the Pacific states for the exclusion of Chinese subjects from this country. He succeeded in satisfying, at least for the time being, those who favored limiting the immigration of Chinese laborers, while at the same time he accommodated matters with the Government of China so that not only no rupture occurred between the two nations, but he even strengthened the bonds of amity that had long existed.[12] In 1887 President Cleve-

[12] James Burrill Angell was born in Scituate, R. I., January 7, 1829; he graduated at Brown University in 1849; was professor of modern languages at Brown from 1853 to 1860; married in 1855, Sarah Swoope, daughter of Dr. Alexis Caswell, president of Brown University; was editor of the Providence *Journal* from 1860 to 1866; and president of the University of Vermont from 1866 to 1871.

[12] Hon. Edwin Denby, representative in Congress in 1910, wrote of Doctor Angell: "I first knew Doctor Angell when I went to China in 1885, there to meet with many men and women who cherished in their hearts the memory of the residence in Peking of the Doctor and Mrs. Angell. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Exclusion Treaty of 1882, and was American minister during part at least of his residence in the empire. That splendid old Irishman, Sir Robert Hart, under whom later I served for a number of years, always spoke of President Angell and Mrs. Angell in terms of the deepest affection. It seemed evident that the meeting of two rare men of singular fitness for all the duties which they were called upon to perform, and of singular purity of mind and loftiness of ideals, had led, as in the nature of things it would lead, to a deep mutual respect and lifelong friendship. So in China Doctor Angell left his impress upon the international affairs of the empire, and gave excellent service, the continuing good which will be long felt.

land appointed Doctor Angell a member of the Anglo-American International Commission on Canadian Fisheries; and during the same year he was elected by Congress as a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, a position which he still fills. In 1896 he was by Presi- Institution, a position which he still fills. In 1896 President Cleveland appointed him chairman of the Commission on Deep Waterways from the Lakes to the Sea; and the next year President McKinley, at the urgent request of Americans concerned with Turkish missions and the American educational interests in that country, appointed him minister to Turkey. The regents promptly gave Doctor Angell leave of absence, and the Legislature passed a vote of thanks to the President.

Doctor Angell's experience on the Canadian Fisheries Commission proved more interesting than satisfying; for the treaty was rejected by the Republican Senate, which had opposed the appointment of a commission, but the *modus vivendi* which was to obtain until the ratification of the treaty was continued by the Canadians, thus removing the friction between the fishermen of the two countries. The American report of the Deep Waterways Commission was based on the facts presented by Lyman E. Cooley, a member

"I met the Doctor when I was a student at the University of Michigan, and he was the loved and honored president of that institution; and I shall always cherish gratefully the thought of the particular kindness shown to me by him and the members of his family, because of our common interest in the Orient. From the day of my first meeting him even to this time, I have felt it to be a rare privilege to have been brought into personal contact with a man of the Doctor's most excellent character and attainments. I do not wish to attempt any estimate of the place that he will hold in American history, or the good that in his long life he has done; but I shall always believe that his influence upon the many thousands of young men who passed under his guidance through Michigan, and whose careers in after life he has always followed with earnest solicitude, will be felt for generations, and will be perhaps the most certain measure of his influence on the life of the nation."

Ex-Senator Thomas W. Palmer has given his estimate of Doctor Angell: "I have known President Angell from the beginning of his career as president of the university. His life has been a wonderfully successful one in the highest sense and in various and divergent lines. As president, as a diplomat and a citizen, his services to the state through his acquirements as a scholar; his industry as a worker; his temperament as a teacher easily entitle him to the sobriquet of 'The First Citizen of the State.' His responsiveness to all calls on all occasions entitles him to the gratitude of all the citizens of Detroit. In addition to these Doctor Angell has distinguished himself as minister to China, ambassador to Turkey; and his services on the International Fisheries Commission and as regent of the Smithsonian Institution clearly entitle him to the regard of all civilized people of the world."

of the commission, who was a graduate of Michigan University; it showed both the importance and the practicability of establishing deep-water communication between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic; but action on the report has been postponed until the completion of the Panama Canal. There can be no doubt that this project will soon receive from Congress the attention it deserves.[13]

One of the men who have done most to bring Michigan fame was Thomas McIntyre Cooley, who was connected with the University for upwards of forty years, and who was also a member of the Supreme Court of the state from 1864 to 1885.[14] "Judge Cooley," says Professor Kent, "was long one of the most distinguished, perhaps the most distinguished, of American jurists. His legal treatises and opinions are cited as high authority in all our common law and equity courts. As the arbitrator of controversies between some of our great trunk lines, as receiver of one of such lines, and as the head of the Interstate Commerce Commission, he was well known among railroad men. His occasional addresses and magazine articles gave him reputation and influence among a wide circle of general readers."

Mr. Cooley was born January 6, 1824, on a farm near Attica, New York. The earliest ancestor, Benjamin Cooley, settled in Massachusetts in 1646. Four Cooley brothers removed to Attica from that commonwealth before the War of 1812. Thomas, the father of the future jurist, was twice married; fifteen of his children reached maturity, Thomas being the tenth. He was a pupil at the Attica Academy, where he studied Latin, algebra, and geometry. He learned rapidly; his love of history developed early; he read Gibbon when but a boy, by the light of the fire in the fireplace; he wrote

[13] The Fisheries Commission was made up of Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, and Lord Sackville-West on the part of Great Britain, and Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, Doctor Angell and Hon. William L. Putnam on the part of the United States. The Deep Waterways Commission was composed of Doctor Angell, John E. Russell, of Massachusetts, and Lyman E. Cooley, C. E., of Chicago; Oliver A. Howland, of Toronto, Thomas C. Keefer, C. E., of Ottawa and Thomas Monro, C. E., of Coteau Landing. For anecodotes and a review of the work of both commissions see "Reminiscences by James Burrill Angell;" 1912.

[14] Prof. Charles A. Kent, an intimate personal friend of Judge Cooley and an associate in the law faculty of the University, has placed on record a judicial estimate of the man and his work, as well as a record of his life in an address delivered before the University Senate, February 26, 1899. In no irreverent manner it may be said that any individual would be sure of a warm welcome from Saint Peter, if he came with Professor Kent's approval.

verses, some of which were published in the Attica *Democrat*. He had no youthful follies, no wild oats to sow. He earnestly desired a college education, but his father wished him to be a farmer. Young Cooley gave up his hopes of a more extended school education, and began to read law in the summer of 1842, in the office of Theron K. Strong, afterward a judge of the Supreme Court of the state, at Palmyra, New York. Here he studied until 1843, when he removed to Adrian, and continued his legal studies in the office of Tiffany & Beaman. He copied records for the county and was deputy county clerk; he was admitted to the bar in January, 1846; in December of the same year he married Mary Elizabeth Horton, then only sixteen. Their home was a most happy one, until her death in 1890.

Mr. Cooley resided for a time at Coldwater; he lived at Tecumseh for a period in association with Consider A. Stacy, then a distinguished lawyer. In 1848 he returned to Adrian and became a member of the law firm of Beaman, Beecher & Cooley. In 1850 he was elected Circuit Court commissioner and recorder of the village. At this time, in conjunction with his father-in-law, he was cultivating a farm, was secretary of the Lenawee County Agricultural Society, and editor of a newspaper. He still wrote verses. In 1854 he moved to Toledo, Ohio, to engage in the real estate business. He was successful in it, but his ambition was not satisfied. In 1855 he was an unsuccessful candidate for Common Pleas judge on the Democratic ticket. Soon after he returned to Adrian and formed a partnership with the late Governor Croswell. Mr. Croswell kept the office, and Mr. Cooley did the work in the courts. He tried all kinds of cases, in justice courts and in the Circuit. In 1848 he supported Martin Van Buren for President, and when the Republican party was formed, on the basis of antagonism to the spread of slavery, he united with it.

In 1857 he was chosen by the Legislature of Michigan to compile the statutes; it was necessary to begin with the Revised Statutes of 1827, and examine all acts passed thereafter, and select for publication those still in force; the Legislature allowed but nine months for the preparation and printing of the whole; but the work was finished within the time and gave general satisfaction. This is a fair sample of the capacity for and willingness to work which Judge Cooley showed all his life.

In 1858 he was appointed reporter of the Supreme Court, and also he was chosen one of the three professors in the law school, then first established in the University of Michigan. Here he

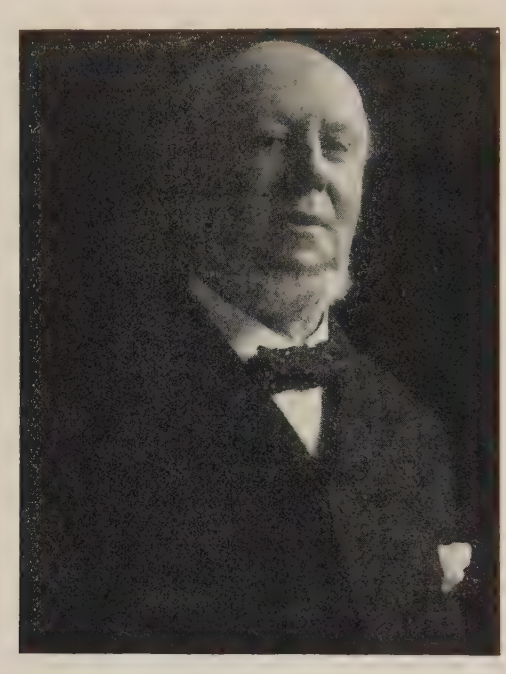
entered on his true life's work. As reporter from 1858 to 1865, he published eight volumes of the Michigan state reports, and the statements of the principles on which the decisions were based are models of clearness and brevity.

The law school was successful from the start. It was fortunate in its first three professors, James Valentine Campbell, Charles I. Walker and Thomas M. Cooley. Mr. Campbell was a justice of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Walker was a leading practitioner in Detroit; all were popular lecturers. Mr. Cooley was chosen dean of the law faculty, and the burden of the correspondence and of interviewing and governing the students fell on him. Students soon began to come from almost every state in the Union and from some foreign countries, and through them the law school and its professors became widely and favorably known. Judge Cooley continued his work in the law school until 1884, and in 1881 he began to lecture in the school of political science, then just established in the academic department of the University. From 1884 he lectured on American history in the same department. His connection with the university never entirely ceased until his death, though his regular work was given up, first from the pressure of other occupations, and then from ill health. He delivered two courses of law lectures in the Johns Hopkins University.

As a law lecturer, Judge Cooley was remarkable for the clearness and force with which he stated the leading principles of his subject. He had a great love for early American history, and sympathy with the struggles by which our forefathers developed our political institutions. With no disposition to boast, he taught his hearers pride in our history and admiration for the great men who guided the colonies and the nation in their formative periods.

In 1864 Mr. Cooley was elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and by successive elections was continued in the position for more than twenty years. The opinion most often cited as proof of his power and influence is found in the People vs. Salem, given in 1870, in which the power of the Legislature to authorize municipalities to aid in the building of railroads was denied on grounds independent of any specific constitutional provision. This decision attracted much attention in other states, where bonds had been bought in reliance on the validity of the statute which the court held void. It was in conflict with numerous authorities, supposed to settle the law in favor of such bonds. It was an attempt to correct a great evil; the tendency of cities and towns to contract excessive debts for railroad purposes.

Judge Cooley's national reputation began with his law books. The first, a "Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations of the States of the American Union," appeared in 1868, and was a great success. There was no single work on the subject before, and none has since been written which has taken its place. It is today, as it has been since its publication, a work of the highest authority. It has made Judge Cooley's name respected wherever men study American constitutional law. Judge Cooley published several other law books. In 1870 appeared his edition of Blackstone; in 1874



JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., PRESIDENT EMERITUS, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. (Taken on his eightieth birthday.)

his edition of Story's "Commentaries;" in 1876 the work on "Taxation;" in 1879 that on "Torts;" and in 1880 a "Manual on Constitutional Law." New editions of all his works were published at various times, and all these books were successful, pecuniarly and otherwise. He also wrote articles for various magazines, and special addresses. He continued like work until his health completely failed. His last address was one read before the American Bar Association, as its president, in the summer of 1894.

An important phase of Judge Cooley's life was that of his connection with railroads. In 1882 he, with Allen G. Thurman and E. B. Washburne, were chosen by the great trunk-lines terminating at New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, to determine what, if any, differential rates should be allowed on freights starting from, or going to, each of these cities. Much time was spent by the commission in taking testimony. A very able report written by Judge Cooley was agreed on, going over the whole ground, but leaving the differentials as they had been fixed by previous agreement.

During this year he declined to accept the position of one of three general railroad arbitrators, with Charles Francis Adams and David A. Wells as associates. Twice after this he accepted the position of arbitrator in special railroad cases of great importance. In the fall of 1885, in consequence of a newspaper agitation charging that his decisions were too friendly to railroads, Judge Cooley was not reelected to the bench; in December, 1886, he was most unexpectedly appointed receiver of the portion of the extensive railroad system known as the Wabash, lying east of the Mississippi River. He accepted and entered on the work with ardor. He acted as general manager, showing versatility and business capacity remarkable in a man whose life had been spent in legal and literary work.

In March, 1887, Judge Cooley was appointed by President Cleveland one of five commissioners under the Interstate Commerce Law, then just enacted. This appointment came without solicitation on his part, and in accordance with a general public feeling that he was the fittest man for the place. He was chosen by his associates chairman. "His influence in the Commission," says Professor Kent, "was controlling. He entered on the work with his usual extraordinary industry and ability. His reports and opinions discuss every phase of the law with great power. Similar laws had existed in England and in some of the states. The latter were effective only in state limits, and they do not seem to have attracted much public attention. The general purpose of the federal law is plain. It forbids all attempts of railroad companies to restrain competition by dividing their business or their freight earnings. It forbids any railroad to charge more for the carriage of persons or property, under substantially similar circumstances, for a shorter than a longer distance on the same line in the same direction. It requires railroads to treat every person and every place with the same fairness. The commission was appointed to enforce these provisions. They were authorized to investigate all violations of the statute, on complaint or at their own instance, to take the neces-

sary evidence, to make orders and compel obedience by suits in the United States courts."

In 1889 Judge Cooley was ill for months. He recovered in part, and went on with his work in the commission. At length he concluded that no recovery was possible while he continued this work. In September, 1891, he resigned. That fall he grew slowly better and in January, 1892, he resumed his lectures in the literary department of the University. He continued this work until the last of 1894, and during this period he wrote some magazine articles. He also acted as counsel in some legal matters of great consequence. From 1894 he gradually grew worse. His release came on the 12th of September, 1898. From many widely separated sources came testimonials of the esteem in which he was held. Among them were communications from the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Governor of Michigan. There were commendatory articles in many of the leading papers of the United States; there were many bar meetings voicing in speeches and resolutions the universal and great esteem in which he was held by the profession.

Judge Cooley's capacity may be shown by a brief statement of his work in 1883, as cited by Professor Kent. His judicial work required him to hear in connection with three associates about six hundred cases, most of them probably an oral argument. He wrote nearly one hundred and fifty opinions, some of them involving questions of difficulty and importance. He had also to examine the cases entrusted to his associates, so as to be able to concur or dissent intelligently. He lectured in the law school for a term of six months, and in the department of political science for nine months, delivering in each department about fifty lectures of one hour each. He had to spend considerable time in examining candidates for graduation in both departments, and in hearing moot court cases in the law department. During this year he brought out new editions of his "Constitutional Limitations," and his "Blackstone," and worked on a new edition of his book on "Taxation." He published articles in the *North American Review* and the *Princeton Review*, and in the *American Law Register*. He wrote a memorial of the distinguished lawyer, D. D. Hughes, for the American Bar Association. He made several addresses before different bodies. He examined and criticised for their authors two works on legal subjects. He was president of the Law Alumni Association. He acted for the City of Ann Arbor in business of importance. He had a considerable correspondence, mainly with persons out of the

state, who sought his opinions on legal and other subjects. Meantime he was directing the building of a large addition to his house, and was in frequent consultation with his business associates as to considerable enterprises in which he had a large interest in Bay City and in Lansing.

CHAPTER XXV

CLEARING THE FORESTS

From early days the settlers of Michigan took timber from the abundant forests to build their houses. Sawmills were in operation along the St. Clair River when Detroit burned in 1805. The first sawmills were not extensive affairs, since the mill parts cost only from $60 to $500; they sawed to order for home consumption, and often were run in the manner of country grist mills, the log owner paying toll to the mill owner for the sawing. As late as 1870 a town like Ypsilanti would have its sawmill, its flour mills and its tannery to supply the wants of the community. In 1840 there were in the United States 31,560 sawmills, with an average cut of $400 per mill, the total product being valued at less than thirteen million dollars. It was not until 1865 that Maine had a sawmill that cost as much as $60,000, with gang and circular saws; and it was as late as 1876 that the sawmill business of Pittsburgh attained large proportions.

In 1834 Harvey Williams built the first steam sawmill in the Saginaw Valley; in 1837 he completed the Emerson Mill, then regarded as the "crack" mill of the West. In 1858 a regular lumber business began at Alpena, when Archibalt & Murray put in 1,000,000 feet of logs at $2 per thousand feet, board measure. Now the same quality could not be purchased for ten times that sum. In 1874 Alpena turned out 85,000,000 feet of lumber, besides lath and shingles. The rapid growth not only of Michigan cities but of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati brought in a "golden age" of Michigan lumbering, which began about 1868. There were mills at Detroit which cut 15,000,000 feet a year, operating upright, gang and circular saws, and getting timber by rafting the logs from the forests that lined the shores of Lake Huron. By 1882 the Saginaw Valley had reached the climax of its production, and the Northwest was producing 8,000,000,000 feet of lumber annually. Chicago

became the largest lumber market in the world, drawing its supplies from Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.[1]

Lumbering along the Grand River was in progress as early as 1837, when the Nortons, Barbers, Masons and Middlemasts and other Canadians who were engaged in the McKenzie rebellion found it convenient to come to this country. Twenty years later there were but four mills in Grand Haven, each being equipped with upright-saws. Timber lands sold for $1.25 per acre, and even then were not taken if the stumpage cost more than 12½ cents a thousand feet, or if they were not within easy reach of waters that would float the logs to the mill. The best logs brought not more than $2.25 per thousand and mill-run lumber sold for $10. In 1856 Hunter Savidge came from Rockford, Ill., to begin lumber operations at Spring Lake, but the panic of 1857 gave pause to all business. In 1858 the firm of Cutler & Savidge began to cut from five to ten million feet a year. The panic of 1873 drove the value of "clear" lumber to $37 a thousand, with "common-boards" and "bill-lumber" at $10; and these prices were lowered in 1873. The turn came about 1880; the annual output was ten times that of 1858; the record for 1882 for Grand Haven and Spring Lake was 192,000,000 feet of lumber and 175,000,000 shingles. From 1885 the product grew steadily less, owing to the exhaustion of the supply and by 1892 the output barely sufficed for home consumption. Less than ten years of boom times marked the period of the destruction of the pine forests on the Grand River.[8]

In the Upper Peninsula the great lumbering center was Menominee, situated at the mouth of the Menominee River on a peninsula made by that river on the South and the Green Bay on the East. The city gets its name from an Indian tribe which formerly lived at the mouth of the river and took its name from the wild rice that grew plentifully on the low, marshy grounds of the region. The first white man to settle in Menominee was Louis Chappieu, who established himself about 1796 as a trader on the South side of the river. He employed a considerable number of men to gather furs and his post was defended by a palisade of heavy timbers.

[1] Chapter on "American Lumber," by Bernhard E. Fernow in "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," Vol. I, p. 196. The long timber rafts towed by a tug were a feature of lake navigation in the '70's. After the Michigan supply was exhausted recourse was had to Canadian timber limits, which were purchased by Saginaw Valley lumbermen, who rafted the logs across Lake Huron. As late as 1895 these operations were in progress.

[1] William Savidge, MS.

About 1822 two agents of the American Fur Company, William Farnsworth and Charles Brush, established a trading post in opposition. They were on the Michigan side of the river, erecting the first house built in Menominee. They drove Chappieu up the river to Chappie's Rapids, which was named after him. He died in 1852.

Across the river from Menominee was built the city of Marinette, named in honor of Farnsworth's wife, Queen Marinette, the grand-daughter of the Menominee Chief Wabashisha, and the daughter of Bartholomew Chevalier. She is said to have been christened Marie Antoinette by one of the missionary priests, a name which the Indians contracted to Marinette. It is said that her ability to speak the French, English and Indian languages and her quickness at trading was the secret of the success of Farnsworth and Brush. In 1832 these men erected the first sawmill on the river and they also constructed a rack for catching white fish, which was often the more profitable of the two occupations. William Farnsworth lost his life on the Steamer "Lady Elgin," and Brush soon after disappeared.

In 1842 Dr. Hull bought the Farnsworth and Brush property and built a mill having an annual capacity of 6,000,000 feet of lumber. This mill was burned in 1856. Between that time and 1890 various mills were built and the lumber industry became thoroughly established. It attained its greatest volume in the early nineties. In 1892 561,000,000 feet of logs were floated down the river by the Menominee River Boom Company. The total amount of logs floated down the river from 1869 to 1909 was ten and a half billion feet, representing a value of over $127,000,000. The logs were sawed at Menominee and most of the lumber was sent to Chicago. About the beginning of the century the lumber companies broke up and the cut fell to about 10,000,000 feet per annum.[8]

In 1866 white pine lumber was worth in Saginaw $12 per thousand feet board measure, with stumpage at $1.25. Ten years later, with stumpage at $2.75 per thousand feet, the price of lumber had dropped to $9.50, and not until 1880 did the price get back to $12, and then stumpage had advanced to $3. In 1887 lumber reached $13, with stumpage at $6.50. Thus the stumpage value increased five-fold while the price of lumber remained nearly stationary, a result due to better transportation facilities, increased competition,

[8] History of Menominee compiled and published by the class of 1910 of the Menominee High School.

but especially to improvement in tools, machinery and systematic methods of handling business. The cross-cut saw reduced waste in felling; the cant-hook, invented in 1870, was a simple but valuable aid in handling; and the log-sleds, the extension of railroads into the timber, the use of the band-saw, all reduced the cost of production.

The largest and most extensive pine-land owner and operator in Michigan was David Ward, whose career in the state covered the entire period of Michigan lumbering, and who came to be known as "the richest man in the state"—a title which he never sought to evade. Mr. Ward provided in his will for the publication and distribution among his descendants of his autobiography, which deals minutely with his career during seventy-eight years of his life. He has much to say of the hostility manifested towards him by his relatives, and particularly by his cousin, Eber B. Ward, the largest vessel-owner and iron manufacturer in the region of the Great Lakes; and by Miss Emily Ward, also a cousin, who was known throughout Michigan as "Aunt Emily Ward." It is only fair to say that the characters Mr. Ward maligns were in their graves many years before his autobiography was printed, and that his strictures are not to be taken without an investigation of each several item charged against them. None of them was wholly right or wholly wrong; but at least the book is a remarkable document, which shows clearly the nature of the successes and the failures of a typical "Michigan lumber baron." [2]

David Ward was born in Keene, Essex County, New York, September 15, 1822, and there he spent the first thirteen years of his life. His father came to New York from Vermont, but the family originated in Massachusetts. His mother, Charlotte Beech, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and was one of the band of little girls that welcomed President Washington on his visit to New England after this Government was established. David Ward's father was a surveyor; the boy was early called upon to carry the chain and so acquired the knowledge that was to make him financially successful in the business of land examination, although he also engaged in various other occupations. In 1835 the elder Ward left for Michigan, where his brother Samuel was already settled. He was absent several months without communicating with the family, and when he did appear it was with a pony and pung which

[2] "The Autobiography of David Ward, New York;" privately printed; 1912. I have used the copy in the Library of Congress.

he had driven from Michigan through Upper Canada and New York into Vermont and thence by way of Lake Champlain to Keene. In May, 1836, the family left their New York home for a small French farm located on the St. Clair River three-quarters of a mile below Newport (Marine City) at the mouth of Belle River. The purchase price was $2,000, one-tenth of which was paid down to Samuel Ward, an uncle of David.

Detroit in 1836 contained about sixty-five hundred people. There were no paved streets, the sidewalks were mostly planks and the vehicles largely French two-wheeled carts. Embarking on "a small, slow, squealing, high-pressure steamboat called the Gratiot," the trip from Detroit to Newport required nearly all day. They found already settled there Samuel Ward, then fifty-two years old; and his nephew, Eber B. Ward, then about twenty-five years old. Samuel Ward owned two schooners, the General Harrison and the Marshal Ney, besides considerable stock in the large steamboat Michigan. He was the owner of a store and had a well-located stock and grain farm. David found employment in a store at Algonac and attended school during the winter; he was a sickly lad, and the malarial character of the land occupied by the family induced one ailment after another. Occasionally he accompanied his father on a short trip of land surveying. In 1838 the family connection at Newport was augmented by the arrival of Amasa Rust and his five sons from Wells, Vermont. In 1839 young Ward began to teach school and to "board around." He also began to study medicine with Dr. Zina Pitcher. In 1846 he engaged in a fishing venture on the north shore of Lake Michigan, shipping the fish to Cleveland. Having followed his catch, he remained in Ohio to teach school. The winter of 1847 he spent at the Cleveland Medical College and on returning to Michigan the next year he began a tour of surveying for Francis Palms and Joseph Campau; and before starting out he received from Doctor Pitcher a diploma as physician and surgeon. In 1848 he was elected county surveyor of St. Clair County. This result, he says, was not so much on account of his "ability, capacity, honesty of purpose or good moral character as on account of the 'overdoing' of his persecutors in displaying such a vile, low, vindictive, envious, venomous spirit" against him, which action on their part seemed to incline the better class of voters of both parties quietly to vote for him.

By 1849 his reputation as a surveyor gave him plenty of business. Francis Palms he calls his patron and friend, and he also worked for his cousins the Rust Brothers and Charles Merrill, of

Detroit. He claims he was the pioneer in establishing the custom of receiving one-quarter of the land for exploring and making selections, and that this custom eventually extended to the Pacific Coast and to the southern-pine states. Among his patrons were U. Tracy Howe, J. W. Brooks, treasurer and president of the Michigan Central Railroad; Newell Avery, R. C. Remick, Colonel Eddy, Alfred A. Dwight, William A. Howard, N. W. Brooks and David Preston.

During the years from 1850 to 1854 more money was offered to him to invest in pine-land purchases than he was able to use. The winter of 1850 he spent in the medical department of Michigan University, where his room-mate was Prof. R. C. Kedzie, afterwards of the Michigan Agricultural College. He received his diploma in 1851 from Doctor Pitcher, who three years before had given him his first diploma from the State Medical Society. Being thus equipped with a university diploma, he married Miss Perkins because, as he says: "I liked her and she, being industrially and economically brought up and unpracticed in the arts of fashionable folly and frivolity, proved a true helpmeet to me and a devoted mother to our children."

Land-looking proved more lucrative than medicine and Mr. Ward undertook a trip to Saginaw for Buckminster Wight, of Detroit, making selections between Saginaw, Midland and Alma. Midland was then a forest except for a clearing made by a German missionary residing at "New Fields," about two miles below the present site of St. Louis. The Indians were friendly; they hunted and had their villages throughout the Saginaw region. Saginaw City at that time had a population of about two hundred and fifty, while the site of East Saginaw was a heavy, unbroken forest. Next he surveyed along the Tittabawassee River for Mr. Palms. In this region there was a vast forest of sap-pine and a few forties of cork-pine, which latter he selected, together with a little of the best bull-sap. Nearly all of the pine timber originally in Michigan was sap and Norway pine, mostly the former. The cork-pine was in scattered patches, small in extent and usually located toward the headwaters of the various streams. Mr. Ward says that if he had been permitted at that stage of the pine land exploring business to have also selected sap-pine he could easily have chosen hundreds of thousands of acres, usually in large bodies, which were afterwards located by other parties not so particular. These lands were eventually worth more money per acre than the cork-pine he did select, on account of the comparatively large amount of sap-pine on a lot. Consequently, he did much tedious traveling and exploring about the headwaters

of the various long-pine timber rivers in both the Upper and Lower Peninsulas of Michigan and in Wisconsin, resulting in the selection and location of a comparatively small acreage of pine land. Again, sap-pine was usually found in large bodies from the mouths of the rivers up, occupying largely the middle regions of the streams easy of access and cheaply explored.

Notwithstanding these limitations he explored and with others bought cork-pine tracts amounting to 120,000 acres in Michigan and Wisconsin. In subsequent years when he explored for himself only he selected and purchased some sap-pine lands and a few lots of "yellow" or Norway pine. He had little or no money with which to buy land and had to depend on the commission allowing him a quarter of the cork-pine lands explored. In 1852 he removed from St. Clair, where he had been settled for some years, to Port Huron, occupying a house which he purchased for $275.

Mr. Ward's first lumbering was done in the years 1857 and 1859 on the Pine River in Saginaw. In company with Alony, David and Amasa Rust, he located 5,000 acres for Charles Merrill near Ionia. They were paid wages by the day for their work. Eventually all became men of large property. In 1853, with Alony and Amasa Rust, he went by way of Chicago to the Menominee River, but on arriving at Menominee, the principal owner of a sawmill there when he learned their mission showed military bounty land warrants for 25,000 acres which he was ready to locate on lands already examined. This so discouraged the party that they returned.

When David Ward's father came to the state he invested $2,000 for Peter Smith, the father of Gerrit Smith, the Abolitionist, who inherited the property and eventually traded it for a New York State farm to a Mr. Pack. This land was located on Elk Creek; in June, 1849, Mr. Pack with his three small sons, George W., Albert and Green, were living in a log house near the forks of Black River and Elk Creek. A few years later the Packs lumbered the tract, thus laying the foundation for the wealth of the family, which placed them among the leading lumber firms in the United States.

During the winter of 1853 and 1854 while surveying land for "Monsieur Pomp," as the Frenchmen called Francis Palms, Mr. Ward invested $3,000 of his own (together with funds from Dwight, Smith & Company and William A. Howard) in a purchase of pine land between Saginaw and Cheboygan. The Sault Ste. Marie Canal Company were also in this field, with Addison Brewer as their land surveyor and explorer. Mr. Ward took with him John Bailey, who carried his 100-pound sack, with rifle and ax, from

Saginaw to Bradford Lake without lessening the weight of his pack and without a murmur through the whole distance of 165 miles. They traveled on the ice up the Tittabawassee River, past where Midland now stands, to the Tobacco River forks, then through the forest to Houghton Lake, which they crossed on the ice to Higgins Lake, thence to Bradford Lake, which was reached the last day of March. Every night they camped twenty rods on one side of their trail so that the Canal people would not discover that anyone had gotten in ahead of them. The thermometer was 30° below zero at times; but with the beginning of April the snow began to melt. Mr. Ward selected some cork-pine lots on the west side of Bradford Lake, which he afterwards sold to Henry Stephens. He located a tract of some nine miles of cork-pine along the west side of Otsego Lake, the finest body of that timber he ever saw. After selecting 16,000 acres they came out of the woods, passing the present site of Frederic, and camped where Grayling now stands. At Higgins Lake they came across two men carrying heavy packs and suspecting that they were the Canal party Mr. Ward made inquiries as if he were lost. The ruse was entirely successful. They found the Canal packer's canoe turned over a plentiful supply of fresh provisions. Refreshing themselves bountifully on the stores, they carefully covered the remainder and appropriated the canoe for a voyage down the Tittabawassee, a distance of fifty miles to Saginaw. "Yes," says Mr. Ward, "you would have more than laughed to have heard us scream and yell our Indian war whoops of joy. John's stout arm, that had often poled up the Penobscot, did its best work that afternoon, while my hands and arms continuously plied the paddle, keeping a white foam at the bow of the canoe." At 8 o'clock in the evening they reached Saginaw City, having made fifty miles in seven hours. By 9 o'clock they were driving to Flint, thirty-three miles away. There they found a telegraph office from which they wired William A. Howard to have land warrants, money and a good horse and buggy ready for Mr. Ward to leave Detroit immediately on his arrival, his destination being the Ionia land office, 125 miles distant. From Flint he drove to Pontiac, where he took the strap-railroad for Detroit. Mr. Howard had everything in readiness and Mr. Ward drove over a new plank road, a distance of eighty-five miles to Lansing, eating his lunch as he rode along and occasionally watering his horse at the toll-gates. He drove from 11 o'clock in the morning until the next dawn, arriving at Lansing in time for breakfast; thence he took the regular daily stage to Ionia, a distance of forty miles.

There he filed his descriptions with Frederick Hall, receiver of the Government land office, and he worked all the next day with the receiver to get his purchase perfected. About twenty minutes after the office closed that afternoon a horse reeking with sweat, foam and steam from over-driving drew up in front of the land office and the Canal purchasing agent from Detroit handed a list of applications to the receiver. Mr. Ward's purchase included 200 eighty-acre lots, 16,000 acres in all. He returned from Lansing to Detroit by the plank road stage, the journey being accomplished in a single day. In calm satisfaction he writes: "The every varying pros-

SITE OF PRESENT CITY HALL, SAGINAW, IN 1849

pect, as I journeyed homeward, the new leaves, and the bursting flowers of spring gave me unusual pleasure, a feeling of serenity, and pleasant mental tranquillity. It was evident that the messengers that Brewer sent out after me could not have arrived at Detroit over twenty-four hours behind me. Consequently our 'hooking' the canoe at the Tobacco forks is what saved my land purchase. To 'hook' a canoe, pushed and driven as we were, seemed then a merit. On this long, tedious, physically and mentally wearing trip of more than six weeks' duration I traveled through the forest usually with a pack on my back for five hundred miles, and by stage, livery and water some four hundred and fifty miles more. Our race was now ended and it was the only one of importance that I had in all my land-looking expeditions. Brewer, with his

Canal crew, remained in the Au Sable and Otsego regions for several months and selected considerable good pine land which the Canal Company entered and a part of which fourteen or twenty years afterwards I purchased at moderate prices of some of the members of that company, mostly their agent, George S. Frost, of Detroit." Twenty years later, Mr. Ward on meeting Mr. Brewer at a hotel told him about stealing the canoe. Mr. Brewer replied with vehemence that he always knew Mr. Ward stole that canoe. Mr. Brewer became one of the wealthy Michigan lumbermen, living in East Saginaw to a good old age.

Six weeks after the purchase was made, Mr. Ward was informed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington that all his purchases had been cancelled because Congress had recently passed an act setting off to a new land district that portion of the district where his entries were located. Thereupon Mr. Ward left for Washington. The commissioner drafted a relief bill which General Cass immediately put through the Senate and General (Hester L.) Stevens tried to pass in the House. It never got through that body, however, but the Commissioner gave Mr. Ward eighteen months to receive his money and warrants back and re-enter the lands in the newly established land office at Cheboygan.

In the '50's the pine-land owners held that it was folly to buy pine-lands on the headwaters of the Au Sable and Manistee rivers, where, they argued, the timber would never be wanted in their time; but Mr. Ward persisted in his "mistaken" course of making purchases, and in time the construction of the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw Railroad to Cheboygan and Mackinaw City gave an outlet for his timber. Then the tune changed, and Mr. Ward was accused of having gobbled up all the best timber. He had located some twenty-five lots east of Otsego Lake when the panic of 1855 made it difficult to get money. He therefore took as a partner his old friend and classmate, Doctor Kibby. The doctor, however, became anxious and sold out his half for the purchase money and carrying charges—$2,500. Twenty-five years later Doctor Kibby's half of the land sold for $80,000.

While waiting for better times Mr. Ward turned to surveying, laying out additions to the City of Port Huron and making plats of the villages of Ruby, Lakeport and Brockway. Meantime, his wife did the housework and, while her husband was away, much of the gardening; she also earned money by sewing for tailor-shops, besides taking care of three children, two of whom died. During the winter of 1857, she went into the camp and, with the help of

one girl, did the washing and general housework for the men, waiting at table on from fifteen to thirty of them. The lumbering that year cost $1.375 per thousand feet, which amount was reduced to $1.125 the next season; the prices ranged from $2.50 for culls to $15.00 for first clear, Albany inspection. Then war came to give pause to all lumber operations.

Neither Mr. Ward nor his family enjoyed life in Saginaw, where they had been living for two years; and therefore they removed to a farm near Pontiac, where he spent thirty years. From 1865 to 1893 the lumber business was profitable; then came a panic which lasted for two years. As fast as he made money he bought more land from the Government. The Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad was completed from Saginaw to Ludington about 1871; three years later the Grand Rapids & Indiana reached Petoskey, and about the same time the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw was extended from Bay City to Gaylord; thus the great Michigan forests were opened up.

As illustrating the financial ups and downs that took place in the lumber business, it is to be noted that in 1869 the owners of the lands east of Otsego Lake began to lumber them. About the same time the Michigan Legislature was induced to pass an act to incorporate companies for the improvement of rivers and harbors. This was a method which large timber-owners took to get the control of certain streams to their own advantage and to the destruction of values of timber lands not represented in the improvement companies. The next Legislature amended the act to prevent excessive tolls, but even so certain river improvement companies were able to collect considerable amounts of money from log-owners before the Legislature again gave relief. After some seventy to a hundred million feet of cork pine had been taken from the Otsego Lake district, the owners sold the remainder of their holdings for $50,000. A few years later the new owners paid off a mortgage of $150,000 and realized over $1,000,000 net from the remainder of the uncut pine timber.

In the autumn of 1877 Mr. Ward began lumbering on the Manistee River and with his sons continued to operate in that region for nearly twenty years, the logs being run down the river and sawed at Manistee. At the same time he was lumbering on the Au Sable River, the logs being run to Oscoda and towed from there to Bay City. In 1855 he turned his attention to purchasing hardwood timber land in the upper part of the Lower Peninsular in Antrim, Crawford, Otsego, Charlevoix, Montmorency and Kal-

kaska counties, the lands being in the vicinity of the only large tract of white pine he then owned. During the next eight years he purchased as an investment 70,000 acres at from $2.50 to $12.00 per acre, the average price being $6.50. The soil he found unusually good for agricultural purposes. The large snowfall in winter and rainfall in summer almost assured the crops from drought, and there was nearly always plenty of snow for lumbering purposes in winter. The land was covered with a good quality of sugar-maple, elm, basswood, black birch, hemlock and in places a little beech, white ash and black cherry. There were not over 6,000,000 feet of white pine timber on the whole 70,000 acres. On the other hand, there were from 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 feet of good sugar maple saw-logs; from 70,000,000 to 100,000,000 feet of elm; 30,000,000 feet of basswood; 35,000,000 to 50,000,000 feet of hemlock and from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 feet of black birch. The white ash was from 18 to 40 inches in diameter; the black cherry ran from 14 to 30 inches; and beside the saw logs there was as much more timber that could be used for the best kind of charcoal and fuel wood.[3]

In 1866 Mr. Ward began to grade a standard-gauge railroad from Frederic on the Michigan Central Railroad for a distance of thirty-seven miles to the northwest. Excepting for seven miles this road ran through his timber land. He spent seven years in grading the thirty-seven miles and from fifty to sixty miles of spur branch lines leading in various directions through his timber. His entire tract of timber, including the hardwood part and the pine tract comprised between eighty and ninety thousand acres, lying mostly in one body, and he figured that it would take from twenty to thirty years of heavy lumbering to exhaust it. His railroad gave him competitive transportation by either the Michigan Central or the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroads and by the Manistee River. He was also within striking distance of Lake Michigan.

In 1893 came another financial panic. Having at his command $500,000, Mr. Ward lessened his railroad construction and increased his land purchases by about sixteen thousand acres at an average price of from six to seven dollars an acre. During this panic he lost less than seven thousand dollars, by reason of a Wisconsin firm, and $20,000 out of a deposit of nine times that amount in the Third National Bank of Detroit, the failure of which brought distress to

[3] The last of these lands purchased by Mr. Ward were sold to Richard Hanson in 1914 by the Ward estate.

very many persons in the eastern part of the state. Advance knowledge of the bank's condition led Mr. Ward to check freely on his account in small amounts. Mr. Ward died in 1904. After leaving small bequests to a number of his nephews and nieces and directing the executors to print his autobiography for distribution among his descendants, he left his estate mainly in trust for his children and grandchildren. His estimated wealth was over ten million dollars.

After 1865 western settlements sprang up as if by magic, towns became cities, and cities grew by leaps and bounds. In 1868 came the "golden age" of lumbering in Michigan; and by 1882 the Saginaw Valley had reached the climax of its production, contributing more than one-half to the grand total of 8,000,000,000 feet of white pine alone cut in the Northwest.[4] Other portions of the state now came into the lumber market, and Michigan's forests fell at the rate of 33,000 acres a year, yielding in 1871 2,500,000,000 feet of sawed pine, which was increased to 3,250,000,000 in 1892. In the mills along both the Lake Michigan and the Lake Huron shores the refuse from the mills was used to evaporate salt-brine, and in the production of both salt and lumber, the state exceeded any other in the Union.

Almost all of the "lumber barons" of Michigan came from New England. One of the exceptions was Francis F. Palms. Ange Palms, of Antwerp, Belgium, was a secretary of Napoleon Bonaparte; after Waterloo he came to Detroit and then removed to New Orleans, leaving behind one son, Francis Palms, and one daughter. Francis Palms bought 40,000 acres of pine lands for from one dollar to one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, and sold the same on the basis of $25 for each the land and the timber. As many as 750 settlers in a single county were indebted to him for lands purchased. It is said that his investments ran as high as 400,000 acres. This vast property he managed with the help of one clerk; and the information in this paragraph was given to the writer by the clerk, in 1886.

As a direct consequence of the rapid development of its lumber industry, the state was visited by forest fires so destructive as to call forth the sympathies of the entire country.

On Sunday, October 8, 1871, came the great fire that burned the city of Chicago. The same gale that spread the flames with

[4] See the article on American Lumber, by B. E. Fernow, in "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," N. Y., 1895.

such dire results in the city also swept through Wisconsin and Michigan forests, uniting scattered fires into oceans of flames that smothered town and country alike. Millions of dollars worth of pine timber was destroyed, in addition to loss of many lives. Along the lake shore of Huron County town after town was destroyed; at Saginaw the sawmills and salt blocks were swept away and the entire city was threatened; the students of the Agricultural College were called upon to fight the forest fires that threatened Lansing; Gratiot and Bay Counties suffered severely; but the great loss of both life and property was in Ottawa and Manistee Counties. On Sunday afternoon the fires, creeping from the woods, burned several buildings on the outskirts of Holland; but no serious danger was apprehended until late in the evening, when the rising wind began to scatter embers throughout the town, and quickly all was on fire. Peshtigo and Manistee suffered like fates. Governor Baldwin appointed two relief committees. Charles M. Garrison of Detroit was chairman of the committee having general charge of what is known as the "Thumb," between Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron. In this region twenty-three townships were severely and eighteen partially burned; more than fourteen hundred square miles were embraced in the devastated area, and nine-tenths of the houses therein were consumed. The committee in charge of the Western shore had for its chairman Thomas D. Gilbert of Grand Rapids. This committee found that one-half the mills and houses of Manistee were burned. As it happened, the regular fall supplies were on their way and the demand for lumber to rebuild Chicago was such that employment was quickly found for the men who had been thrown out of work. Holland, then a town of about three thousand people, which had been settled twenty-five years before by a Dutch colony under Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, suffered the loss of five churches, three hotels, sixty-eight stores and more than three hundred dwellings. Happily the loss of life was confined to one person. More than one hundred and forty farms were swept clear of buildings, fences and trees. The good people of Holland had the religious prejudice against insurance, which caused them the absolute loss of all the property destroyed.[5]

The summer of 1881 was excessively hot. In the neck of land between Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron, known as "The Thumb," almost no rain fell during July and August. Nearly every stream was dry and the wells were empty. The swamps showed great

[5] Letter from William A. Howard to Alexander H. Rice, of Boston, given in "The Great Fires in Chicago and the West," by E. J. Goodspeed, 1871.

cracks in their burned clay; the vegetation in fields and woods became tinder. The great fires of 1871 left the tall pines charred and blackened; the tempests heaped up windfalls to which the settlers added the "slashings" of cut timber. During the hot days of August the farmers built forest and fallow fires to push the work of clearing. Thoughtless of consequences, they availed themselves of Nature's aid in burning the encumbering timber, and gave no heed to those warning fires which, earlier in the month, had destroyed the woods about West Branch in Ogemaw County.

On August 13, the signal service observer [6] at Port Huron announced the presence of dense clouds of smoke from forest fires, the fires themselves being plainly visible in the west and southwest. On August 31 a fire started on the northern edge of Lapeer County, made its way along the south branch of the Cass River and 2 o'clock in the afternoon destroyed the church, school and one dwelling at Sandusky; at 4 o'clock it burned part of Deckerville. About dark a strong wind from the north stopped the advance. Bad Axe, in Huron County, had been threatened all day on Sunday, the 4th of September. On Monday northwest and southwest winds met at that town, and as the two currents struggled for mastery, the circling air was filled with hot ashes and fiery cinders. The sky rained coals of fire, and in twenty minutes the town was in flames. Four hundred people imprisoned in the brick courthouse for two hours were released to find every other building destroyed. That afternoon a southwest gale overturned trees thirty feet high and beat down the young poplars. Catching up fire in the township, a whirlwind of flame raced through Huron City. A black, ugly cloud appeared in the northwest, with detached fragments eddying about the center. Darkness came before the cloud, and on its whirling sides shone the light of burning Grindstone City. The western sky was a blaze of glory. Darting from the surrounding forests, revolving sheets of flame leaped high in air. As the area of the fires became greater and gases filled the upper air, vast billows of flame were driven through the sky. The eastern portion of Port Hope burned, but the people worked successfully to save the remainder of the village. The gale tore the roofs from the houses to the northward, threw

[6] "The Michigan Forest Fires of 1881," prepared under the direction of Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen, chief signal officer of the army; by William O. Bailey, sergeant Signal Corps, U. S. A. Signal Service Notes No. 1; Washington, 1882. With map of the burned district. A pamphlet of rare value historically. Mr. Bailey was a patient investigator and a writer of dramatic power.

down log-cabins and caught men and women up into the air. At Sand Beach the sky became copper-colored at noon, then changed to red. By 2 o'clock people went about the streets with lanterns. At the same hour a wall of flame from fifty to one hundred feet high swept over Parisville. The freaks of the fires were curious. Here a shanty was untouched, or a gate left standing, while the house, barns, granaries and even the fence were destroyed. Near Parisville, one farm was taken and another left; the Polish Church and seven houses clustering about it were saved, while everything surrounding them was burned. One farmer had his haystack left after his house, barn, and fences were devoured; another had his house saved and his barn, ten feet away, burned.

During Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Huron, Tuscola, Sanilac and Lapeer counties were literally shriveled up by the flames.[7] Potatoes and onions were roasted in the ground, far from the fire; peach and apple trees again burst into bloom; the fish were killed in the streams and birds driven out over the lake were drowned; tall, black, lifeless trees burned with blue-white flames like huge candles; the air was thick with blinding smoke, and lamps lighted at midday threw shadows such as electric lights make; flaming balls of punk soared through the air and fell on villages and fields, causing fires to spring up on every side. Men, women and children, fleeing along the roads, were lifted into the air and dropped on a bed of advancing flame. Some scooped holes in the earth and buried their faces to prevent suffocation, while the fire burned the clothes on their backs and blistered their flesh; others escaped in wells, where they stayed often for twenty-four hours. Hot and flying sand blinded many, and half-naked creatures wandered into the towns, bearing the charred bodies of their dead. Those who sought the lake for protection found the waters a sea of lye, and many, suffocated with smoke, were drowned. The bears from the forest herded with the cattle, and all were consumed; the wild-cat was killed in the forest and the snake was burned in his hole.

Utter desolation was spread over the country and typhoid fevers, lung and bronchial troubles followed in the wake of flames. Relief associations were formed and contributions were poured in upon the victims of the scourge; but these means could only mitigate in

[7] On the western side of the state the cities of Manistee and Holland were burned on the night of October 8, 1871, the date of the beginning of the great Chicago fire.

a small degree some of the after hardships. One hundred and twenty-five persons lost their lives, thousands lost all they possessed, and the destruction of timber and farm property was estimated at $2,000,000.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE HOLLAND IMMIGRATION AND THE BEGINNING OF GRAND RAPIDS

Hollanders founded New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island; then emigration in colonies from the Netherlands to America entirely ceased until the year 1846, when a colony under the leadership of Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, came to this country and settled in Western Michigan.[1] The Hollander is naturally conservative, not easily aroused, but is actuated by deep convictions and unswerving loyalty to his native land. The causes that led to the change in public sentiment which resulted in the emigration and colonization of 1847 were religious.

At the close of the war with Spain in the Netherlands a state church was established with a creed defined by the Synod of Dordtrecht, held in 1618. To this church, with its form of government, regulations and creed, the Dutch people adhered until 1816, when King William I, who had returned after the downfall of Napoleon, succeeded in accomplishing that which Louis Napoleon and his brother, the emperor, had already begun—an arbitrary revision of the church government and a modification of the church regulations prescribed by the Synod of Dordtrecht. The new regulations and revised mode of worship were forced upon the church by the king, without asking the consent of the church authorities and contrary to the precedents of two centuries of Reformed Church government.

This action was followed by religious agitation, which resulted in the "Separation of 1833-34," when several ministers, together with thousands of their followers, left the mother church and began to congregate in houses, barns and upon the open fields. This incurred the displeasure of the king and the active opposition of that branch of the state church which acquiesced in the new departure. By formal action the General Synod called upon the king to suppress these religious assemblages. The Code Napoleon had been

[1] MSS. by Gerrit J. Diekema, Mich. P. & H. Collections.

incorporated into the new statutes of the Netherlands after the fall of Napoleon; in it was a provision which forbade the assembling together of more than nineteen persons for any purpose whatever, unless sanctioned by the government. William sent his soldiers to prevent the free worship of God. This persecution continued many years. Thousands of guilders were paid as fines, many preachers were thrown into prison and others were buffeted, cuffed and beaten by the soldiers. The government was too weak to subdue these Dutch Separatists, and when, in 1839, William II succeeded to the throne, arrests became less frequent; one of the courts declared inoperative the statutes under which the arrests were made, and independent church organizations of dissenters were permitted upon petition, provided they waived all right to church property and to subsidy from the state.

Socially, however, these dissenters remained ostracized; the doors of former friends and of relatives were closed to them; they were constantly made the object of ridicule and were looked down upon with contempt. Merchants were boycotted; day laborers were discharged; they were called opprobrious names. In short, the most galling social and industrial persecution followed the days of actual arrests. Such was the leading cause that led to the Dutch colonization of 1847. There was, however, still another potent cause, namely, great poverty, hunger, destitution, and almost starvation, among the middle and poorer classes of the people, such as had never before been witnessed in the Netherlands.

The Separatists were almost exclusively composed of these classes, and their power to relieve one another had been exhausted. "Oppressed in conscience," says their historian, "hungry in body, poor in pocket, but with dauntless spirits and dogged Dutch determination, these brave men began to look for a haven of rest and a land of plenty somewhere beyond the sea. But these men were patriots. Though half-starved and oppressed, they still loved their country with a deep and tender love. To them the word expatriation was synonymous with treason. At a monster mass meeting held in Utrecht a committee was appointed to solicit from the minister of colonies, a member of the cabinet, permission to go to the highlands of Java, the government to guarantee religious liberty and to assist in transporting the poor. To Java, the 'Pearl of the East,' the pride of the great waters, they longed to go. Here they could still see the dear old flag floating above them. Here they could go without sacrificing their patriotism. Here they could go and remain loyal to God and to country. But even this boon the

government promptly refused, and henceforth all eyes were turned toward America—toward America, the home of freedom, the land of plenty.

"Then came the great problem, whether to emigrate or colonize. Emigration meant loss of identity, loss of religious leadership, disintegration, absorption. Colonization meant identity preserved, leadership guaranteed, unity of interest and purpose maintained, 'assimilation and not absorption.' The decision was prompt and certain. It must be colonization. Leaders and people must go together. Scholte and Van Raalte soon announced themselves ready to go." [2]

A general epistle, asking for cooperation and Christian sympathy, was sent to the believers in the United States, and this general epistle reached the friendly hands of three New Yorkers—DeWitt, Wyckoff, and Garrettson, who helped prepare the way for the stream of emigration.

On October 2, 1846, Rev. A. C. Van Raalte and his followers, numbering forty-seven, after a stormy voyage of forty-seven days, landed in New York. From New York they left by steamer for Albany and thence by way of Buffalo and Cleveland they came to Detroit. Wisconsin and Iowa were considered as their destination, but the season was so far advanced when they reached Detroit that it was deemed hazardous to proceed any further that year. Fortunately work was obtained for the men at the St. Clair shipyards during the winter.

At Detroit, Van Raalte and his party were heartily welcomed by Gen. Lewis Cass, Theodore Romeyn, Rev. George Duffield, C. C. Trowbridge, Rev. Mr. West and others. These men had much to do with keeping the colony in Michigan. It was long a question of doubt whether they would settle in the Saginaw Valley or in Western Michigan and the reasons that finally led their leader to select Western Michigan and found Holland, in Ottawa County, are told in the oration delivered by Mr. Van Raalte at Holland, during the quarter-centennial celebration in 1872.

"Although the Americans," he said, "recommended the localities near rivers, and in general deemed it too great a hazard to settle here; although the Hollanders dreaded the forests; although this locality subjected my family to the greatest inconveniences of pioneering; nevertheless, the combination of so many advantages, even if at first they could be but slowly developed, left within me

[2] G. J. Diekema.

no doubt as to what my duty was. I knew that the rich forest soil was best fitted for raising winter wheat and for dairy purposes. That owing to the manufacturing interests and navigation, by far higher market prices could be obtained here than in the Far West. That the country near Lake Michigan was protected by the water from severe frosts, and that it was pre-eminently a region for fruit. I chose this locality after much forethought, on account of its great variety of resources, and impressed also with the fact that if the Holland emigration should develop into a power, we ought to remain together for mutual support, and our surroundings should have this variety of resources for labor and capital to operate in. The object I had in settling between the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers was to secure the advantages offered by both for the employment of our labor, and at the same time to establish a center for a united spiritual life and labor for God's Kingdom."

In the spring of the same year came James Van de Luyster, Rev. Cornelius Van der Meulen and Jan Steketee; each came in charge of a vessel-load, and although they at first intended to join Scholte in Iowa, they changed their minds at Buffalo and came to Van Raalte in Michigan, where they were hospitably received in large sheds erected by the earlier immigrants; these last comers afterwards located at Zeeland. Then came Rev. Marten A. Ypma and his followers, who settled in Vriesland. In 1848 Rev. Seine Bolke followed with a colony from the Province of Overisel and settled in Overisel Township, Allegan County. Since then a constant stream of immigration has followed. It has been truly said that "the Holland colonists of 1847 furnished this country with the only immigration that, in spirit and purpose, can truly be said to resemble the settlement of New England by the Pilgrim Fathers."

It was the 12th day of February, 1847, when the colony reached the site selected by their leader, at the head of Black Lake, in Ottawa County. They endured hardships and privation; they did not understand the language of the people with whom they had to trade; they had not learned to swing the woodman's axe; there were no roads, no clearings and no supplies nearer than Allegan. They had but little money and were forced to obtain employment at once or starve. The number of their sick and dying soon assumed large proportions, yet they had no physicians among their number; but they made the forests ring with the singing of their psalms.

As soon as the news of their safe arrival and permanent location reached the Netherlands, a general emigration to this country took place, which lasted during the years 1847-1849. The greater

portion joined Van Raalte in Michigan. Then there was a lull of about five years, when another wave of emigration set in, which lasted until the time of the War of Secession. Since the close of that war, there has been a constant influx, until today the Holland emigrants and their descendants in Western Michigan are numbered by the hundreds of thousands.

Rev. Albertus C. Van Raalte, D. D., the leader, was small of stature, with massive head, athletic step and iron frame; with deep, keen gray eyes that commanded respect, inspired confidence and enforced obedience; with military rather than clerical bearing; educated at Leyden and of scholarly attainments; heroic in undaunted moral courage; firm in determination; comprehensive in his grasp of things temporal and spiritual; with unerring prophetic vision, complete self-denial, unlimited faith and large-hearted Christian charity; a statesman, prophet and priest; a born orator; a born leader. Rev. Cornelius Van der Meulen was broad-shouldered, of medium size, of genial bearing, with smooth-shaven face; with strength of character blended with kindness of heart; an extemporaneous preacher after the type of Wesley, with the rare gift to move his audiences to smiles and tears at will; essentially a man of the people, with keen business instincts and an unerring knowledge of human nature.[3] Jannes Van de Luyster had sold his beautiful Netherland farm for 60,000 guilders and had given most of it to pay for the passage of his fellow believers. To show how he viewed the character and purpose of the emigration, is shown by one of the receipts given by him for the return of a part of this passage money:

"Received from ....., one of those whose liberty was purchased for the sake of the Lord, $25.00.

"JANNES VAN DE LUYSTER."

The movement being essentially a religious one, everything centered in the church; the kerkeraad (consistory) combined the legislative, judicial and executive branches of their government. Their patriotism, however, was immediately transferred to the country of their adoption, and when the War of Secession broke out, the Holland colonies furnished their full quota of soldiers, in whose veins flowed the heroic blood of Van Tromp and De Ruyter and Orange and Maurice.

Simultaneously with the building of the log cabin and the log church, they laid the foundations of the schoolhouse and of Hope College. These poor emigrants built a college before they had pro-

[3] The characterizations follow those in Mr. Diekema's paper.

vided for their actual personal wants. They brought the first fruits of their fields and flocks to support students and professors.

The City of Holland did not have enough manufacturing industries to furnish labor to those who did not take to the farm, and therefore large numbers flocked to the cities of Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Grand Haven and Muskegon; and Hollanders still constitute a large percentage of the population of those cities. Flourishing colonies were soon founded throughout the counties of Kent, Ottawa. Kalamazoo, Allegan, Muskegon, Newaygo, Missaukee, Oceana and Berrien. The farming country for a radius of from sixteen to twenty miles about Holland has been entirely taken up by them, and for solidity of buildings and fertility of soil it rivals the older settlements of the state. As a rule the promise of a Hollander is as good as his note, and his note is as good as a mortgage on his farm. This trait, when it was once discovered by the American merchants, placed the early colonists in a condition where they could purchase all they needed upon credit and saved them from many hardships.

No sooner had the early colonist built a temporary dwelling place for himself, than he began building a house of God, and in every Holland settlement in Michigan today is a well-built, neatly finished, and always carefully painted church. The home of their religious worship is never allowed to show signs of neglect. The country is dotted with churches, and they are always filled on Sundays.

In 1827 Samuel Holloway appeared at the rapids of the Grand River to distribute supplies to the Indians. He assisted Louis Campau to build the first log house at the Rapids, and retired to the woods before the Yankee settlers began to come. The half-breed Francis Bailey came about 1828 from Eastern Canada, with his Indian wife. He was a "medicine man" and endeavored to obtain as an Indian the land on which he lived, intending to separate from the tribe. His application was rejected because he "was not full-blood Indian;" but when he sought to retain his home by entry under the pre-emption law, he was told that he "was not a white man." He said: "I found it bad to be not white man nor Indian, and I did not know what I was. A white man got my place and my house, and so I went with the Indians. It will make no difference when I die." Mr. Bailey died near Pentwater in 1887 at the age of eighty years. In 1830 Caleb Eldred, a "land looker" for Ruell Starr, explored the Grand River and reported in favor of

the latter, which was selected as the place of operations by Mr. Starr. Louis Campau came in November, 1826, as the representative of Mr. Brewster, a New York fur dealer. In the following year he built two log cabins, a dwelling and a trading-house; also a blacksmith shop. Mr. Campau understood the Indians and became a wealthy man, enjoying a profitable trade throughout Western and Northern Michigan. His brother, Toussaint, came in 1827, and was followed a few years later by two other brothers, Antoine and George. Louis Campau was twice married. His first wife died at Saginaw. His second wife died here in 1869, aged sixty-two. He died in 1871 at nearly eighty years of age. Toussaint died in 1872. Antoine died in 1874, aged seventy-seven. George died in 1879, aged seventy-seven. Daniel Marsac came in 1828, but removed to Lowell and in 1831 established a trading post opposite the mouth of Flat River.

By the Chicago Treaty of 1821 the United States Government agreed to expend $1,000 annually for fifteen years in support of a teacher and blacksmith among the Potawatomie Indians; also to furnish the Ottawas with a teacher, blacksmith, cattle and farming utensils, to be located upon a square mile of land for mission purposes, the land to be held as Government property, and to expend for these latter $1,500 annually for ten years. The two tribes lived in harmony.[4] Isaac McCoy was appointed to carry the treaty into effect. The Potawatomie mission was located on the St. Joseph River, where Niles now stands and the Ottawas mission on the north side of Grand River, opposite the foot of the Rapids, where there was an Indian village, of which Kew-kish-kum was the head chief. Noonday was the Ottawa chief. Well-worn trails led in all directions. The territory of the Ottawas extended to the Kalamazoo River. The station at St. Joseph River was known as "Carey;" that at the Rapids was called "Thomas."

Instructions were given to McCoy by General Cass, then the Territorial Governor. He was to give the Indians instruction, both moral and religious suited to the habits and condition; he was ordered to inculcate proper sentiments toward the Government and citizens of the United States and strive to wean the Indians from England; he was to "labor assiduously against the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent the free introduction of whiskey among the natives;" he was required to watch the traders, and report infractions of the laws; induce the Indians to engage in agriculture and the rearing of domestic animals; and instruct them as to the best

[4] Dwight Goss's History of Grand Rapids.

mode of expending their annuities. McCoy, with his family, pupils and assistants, in all thirty-two persons, reached Carey Station December 18, 1822, and spent a hard winter. In May, 1823, McCoy started for Thomas Station on Grand River, to begin operations among the Ottawas, taking with him a Frenchman named Paget for a pilot. At an Indian camp by Kalamazoo River they obtained venison. They were four days on the journey.

After McCoy, came the Rev. Leonard Slater, from Worcester, Massachusetts, a Baptist missionary to western Indians, appointed at the Baptist Triennial Convention of 1826; his wife was Mary F. Ide, of Vermont. In the spring of 1827 Slater was placed in charge of the Thomas Mission at the Rapids and remained there until 1836, preaching and teaching an Indian school, during which time he mastered the Ottawa language. Governor Cass visited both the Niles and Grand Rapids missions, and commended the zeal and faithfulness of the missionaries in charge. Among Mr. Slater's first converts here was Chief Noonday; about 150 families of Indians were attached to his mission.

A rapid influx of white settlers began early in 1833. In 1836 land was purchased at Prairieville, Barry county, whither Mr. Slater removed, with fifty families of Indians, including Chief Noonday. Mr. Slater continued his work there till 1852, when he removed to Kalamazoo. When the War of Secession broke out he did service in the hospital at Nashville, Tenn., where he contracted an illness from which he died at Kalamazoo, April 27, 1866. His first wife, who shared his work here, died in 1850. The Ottawa chief Noonday lived to be more than a hundred years old, and was buried at the Slater (Prairieville) Station.

On December 31, 1830, Father Frederick Baraga arrived in New York from Havre, France. He was born in Carniola, in the Kingdom of Illyria, in the southern portion of the Austrian Empire, June 29, 1797, and was sent out by the Leopoldine Society of Austria. In May, 1831, Bishop Fenwick and Father Baraga sailed from Detroit and reached L'Arbre Croche on the 28th, where Father Dejean, a Belgian priest had re-opened the old mission, building a church, a presbutery and a schoolhouse. In 1832 Father Baraga preached to the Indians of Beaver Island, and in August printed a prayer and hymn book in Ottawa language. The next year he visited Little Detroit, Grand Traverse, Manistee, and the Grand River, and was succeeded at Arbre Croche by Father Saenderl. At the Ottawa village near present site of Grand Rapids, he found the Indians debauched by the rum of the fur traders, and ministered

to them until 1834, when Father Viszoczky, from Hungary, succeeded him on the Grand River, and he labored at Detroit and on the St. Clair River. In 1836 Father Baraga left Detroit for Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie and La Pointe. At La Pointe he built a church, which was supplied with furniture from Vienna. He composed a prayer and hymn book in the Otchipwe language; also translated passages from the Epistles and Gospels of the year; an extract from the holy history of the Old and New Testaments; wrote in German a history of the North American Indians, and in the Slavonic language a popular devotional work. In 1857 Father presented to the Germans in Paris the needs of the Indian missions. Seven years later he removed to L'Anse, where there was already a Methodist Mission; he aided the Indians to build twenty-four log houses, printed new editions of his Indian works, and wrote others for the edification of his flock, which extended from Grand River to the head of Lake Superior. His works were in demand throughout Minnesota and Lower Canada, and he prepared a grammar and dictionary of the Otchipwe language. On the discovery of copper and iron ore he ministered to many white settlers in the Lake Superior region. On November 1, 1853, Father Baraga was consecrated at Rome first Bishop of Marquette and Sault Ste. Marie. He labored until October, 1866, when he was stricken by apoplexy at Baltimore, and he died in January, 1868, at the ripe age of eighty-one years. In his labors, his usefulness and his sincerity he was a worthy successor of Minard, Marquette and Allouss.

In 1831 the Government surveyors reached Grand River from the South; John Mullett surveyed town seven north, range eleven west; and Lucius Lyon surveyed town seven, range twelve. Louis Campau made the first entry on September 19, 1831, and was followed by Lucius Lyon, Eurotas P. Hastings, Henry L. Ellsworth and Samuel Dexter.

In 1836 William Haldane opened a cabinet shop at Grand Rapids, and the next year Archibald Salmon started a shop on Prospect Hill close to that of Mr. Haldane. A year or two later Samuel F. Buttler arrived. These three had a monopoly of the business until 1849, when Abram Snively came, but later he removed to Grandville and began business in that town.[5] Mr. Haldane's business prospered; he brought from Ohio a circular saw and a lathe for making chairs and gave employment to seven men. Wooden chairs, bedsteads, tables and bureaus were manufactured for people from Holland, Lowell,

[5] Dwight Goss's History of Grand Rapids.

Grand Haven and other towns in the vicinity of Grand Rapids, who bought their furniture and carted it home in wagons. The farmers traded grain, eggs, pork and other produce for furniture, and the factory employes had to take pay in commodities in place of money. In 1854 Enoch W. Winchester was taken into partnership with Mr. Haldane, but later Mr. Winchester formed a partnership with his brother, S. A. Winchester.

William T. Powers was born in Bristol, New Hampshire, in 1820; when seven years of age his father removed to Lansingburg, N. Y.; in 1847 he came to Grand Rapids, and rented a room of James Scott, in which he set up a furniture factory comprising a turning lathe, a circular saw and a boring machine. In 1851 Mr. Powers entered into a partnership with E. Morris Ball, and the firm of Powers & Ball started out to do business on a larger scale. They built a factory to make bedsteads, bureaus, bookcases and chairs. Their business grew rapidly; they used 300,000 feet of lumber annually, and sold the manufactured articles for about $33,000. There were no railroads, but chairs and turned stuff for buggies was shipped to Chicago by boat.

The panic of 1857 paralyzed business. Ball, Noyes & Colby offered their plant to Mr. Powers, who continued to operate it until the War of Secession. Enoch W. & S. A. Winchester in 1855 erected a two-story wooden building for a furniture factory, did a fairly prosperous business for two years, and then came the panic of 1857. The Winchester brothers successfully appealed to C. O. Comstock to buy them out. Mr. Comstock had done a prosperous sawmill business and he had made money out of a large sash and blind factory. After four years of hard struggle he succeeded, and in 1864 he established a branch at Peoria, Ill., which took the first carload shipment of furniture from Grand Rapids. A trade was also built up in Milwaukee and Chicago.

In early days the furniture salesman would pack up a carload of goods and travel with it from town to town until he had peddled them out. As the business increased this method was found to be inconvenient. Elias Matter suggested that sketches of the articles would convey the idea of the style, and his suggestion was put in practice. Pencil sketches gave place to photography. Today all salesmen sell their wares by exhibiting photographs, and commercial photography has become a profitable business.

George Widdicomb was born in Devonshire, England, and emigrated to America in 1840, settling in Syracuse, N. Y., where he worked as a cabinet maker, and afterward engaged in business. He

settled in Grand Rapids in 1856, and worked at his trade in the Winchester Brothers' factory for more than a year. Then he rented a factory and with his four boys, William, George, Jr., Harry and John, he commenced the manufacture of cheap furniture. From this factory Mr. William Widdicomb went to Milwaukee to sell furniture, the first furniture commercial salesman from Grand Rapids. When the war broke out the two elder boys went to the front at the first call for troops. Harry and John followed one year later, and then Mr. Widdicomb retired from the furniture business. When the boys came home again they started a furniture shop.

In 1859 Julius Berkey, with James Eggleston, made sash, doors and blinds, under contract; and William A. Berkey began to erection of a sash, door and blind factory. In November, 1862, Elias Berkey with five dollars in cash and a few hundred dollars worth of machinery and materials, formed the partnership of Berkey & Matter; they manufactured exclusively for the wholesale trade of Chicago and Milwaukee. Undoubtedly the honor of founding the wholesale furniture trade of Grand Rapids belongs to Julius Berkey. The venture proved profitable to himself and his associates. His early partner, Alphonso Ham, an enthusiastic believer in the future of Grand Rapids, was among the first to prophesy that Grand Rapids was destined to become a furniture city.

CHAPTER XXVII

POLITICAL AFFAIRS FROM 1865 TO 1897

Governor Austin Blair delivered his farewell message to the Legislature on January 4, 1865. When he came into office in January, 1861, he said, "there had already begun to be heard the distant mutterings of that terrific storm that subsequently burst upon us in the attack on Fort Sumter and has raged with unabated fury during my entire term." The duties of the executive office were therefore largely military. The whole energies of the people were taxed to the uttermost in the constant effort to raise their quotas of the volunteer troops, to supply the necessary funds to pay bounties and meet the other financial requirements of the crisis, while at the same time they had to bear the ordinary burdens of civil life. "That we have been enabled to bear all this immense increase of the public burdens," said the Governor, "is a subject for congratulation, while the fact that the state has grown and prospered in spite of them should excite the most intense satisfaction, not unmixed with wonder. It has demonstrated beyond cavil that freedom is the best basis of power."

The state debt at the close of the war was about three and a half million dollars, almost the entire amount drawing 7 per cent interest. Besides this was the trust fund debt of $1,315,000, consisting of the primary school, the University and the normal school funds, it being the policy of the state to expend for its own purposes the amounts received from school lands and to pay interest to the several funds. One hundred thousand dollars of the debt represented St. Mary's Canal 6 per cent bonds issued to meet deficits due to deficiency in tolls. The Governor undertook to reassure the Legislature as to the threatened loss of tolls owing to the construction of a railroad from Little Bay de Nocquet to Marquette, thus creating a rival line. The rapid development of this richest mineral region in the world would, he thought, create business enough for both railroad and canal.[1]

[1] Exaugural message of January 4, 1865.

Governor Blair's successor was Henry H. Crapo, a native of Massachusetts, a resident of Flint and a man of large business affairs and of unusual financial ability. His passion for details in handling state affairs gave him small comfort while in office; and he was chagrined over his failure to stem the tide of public sentiment in favor of granting municipal aid to the railroads then projected into every portion of the state.[2] It seemed like a revival of the days of 1836 when the state undertook to build railroads and canals, only the growth of population and wealth had caused many ciphers to be added to the significant figures, so that whereas in those days $5,000,000 seemed ample to construct both railroads and canals throughout the entire state, towns and cities were piling up an aggregate debt of ten of millions. Fortunately the Supreme Court intervened before the evil had become very serious, and the bonds were declared illegal. Mr. Crapo's first opponent was Col. William M. Fenton, a fellow-townsman, and the Republican majority was 10,000; two years later the Democrats named Gen. Alpheus S. Williams, who was absent from the country on public business during the campaign, and the Republican majority was increased to nearly thirty thousand. Governor Crapo's opponent for the nomination had been Henry P. Baldwin, a wholesale shoe merchant of Detroit, who had been a member of the State Senate in 1861. Mr. Baldwin was one of the directors of the Second National Bank of Detroit, which was long the dominant political and social power in that city. The bank was the business home of Zachariah Chandler, Christian H. and Frederick Buhl (both of whom had served as mayors of Detroit), Allen Sheldon, James F. Joy, Russell A. Alger and others of large means and influence; and until 1886 its people furnished the sinews of war as well as the political sagacity that gave victory after victory to the Republican party. Like his predecessor, Governor Baldwin gave to the state a prudent, economical and satisfactory administration from 1868 to 1872.

Lewis Cass lived to witness that which all his life he had sincerely believed to be impossible—a new and stronger Union with slavery abolished throughout the land. In 1866 he died at his home in Detroit, and was sincerely mourned by the people of Michigan, who recalled with satisfaction the important part he had in laying the broad and strong foundations of the great Northwest, and who accepted his withdrawal from Buchanan's cabinet and the

[2] Governor Crapo's message of January 6, 1869.

effective encouragement he subsequently gave to the Union cause as a full atonement for the part he had in the compromise measures so strongly disapproved in his own state. When in 1889 Michigan placed in the national Capitol a statue of Cass, Senator Thomas Witherell Palmer in his address on that occasion well expressed Cass' claim to remembrance when he said: "It was the West which made us a nation, and to General Cass more than any other man was the West indebted for that self-dependence, that positiveness, that development which, while it was inherent in the race, was promoted and stimulated by his efforts to impress upon it that the people were the source of power and that society with its statutes and forms of law should be a growth and not a creation."

The election of United States senator in 1871 is notable because of the fact that it signalized the assertion by the western portion of the state of its right to be considered in such elections. There were four candidates: Jacob M. Howard, who had attained a national reputation by his ability and long service in the Senate, was a candidate to succeed himself. Austin Blair, honored and respected as the war governor, had been elected for a third term as representative in Congress and naturally was ambitious for promotion to the Senate. William A. Howard had served in the lower house of Congress from 1855 to 1860 and was regarded as one of the leading Republicans of the country. Thomas W. Ferry had been elected to Congress three times, and was looked upon as a representative of the young Republicans who had come into prominence since the war; moreover, he alone of the candidates was born in Michigan. Senator Howard's devotion to his duties in Washington and a manner somewhat austere had caused him to lose touch with the political workers of the state, while Mr. Blair was favored by the soldiers and the Republican press. William A. Howard had no considerable following, and it was charged that he had accepted a business position in Grand Rapids in order to accommodate his candidacy to the rising western sentiment.

It was also said that Senator Chandler, astute politician that he was, favored recognition of the swelling western tide in order that he himself might not be overwhelmed by the flood when his turn came for reelection. The fact that both senators lived in Detroit had caused a bitter feeling to be engendered against what was called "the Detroit ring," and it was noted that of the eleven senators from Michigan since the admission of the state, Lucius Lyon, John Norvell, Augustus S. Porter, William Woodbridge, Lewis Cass, Zach-

ariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard had been Detroit residents, while Alpheus Felch of Washtenaw and Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston were eastern men. Thomas Fitzgerald of Berrien was simply appointed to fill a vacancy and Charles E. Stuart of Kalamazoo had served but a single term. It was strongly argued that the West was giving the Republican majorities necessary to the continuance of the Republican party in power, and therefore was entitled to representation.

In a sense the campaign of 1871 was regarded as a sequel to that of 1869, when Mr. Chandler had met with such strenuous opposition from the interior of the state that he was believed to have made a political bargain with William A. Howard, by the terms of which Mr. Howard was to remove to Grand Rapids and to have Senator Chandler's support in 1871. Senator Chandler had been so injudicious as to establish the Detroit *Post,* with Carl Schurz as its first editor, in order to counteract the hostile influence of the Detroit *Advertiser and Tribune;* and as a natural result the latter paper assailed his character as well as his abilities, while the astute Democratic Detroit *Free Press* added fuel to the Republican fire by praising Senator Chandler for his devotion to Detroit interests. Mr. Blair and Mr. Ferry had made a combination against Mr. Chandler, but at the last moment Mr. Ferry had pleaded illness as a reason for not appearing at Lansing to prosecute the fight, whereupon Mr. Blair also withdrew. It was reported to Mr. Blair that Senator Chandler had made a second bargain, this time with Mr. Ferry, whereupon the ex-governor wrote from Washington a private letter to his friend Dr. George W. Fish of Flint, in which he charged Senator Howard with being "the right bower of all the corrupt political rings" in Washington; said that there was "not enough of Ferry even to make a man apprehensive," and spoke of the reported bargain between Chandler and Ferry, saying, "they are a corrupt lot of scoundrels and will keep no agreements except such as put money in their pockets."

It almost invariably happens in politics that such a letter is made public, and the Fish letter was no exception to the rule. The *Free Press* published it at just the right time to make Governor Blair's outbreak most effective against his candidacy in 1871. Senator Howard, justly indignant at the baseless charges made against his integrity, made formal and convincing reply, but the letter had its full effect on the Republican caucus. The crowd of retainers of the various candidates filled the hotels of the little town to overflowing. The little old Capitol was packed with members of the

Legislature, lobbyists and curious onlookers, among whom were the Democrats, George V. N. Lothrop of Detroit and D. Darwin Hughes of Grand Rapids, destined to win fame as a Chicago lawyer. All four candidates were in the hall. The excitement was too intense for nominating speeches, and an informal ballot was moved. When Representative Brockway of Calhoun moved that the "Senators and *Republicans* come forward and cast their ballots" the roars of laughter that followed broke the tension, thereby relieving the situation by putting the assembly in good humor. Blair and Ferry were tied on the first ballot, each having ten votes more than Senator Howard and thirteen more than William A. Howard. Then began a scramble to disintegrate the vote of the Howards, the Detroit contingent being determined that Blair should not win. On the sixth ballot the senator's vote dropped to four, William A. Howard's vote disappeared and Ferry received fifty ballots, and so gained the one vote necessary to a choice.

Senator Howard returned to Washington and his life ended with his senatorial term. Governor Blair, chagrined and downcast, followed the Democratic flag of Horace Greeley, and Senator Ferry entered upon a career made conspicuous by political turn of affairs at Washington, when he presided over the Senate during the Hayes-Tilden controversy.[3]

In the forefront of the men who represented Michigan in Congress during the days while the War of Secession was impending was William A. Howard, a native of Vermont, who was born in 1812. After learning the trade of cabinet making he entered Middlebury College, and having acquired an education, he came to Detroit and began the practice of law. He served in the national House of Representatives from 1856 to 1863. One of the most convincing stump speakers in the country, he contributed to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, using in his speeches the materials gained during an investigation made by John Sherman and himself into the border-ruffian outrages in Kansas in 1856. In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been enacted, thereby recognizing the principle of popular sovereignty, or the right of each community to determine by a vote of its inhabitants whether or not slavery should be permitted within its borders. In Kansas an influx of men from Missouri had prevented the expression of the will of the Kansans themselves, for the people of Missouri were intensely interested to

[3] Lewis M. Miller's "Reminiscences of the Michigan Legislature of 1871," in Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. XXXII. E. G. Holden's "Carl Schurz as Editor of the Detroit Post," Mich. Hist. Com. MSS.

have Kansas a slave state, and they declared in the Lexington Convention of 1855 that to restrict slavery in Kansas would virtually abolish that institution in Missouri as well. Then came an era of bloodshed never equaled in any community in time of peace. On March 19, 1856, the House of Representatives authorized an investigation of the troubles, and William A. Howard, John Sherman, Republicans, and Mr. Oliver, a Missouri Democrat, were appointed as the investigating committee. During the two months of their stay in Kansas they were often in personal danger from the lawless bands which crossed the border; but they finished their work, and the writing of the report fell largely to Mr. Howard, the chairman, although by reason of his ill health Mr. Sherman was called on to complete it. This report, although it now seems temperate enough, was hailed as "the Black Republican Bible." Briefly, it takes the ground that because of violence prevalent throughout the state the election of the delegate in Congress was invalid, that no valid election had been held and that none could occur save under the protection of United States troops. The report made a profound sensation and over one hundred thousand copies of it were circulated during the Fremont campaign. Moreover, it was one of the most important contributions to the literature of "the irrepressible conflict," and it played an important part in influencing public opinion to build up the Republican party.[4]

After the war Mr. Howard removed to Grand Rapids, where he acted as land commissioner of the Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad, and was appointed governor of the Territory of Dakota by President Hayes, to whose nomination and election he had contributed largely by his speeches in convention and on the stump. He died in Washington in 1880.[5]

Senator Howard, whose political career was brought to an abrupt close by the election of Thomas W. Ferry, was one of the ablest men who have ever represented Michigan at Washington. Jacob Merritt Howard was born in Bennington County, Vermont,

[4] Theodore E. Burton's "Life of John Sherman," in the American Statesman Series, and Joseph Ward's paper on "William A. Howard," in the Northwest Review for March, 1883. For a clear exposition of Mr. Howard's reasoning on constitutional questions see H. R. Report 91, 36th Cong., 2d session; report on the seizure of forts, arsenals, revenue cutters and other property of the United States.

[5] Mr. Howard married Jane Ellen Burchard of Detroit. One of his daughters married Thomas J. O'Brien of Grand Rapids, who was ambassador to China and to Italy under President Taft.

July 10, 1805. He was the seventh generation from William Howard, an Englishman by birth, who settled in Braintree, Massachusetts, about 1644. Samuel, the eldest son of William Howard, removed to Mendon, Massachusetts, where he died in 1713. Benjamin, the fourth in descent from Samuel, removed from Mendon to Windham County, Vermont, about 1776. Four of his brothers were in the Revolutionary war. Otis Howard, the father of Jacob M. Howard, settled in Bennington County in 1779 and married Mary, the eldest daughter of Solomon Millington, a farmer. Jacob, or Merritt, as he was called during his boyhood, began school in the district schoolhouse about fifty rods from his own home, his instruction in school being supplemented by a private tutor. In 1823 he entered the Brattleborough Academy, and in 1826 he entered Williams College, graduating four years later.[5] He studied law at Ware for a year, then taught for some months in Berkshire County, where among his pupils were Cyrus W. Field, builder of the first Atlantic cable and Thomas B. Durant, one of the builders of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1832 he settled in Detroit and was admitted to the bar in July of 1833. In 1835 he married Miss Katherine A. Shaw of Massachusetts.

Having brought from New England Whig convictions, he went down to defeat with his party in 1835, when he was a candidate for member of the convention to frame the Constitution for the State of Michigan. He even took up arms in defense of the position of Michigan in the Ohio boundary controversy by enlisting for the Toledo war. He was active as a member of the Legislature of 1838 and was a candidate for Congress in 1840, when he was elected over his competitor, Alpheus W. Felch. In Congress Mr. Howard was a hearer rather than a doer. Among the members of the House were ex-President John Quincy Adams and Joshua Giddings, from whom he took his first lessons in the anti-slavery cause. He seems to have left Congress with the conviction that the final solution of the slavery question would be civil war, and in this conviction he persisted during the twenty years before the war actually broke out.

He was active in the presidential elections when Henry Clay, General Taylor and General Scott were candidates; in the trial of a fugitive slave case in 1850 before Judge McLean of the United States Circuit Court he denounced the fugitive slave act as a challenge to a conflict of arms by the South to the North, predicting that sooner or later that challenge would be accepted. His experi-

[5] In 1866 Williams College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

ence taught him that the only success possible for the principles which he had espoused lay in the combination of all the elements opposed to slavery. He was therefore among the first to sign the call inviting all the freemen of Michigan who were opposed to the slavery measures enacted by Congress to assemble at Jackson on July 6, 1854, where and when the Republican party was formed. Much against his will, Mr. Howard was named on the first Republican ticket for the office of Attorney General of Michigan, and in his speeches during the campaign he told the people that should it happen in the providence of God that a bloody conflict was necessary to decide the issue of slavery, they must be prepared even for that event.[6]

He was a member of the First National Republican Convention, held at Pittsburgh, February 22, 1856, and he held the office of Attorney General of Michigan until January 1, 1861. On the death of Senator Bingham in October, 1861, Mr. Howard was chosen by the Legislature to fill the vacancy. He was made a member of the committees on the Judiciary, Military Affairs and Private Land Claims, and he became chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads. Every measure for supplying men and means for the War of Secession found in him a warm supporter. He advocated the Conscription Act of 1863, being convinced that the volunteer system alone could not be safely relied upon to supply men for the army. He advocated confiscating the property of rebels. He was opposed to McClellan and urged the dismissal of that general from the command of the Army of the Potomac. When he approached the President on the subject, Mr. Lincoln replied to him that he thought it best to try "Mac" a little longer. "Mac is slow," said Mr. Lincoln, "but I still have confidence in him."

Mr. Howard was among the first to favor an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, as is claimed by his son, he drafted the first and principal clause as it now appears in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. When some of the committee hesitated and were fearful that the Legislatures of the states and even Congress would not favor so drastic an amendment, he replied, "Now is the time. The people are with us and if we give them a chance they will demolish slavery at a blow. Let us try."

One of the strongest claims Mr. Howard has to a place in the history of this country rests on the part he played in the legislation

[6] MSS. prepared by Hamilton Gay Howard, in possession of the author.

connected with the Thirteenth Amendment, a fact which his family recognized by having carved on his tombstone the statement that he drafted that amendment. Slavery was abolished by President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863; and slavery was virtually dead. But certain states were exempted from the scope of that proclamation; and there were various uncertainties as to what was intended by it. It was contended by constitutional lawyers that the President derived his entire authority by virtue of the fact that he was commander-in-chief of the armies, and that beyond the lines to which his armies could go the proclamation was without legal force. This line of argument was stated by Senator Lyman Trumbull, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee in his speech in the Senate on March 28, 1864, when he reported the Thirteenth Amendment, which was to settle all such contentions, and to make freedom sure.[7]

Mr. Howard supported Senator Trumbull's contention as to the desirability, and even necessity, of the amendment. It is always difficult, however, to assign the proportion of credit due to any individual in shaping legislation in regard to which there is substantial agreement. The substance of the amendment was embodied in resolutions introduced in the House by Representatives Ashley of Ohio and Wilson of Iowa, and in the Senate by Sumner of Massachusetts and Henderson of Missouri. The latter two resolutions were referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, where they were considered and were reported by Senator Trumbull in the form of a committee resolution. On April 8, 1863, the joint resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 38 to 6, the size of the vote showing that there was substantial unanimity in that body on the subject. In the House, however, the vote stood 93 to 65; the requisite two-thirds majority being lacking. A motion to reconsider the vote was entered, and there the matter rested until January 6, 1865, when the resolution was called up in the House and was debated until January 31st, when it received the required two-thirds majority, the vote standing 119 for and 56 against it. The result was brought about by the pressure exerted by President Lincoln, and also by the fact that the fate of slavery was already regarded as sealed. No fewer than eleven Democrats and thirteen border slave-state men voted in the affirmative. The announcement of the passage of the resolution was received with great enthusiasm, and the House, feeling that it had done a great and good work, ad-

[7] Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. IV, p. 473.

journed "in honor of the immortal and sublime event."[8] By December the legislatures of twenty-seven states (including North and South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia) had ratified the amendment and on the 18th of that month it became "valid as part of the Constitution of the United States."

In 1865 Mr. Howard was reelected to the Senate; and no sooner had Congress convened than it provided for a joint committee of six senators and nine members to inquire into the condition of the former Confederate states and report whether they or any of them were entitled to be represented in either House of Congress. Senator Howard was named as the fourth member of the joint committee, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine being the chairman. Among his associates from the House were Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, E. B. Washburne of Illinois, Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, Roscoe Conkling of New York and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. From this committee came the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The first resolution which was sent from the House to the Senate in January, 1866, failed in the Senate; but in May Stevens reported from the joint Committee on Reconstruction a resolution containing the nucleus of the amendment. After modification it passed the Senate in the form in which it now stands. During the past few years this amendment, which aimed to secure to the negro full rights of citizenship, has failed to accomplish its intended purpose. Yet there it stands like the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which was for so many years only a promise; and in the not distant future it will be invoked to good purpose.

Commenting on the legislation reported from the committees of which Senator Howard was an able, intelligent and industrious member, Mr. Rhodes says: "Congress had thus devised a plan of reconstruction. The continuance of the Freedmen's Bureau was a work of charity, the Civil Rights Act secured the equality of negroes before the law, the Fourteenth Amendment combined reasonableness with justice—altogether they are a system of constructive legislation which may justly command the admiration of congressional and parliamentary historians. The process by which this was brought about is a mark of the best legislative achievement. The lawyers of the Senate and the House, with Trumbull at their head, worked out the Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights laws. To the Unionists on the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, with Fessenden as their chief, was due the inception which led step by step

[8] Rhodes, Vol. V, p. 50.

to the final perfection of the constitutional amendment. Those men comprehended the country's needs and possessed a far-sightedness uncommon in legislation. The plan was the result of a compromise between the radicals and moderates after months of thought and conference during which were manifested the best qualities of law-makers as such qualities are estimated in the United States and England."

In the Senate Mr. Howard belonged to the radical wing of the Republicans; from the Committee on Military Affairs he reported a measure providing for retaliation against prisoners for acts of inhumanity inflicted on Union soldiers in Confederate prisons; he also was foremost in the legislation which kept Edwin M. Stanton in the War Department in spite of President Johnson's attempts to dismiss him; and he voted for Johnson's impeachment, notwithstanding the fact that such able lawyers as Fessenden, Trumbull, Grimes and Henderson voted "not guilty." In the various shifts in the Senate, where men of strong convictions and large intelligence frequently found themselves forced to take independent positions, Senator Howard appears never to have been led by either his moral or his legal convictions to take an independent stand. While not as picturesque or as forceful a character as his colleague, Senator Chandler, the two seem to have been in substantial agreement. And yet one must speak with some hesitation in a matter where the record is so incomplete. For owing to reticence on the part of the families of both men, the papers in which their real opinions are expressed have not been given to the public.

In his personal life Mr. Howard had many sides. He was fond of gardening; he took an interest in precious stones; he was a great reader of Latin and English poetry. He played the flute, and he used cologne profusely. He could repeat Pope's "Essay on Man;" he investigated psychic phenomena; he read Renan in French, and in 1847 he published a translation in two volumes of the "Secret Memoirs of the Empress Josephine." Mr. Howard was about five feet ten inches tall, of florid complexion, with clean-shaven face. He had a handsome mouth and chin, a Roman nose, dark hazel eyes and thick, black hair. In manner he was grave, courteous and dignified and at the same time he had a keen sense of humor. He was a man of the strictest integrity and highest morality and while not a member he was a constant attendant of the Congregational Church; and he always read a chapter of the Bible before retiring at night. He was punctilious about money affairs and was a hard

worker. He died on April 2, 1871, less than a month after the expiration of his senatorial term, as the result of an apopletic stroke.

At a meeting of the Supreme Court at which the death of Mr. Howard was announced by Attorney General Dwight May in the presence of Governor Baldwin, Judge Longyear of the United States District Court, Judge Patchin of the Wayne Circuit Court, and Judge Goodwin of the Eleventh Circuit, Judge Campbell, adverting to Mr. Howard's personal characteristics, said that "his style of legal eloquence was very remarkable. He never appeared in a court of justice except with very great gravity of demeanor; not one that was put on for the occasion, but one that was natural to a man who felt impressed with the feeling that he was a minister of justice; and his diction was of that lofty kind that, applied to lesser subjects, would have been very inappropriate, and applied by lesser men would have been very ineffective, but when combined with ponderous language, with his ponderous intellect, and when every word that he said had its meaning, and every idea came out with all the force that language could give, then those rounded periods had something of magic in them, and there was as much gained perhaps by that manner of his as could be gained by any of the aids of rhetoric that have ever been devised. To my mind there was a side to Mr. Howard's character in which he appeared to quite as much advantage, in which, if his example could be happily followed by those who are now coming on the stage, I think a great deal of good might be done to this generation and many future generations. Mr. Howard was, I think, the best specimen of the natural product of American institutions in their best form that we have ever had amongst us. He was a man whose development was peculiarly American, and he had an utter contempt for those imported foibles which have sapped and destroyed the energy of so many republics in olden times, and which if they are allowed to run here as they have run there, will give us trouble enough, and give our children enough in maintaining the integrity of our institutions.

"He was a man who represented better than any man I have ever known in this community, and somewhat as the lamented Mr. Lincoln did, the great popular common sense of the people. He was remarkable for reflecting that. You could almost always be sure that as an ordinary matter struck Mr. Howard, so he struck the average sense of the community, at least when passion was over and when the time for sober reflection had come; and in this way finding in his own heart a reflection of those feelings and those emotions that actuate the great mass of mankind, I think we can

find in that peculiar trait of his character one very great reason of his great success. When he spoke to the jury he knew how everything would strike that jury; when he addressed a court (if that court possessed ordinary qualifications and common sense) he knew how those ideas would strike the court. When he addressed the Senate or when he addressed the larger audiences of the people of the United States, in like manner he knew that what he said would go right home to their hearts, and that they at all events would understand and appreciate him, whether they did or did not agree with him.

"I think when time has made his memory a thing of the past—when his fame has become the property of future generations—although he may be remembered as a great man, although he may be remembered for his learning, for his eloquence, he will be still further venerated and remembered as a representative American, who valued above all things the great and essential principles of manhood."

John J. Bagley, of Detroit, who succeeded Governor Baldwin in 1872, was a successful tobacco manufacturer, and a man with a keen sense of humor. His opponent was none other than Austin Blair, who had left the Republican party in order to support Horace Greeley. Mr. Bagley's majority was about eighty thousand over the aggregate forces of the Democrats, the Independent Democrats, who appeared for the first and last time, and the Prohibitionists, who had come on the stage during the previous campaign and who in time were to hold the balance of power. Governor Blair, who had been embittered by the methods of his opponents in the senatorial election, did not stay long in the Democratic ranks, but soon returned to the Republican party and was nominated for regent of the University and justice of the Supreme Court.[6] He never lost his power to sway an audience, and no man in Michigan was stronger on the stump. During the Greeley campaign he so forcibly arraigned the Republicans for the postoffice frauds that it was necessary to bring to the state leading national speakers to counteract his attacks. He died in August, 1894, at Jackson.

On the nomination of Mr. Greeley the Detroit *Free Press,* edited by Colonel Norvell, prepared to do what many of the state Democratic papers actually did—repudiate the ticket. Suddenly, however, William E. Quinby raised the money to purchase the paper. He

[6] Mr. Blair was nominated along with Judge Cooley in 1885, and they were defeated by Allen B. Morse and John W. Champlain. Mr. Blair served as regent of the University from 1882 to 1890.

made it the Democratic organ of the state, and so it continued until Mr. Quinby himself repudiated Mr. Bryan in 1896 and took his paper into the Republican fold. This was not a difficult task, inasmuch as a very large proportion of the readers were Republicans; for excepting during campaigns the *Free Press* was a newspaper and particularly a family paper rather than the organ of a political party. It was ably managed by Mr. Quinby, ably edited by Judge A. G. Boynton, and it had a staff of special writers, including Charles B. Lewis ("M Quad") and Robert Barr, which gave the weekly edition, with its Detroit and London editions, a circulation wherever the English language was spoken.

The change in the attitude of the *Free Press* caused Senator Chandler great glee. When the paper in its defense of Mr. Greeley asserted that "whatever else may be said of him, no one can deny the honesty and absolute truthfulness of the man," the Senator raked from the files of the New York *Tribune* Mr. Greeley's remark that "while all Democrats were not horse thieves, all horse thieves were Democrats," and other like statements. This retort was most effective on the stump.

Governor Bagley was reelected in 1874 by a majority of less than six thousand votes. It was a Democratic year throughout the country; there was the panic of 1873, the congressional "salary grab," the Credit Mobilier scandal in connection with the land-grant railroads and the Whiskey Ring frauds. The Michigan Democrats, who had elected but three members of Congress since 1854 (George W. Peck of Pontiac in 1854, Augustus C. Baldwin, also of Pontiac, in 1862, and Jabez G. Sutherland of Saginaw in 1870), now elected Alpheus S. Williams of Detroit, Allen Potter of Kalamazoo and George H. Durant of Flint. The Legislature was Republican by a narrow majority, and a combination was effected by the Democrats with disaffected Republicans for the defeat of Senator Chandler and the election of Isaac P. Christiancy, a justice of the Supreme Court and one of the organizers of the Republican party. Mr. Chandler's defeat was due to a general reaction throughout the country against what had become known as "stalwart statesmanship." He had made personal enemies by his aggressive methods, and especially by his control of patronage; and when six Republican members were found ready to defy the party caucus, the only question remaining was to find a man upon whom all the opposition could unite. The fact that Judge Christiancy had been elected to the Supreme Bench by the ballots of the Democratic party as well as the Republican made him a logical choice. From the Senate

Mr. Chandler stepped into President Grant's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior, serving until the end of the presidential term.

In 1876 the Republicans elected as governor Charles M. Croswell of Adrian, by a plurality of 23,000 over William L. Webber, Democrat, and Levi Sparks, Greenback. It was the year when Hayes was nominated for President by the Republicans. The sentiment of the state was for Blaine, but William A. Howard, now crippled and feeble in body, but as keen of intellect as ever, prevented the state convention from instructing the delegates, and in the national convention delivered the entire body of twenty-two Michigan votes to Hayes on the fifth, sixth and seventh (last) ballots.

Governor Croswell was again elected in 1878, but this year the Republicans were in the minority. Mr. Croswell had a majority of 47,000 over the Democratic candidate, Orlando M. Barnes; but Henry B. Smith, the National candidate, polled over seventy-three thousand votes. The Greenback party first appeared in 1876 with some eight thousand votes for governor, but at the spring elections it swept the state like a prairie fire, changing boards of supervisors and mayors through the lower tier of counties and throughout Central Michigan. Had the Greenback leaders been wise in their generation they would have sought to combine with the Democrats to bring defeat to the Republicans, but the Democratic party still was controlled by the conservatives with hard-money proclivities, and they were not ready to support the Greenback policy of the repeal of the Resumption Act and the National Bank Act, the payment of national bonds in Government issues of paper money, and the free coinage of both gold and silver. Both Governor Croswell and Mr. Chandler were thorough-going sound-money men. The latter became chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and he stumped the state on the financial issue. His bold course saved Michigan alone among western states, after a campaign hotly fought by such men as James G. Blaine and James A. Garfield, on the Republican side, and Samuel Cary for the Greenbackers. The next spring a fusion was effected against the Republicans, but without effective result.[7]

[7] "Under the Oaks," edited by William Stocking: Detroit, 1904. Among all the writers on the history of the Republican party in Michigan none has gone into the subject with such thoroughness or has presented the facts with such fullness as has William Stocking, in the volume above referred to and also in the *Post and Tribune* "Life of Zachariah Chandler," and William Livingstone's "History of the Republican Party." Mr. Stocking was one of the editors of the Detroit *Post,* established by Senator Chandler, and he has been a constant and valued contributor to the Detroit press to this day.

They had buried Cass on the banks of the Bloody Run, ground made historic by Pontiac's surprise and slaughter of the British a century before. Across that narrow stream, thirteen years later, in 1879, another grave was made in Elmwood Cemetery, and in the midst of a fierce November snowstorm the body of Zachariah Chandler was laid away. Even the elements joined in paying tribute to one whose life had been a battle and who fell in the harness. In the canvass of 1876 the final result of which was to seat President Hayes, Mr. Chandler was chairman of the Republican National Committee; and in 1879 he was again returned to the Senate,[8] where he took up the battle for "honest money" and in opposition to what the North then felt were aggressions by the southerners in Congress. On the Sunday night of March 2d, in the dying hours of the session, an amendment was offered to exclude Jefferson Davis from the benefits of the Mexican War pension bill. Senators Maxey, Garland, Harris, Coke and Ransom eulogized Mr. Davis, but it remained for Senator (afterwards Justice) Lamar to say: "The only difference between myself and Jefferson Davis is that his exalted character, his preeminent talents, his well-established reputation as a statesman, as a patriot and as a soldier enabled him to take the lead in a cause to which I consecrated myself."

In reply, as Mr. Chandler said: "Mr. President, twenty-two years ago tomorrow, in the old hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Jefferson Davis came from the cabinet of Franklin Pierce into the Senate of the United States and took the oath with me to be faithful to this Government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips he took the oath to sustain the Government he meant to overthrow. . . . Sir, eighteen years ago last month I sat in these halls and listened to Jefferson Davis deliver his farewell address, informing us what our constitutional duties to this Government were, and then he left and entered into the rebellion to overthrow this Government that he had sworn to support! . . . I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized upon the floor of the Senate! I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the sentiment of the North

[8] Mr. Christiancy resigned his seat in the Senate to accept the office of Minister to Peru.

when they come here at this day, and with bravado on their lips, utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman and child at the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to this Government."

That little speech, delivered at 3:30 o'clock in the morning, led to the passage of the Hoar exclusion amendment by one vote. The speech was printed and reprinted throughout the North and West, for it seemed to express succinctly the feelings of the country. On the night of October 31, 1879, after a round of campaign speeches that were a series of ovations from New England to Wisconsin, Mr. Chandler spoke to a large audience in Chicago, and at the close of the meeting retired to his room at the hotel. Startled from sleep, he sprang up, only to fall back dead; and so he was found the next morning.

Mr. Chandler was a politician. He was a power with Lincoln and with Grant, and in the Senate. Personally he had the weaknesses that too often appear as the complements of great vigor in men in public life, and in political warfare he regarded the party as an army, most effective when best disciplined. He was a patriot when patriots were needed. He was positive, aggressive, fearless, without shadow of turning. He never sacrificed principle to political expediency. He formed and guided public sentiment in Michigan; and he made his state prominent and powerful in national affairs. Happy in the work of his life, he was doubly happy in that he was called away at a time when, with no such desire on his part, he was looked upon by so many in his party as the next man to receive the presidential nomination.

Senator George F. Hoar in his "Autobiography of Seventy Years," referring to the leaders of the Senate on his entrance into that body in 1877, gives a characterization of Senator Chandler admirable in many respects. Perhaps it is more eulogistic than it would have been if written some years earlier, before the Massachusetts senator underwent the process called by Oliver Wendell Holmes "sugaring-off."

"It was never my good fortune to be intimate with Zachariah Chandler. But I had a good opportunity for observing him and knowing him well. I met him in 1854, at the convention held in Buffalo to concert measures for protecting and promoting free-state immigration to Kansas. He was the leading spirit of that convention, full of wisdom, energy and courage. He was then widely known throughout the country as an enterprising and successful man of business. When I went into the House of Representatives,

in 1869, Mr. Chandler was already a veteran in public life. He had organized and led the political forces which overthrew Lewis Cass and the old Democratic party, not only in Michigan, but in the Northwest. He had been in the Senate twelve years. Those twelve years had been crowded with history. The close of the administration of Buchanan, the disruption of the Democratic party at Charleston, the election and inauguration of Lincoln, the putting down of the Rebellion, the organizing, directing and disbanding of great armies, the great amendments to the Constitution, and the contest with Andrew Johnson, had been accomplished. The reconstruction of the rebellious states, the payment of the public debt, keeping the national faith under great temptation, reconciliation and the processes of legislation and administration under the restraints which belonged to peace, were well under way. In all these Chandler bore a large part, and a part wise, honest, powerful and on the righteous side. I knew him afterward in the Department of the Interior. He was, in my judgment, the ablest administrative officer without an exception who has been in any executive department during my public life. His sturdy honesty, his sound, rapid, almost instinctive, judgment, his tact, his business sense, his love of justice, were felt in every fibre and branch of the great Interior Department, then including eight great bureaus, each almost important enough to be a department by itself. The humblest clerk who complained of injustice was sure to be listened to by the head of that great department, who, with his quick sympathy and sound judgment, would make it certain that right would be done.

"Chandler has little respect for the refinements of speech or for literary polish. He could not endure Mr. Sumner's piling precedent upon precedent and quotation upon quotation, and disliked his lofty and somewhat pompous rhetoric. He used sometimes to leave his seat and make known his disgust in the cloak-room, or in the rear of the desks, to visitors who happened to be in the Senate Chamber. But he was strong as a rock, true as steel, fearless and brave, honest and incorruptible. He had a vigorous good sense. He saw through all the foolish sophistries with which the defenders of fiat money, or debased currency, sought to defend their schemes. He had no mercy for treason or rebellion or secession. He was a native of New Hampshire. He had the opinions of New England, combined with the directness and sincerity and energy of the West. He had a very large influence in making the State of Michigan another New England. He was a sincere, open-hearted and affectionate man. He was the last man in the world of whom it would be

proper to speak as a member of an intrigue or cabal. His strategy was a straightforward, downright blow. His stroke was an Abdiel stroke,

> This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

"His eloquence was simple, rugged, direct, strong. He had a scanty vocabulary. It contained no word for treason but "treason." He described a lie by a word of three letters. The character of his speech was that which Plutarch ascribes to Demosthenes. He was strongly stirred by simple and great emotions—love of country, love of freedom, love of justice, love of honesty. He hated cant and affectation. I believe he was fond of some good literature, but he was very impatient of Mr. Sumner's load of ornament and quotation. He had little respect for fine phrases or for fine sentiment or the delicacies of a refined literature. He was rough and plain-spoken. I do not think he would ever have learned to care much for Tennyson or Browning. But the Psalms of David would have moved him.

"I suppose he was not much of a civil service reformer. He expected to rule Michigan, and while he would have never bought or bribed an antagonist by giving him an office, he would have expected to fill the public offices, so far as he had his way, by men who were of his way of thinking. He was much shocked and disgusted when Judge Hoar wanted to inquire further concerning a man whom he had recommended for the office of judge of the Circuit Court. The Judge said something about asking Reuben Rice, a friend he highly respected who had lived long in Michigan. Chandler spoke of it afterward and said: 'When Jake Howard and I recommended a man, the Attorney-General wanted to ask a little railroad fellow what he thought of him!'

"He was a strong pillar of public faith, public liberty, and of the Union. He had great faults. But without the aid of the men whom he could influence and who honored him, and to whom his great faults were as great virtues, the Union never would have been saved, or slavery abolished, or the faith kept. I hold it one of the chief proofs of the kindness of divine Providence to the American people in a time of the very great peril that their leaders were so different in character. They are all dead now—Sumner and Fessenden and Seward and Wilson and Chase and Stanton and Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Chandler,—a circle in which Lincoln shines as a diamond in its setting. Not one of them could have been spared.

"It is proper that I should add that I have known very well a good many of the most eminent citizens of Michigan. This list includes Governor and Senator Henry P. Baldwin and Judge Christiancy,

who displaced Chandler in the Senate. I have frequently heard them speak of Mr. Chandler. Without an exception I believe they held him in profound esteem and honor. They were proud of him as the most eminent citizen of their State which has been prolific of strong men, speaking of him as we do of Sumner or Webster.

"Mr. Chandler was a remarkable example of what I have often noticed, how thoroughly the people come to know the true character of a public man, even when the press of the whole country unite to decry him. I suppose there was not a paper in New England, Republican or Democratic, that spoke kindly of Zach. Chandler for many years. He was disliked by the Democratic press for his unyielding Republicanism. He was disliked by the Republican press that supported Charles Sumner, for his opposition to him. He was represented as a coarse, ignorant and unscrupulous man. In the campaign of 1880 I sent him a telegram, asking him to visit me in Massachusetts, and make a few speeches in our campaign. I added: 'You will be received with unbounded respect and honor.' The telegram was an astonishment and revelation to the old man. He had no idea that the people of New England had that opinion of him. Governor Baldwin told me that he happened to be passing Chandler's house just as he received my message. Chandler knocked on the window for the Governor to come in. He had the telegram in his hand when the Governor entered, and exclaimed: 'Look at that; read that; and I did not graduate at Harvard College either.' His colleague, Senator Ferry, alludes to his gratification at the receipt of this message, in his obituary delivered in the Senate. He spoke in Worcester and Boston and Lowell, and in one or two other places. His passage through the state was a triumphal march. He was received as I had predicted. In Worcester we had no hall large enough to hold the crowds that thronged to see him, and were compelled to have the meeting in the skating-rink. Chandler went back to Michigan full of satisfaction with his reception. I think he would have been among the most formidable candidates for the Presidency at the next election, but for his sudden death. If he had been nominated, he would undoubtedly have been elected. But, in a short time after, he was one morning found dead in his bed at Chicago. In his death a great and salutary force was subtracted from the public life of the country, and especially from the public life of the great state to whose history he had contributed so large and noble a part."

The state Republican convention of 1880 was memorable as the last political appearance of James F. Joy and the first mention of

James McMillan. As Thomas W. Palmer said, "four years previous all Michigan except the delegation to the national convention was for James G. Blaine. Our delegation brought out the dark horse and put him in nomination. They were the first to stride him." He wanted no man selected as delegate at large who was not known as a supporter of Blaine; and Mr. McMillan was not a pronounced Blaine man. In vain Mr. McMillan assured the convention that if elected he would support Mr. Blaine; Mr. Joy was chosen by an overwhelming vote. There was but one Grant man on the delegation—William G. Thompson of Detroit, who secured election as a district delegate and who became a conspicuous member of the "Three-hundred-and-six," the band that held the Grant vote together to the bitter end, when on the thirty-sixth ballot the nomination went to Garfield.[9]

In the state convention David H. Jerome of Saginaw won the nomination for governor after a prolonged contest. His opponents were John T. Rich, who served as governor from 1892 to 1896; Rice A. Beal, the editor of the Ann Arbor *Courier,* a power behind many thrones; Thomas W. Palmer and Francis B. Stockbridge, both of whom afterwards received election to the United States Senate. Mr. Jerome was elected by a majority of 9,000, and a plurality of 41,000 votes. But two years later he was defeated by Josiah W. Begole, who ran on the Fusion ticket, Mr. Begole's plurality being 4,500 votes, more than a thousand fewer than those cast for the Prohibition candidate. This was the first defeat the Republican party had suffered in the twenty-eight years of its existence, but the disaster did not extend beyond the head of the ticket, who had made himself unpopular not only with the increasing number of Republicans who favored the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquors, but also with the state militia and with the Legislature.

Governor Begole had been elected to Congress as a Republican in 1872 from the Flint district, but when he failed of election in 1874 joined the Greenback party. No stronger contrast could be imagined than existed between the two candidates; for while Governor Jerome was regarded as austere and undemocratic, Mr. Begole in speech, in appearance and in all other ways ranged himself with the popular side. If much sport was made of the Governor's lack of knowledge of the amenities, all gave him credit for good intentions, a large heart and entire honesty. Besides the appointment of a

[9] The chief nominating speech for Mr. Blaine was made by Mr. Joy, who named the candidate as James *F.* Blaine, to the amusement of his opponents.

few state officials the party gained nothing, because both the elective state officers and the Legislature were Republican. The spring elections of 1883, however, brought a complete Republican defeat for both Supreme Court justices and regents of the University; and now for the first time in Republican history Michigan became a debatable state.

In 1884 the majority of the Michigan delegation to the national Republican convention favored Mr. Blaine, and in the end the delegation united on him. The state convention nominated for governor Gen. Russell A. Alger, who became a candidate after the nomination had been conceded to Cyrus G. Luce, a farmer candidate. The campaign was the warmest ever known in the state up to that time. The Republicans had a plurality of about three thousand on the national ticket and a somewhat larger number on governor, but the Fusionists elected seven out of eleven members of Congress. The party fortunes were now at a low ebb. The Democrats had elected their candidate for President for the first time since 1861, and Mr. Cleveland was disposed to recognize Michigan in his appointments. As time went on, however, the party quarrels over patronage proved a source of weakness. Moreover, the Republicans showed a disposition to get together in adversity. Mr. Luce was nominated when in 1886 General Alger declined to be a candidate; and James McMillan was made chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. The Republicans placed in their platform a plank favoring the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment to prohibit the liquor traffic. Notwithstanding the Republican attitude, the Prohibition party polled 25,179 votes, and Governor Luce's majority over George L. Yaple, Fusionist, was only 7,432. The amendment was duly submitted, but was lost by reason of the large adverse vote in Wayne County—a vote believed to be fraudulent. It was a happy circumstance, however, that the state was spared the enactment of a prohibitory law at a time when there was not a decisive majority in its favor. In those days the moral side of the question alone was discussed; it has remained for a later day to emphasize the economic side, which is a much better foundation for the successful enforcement of a law.

The delegation in Congress stood six Republicans to five Democrats. In January, 1888, Mr. Cleveland invited Don M. Dickinson into his cabinet as Postmaster General, a choice which gratified the people of the state, as also did the selection of George V. N. Lothrop as Minister to Russia. President Jackson had selected Lewis Cass as Secretary of War in 1831, and President Buchanan had made him

Secretary of State in 1857; Robert McClelland had been made Secretary of the Interior by Franklin Pierce in 1853, and Zachariah Chandler had occupied the same position in President Grant's cabinet from October, 1877, until March, 1887. No other Michigan men had held cabinet positions up to the time of Mr. Dickinson's appointment.

Among the many able lawyers who have won commanding influence at the Michigan bar, George Van Ness Lothrop by common consent would be accorded the first place. This position is awarded him not so much for especial brilliancy of intellect, although his great abilities cannot be questioned, but rather because of his strong good sense, his absolute integrity, his willingness to follow to the very end convictions which, while not always acquiesced in by the temporary majority, were nevertheless entitled to the respect of just men, his genuine culture and constant practice of the amenities of life, and his eloquence, based not on appeals to prejudice or passion but on the persuasive statement of principles recognized as the guides to right living. He was not only the first lawyer, but he was also the first gentleman of Michigan. While the largest portion of his active life was spent in opposition to the dominant political party, the nature of his criticsms were such as to be a benefit to the poltics of the state.

Mr. Lothrop was born in Easton, Massachusetts, August 8, 1817; the first of his family in America settled in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1643, and the removal to Bridgewater and Easton took place in 1656. His father was a man of affairs, the superintendent of a Vermont furnace as well as a Massachusetts farmer, a member of both houses of the Legislature, a Whig and a Congregationalist.

In 1830, Edwin Howard Lothrop, the eldest of a family of nine sons and one daughter, a graduate of Amherst College, settled at Prairie Ronde in Kalamazoo County, where he was a farmer, a dealer in cattle, and although a Democrat in a Whig community, a representative in six Legislatures and the speaker in 1844.

George spent a year at Amherst, but graduated at Brown University in 1838 and afterwards entered the Harvard Law School, where he had for classmates William M. Evarts and Judge E. R. Hoar. On leaving the law school he joined his brother in Michigan and spent three or four years in buying and selling cattle and on the farm, on one occasion driving sheep to Detroit. He spoke at Schoolcraft in the interests of Martin Van Buren in 1840, and in 1843 he entered the Detroit law office of Joy & Porter. Mr. Joy was then an acknowledged leader among a body of lawyers that

included Jacob M. and William A. Howard, Elon Farnsworth, George C. Bates, Alexander W. Buhl, Henry N. Walker, Halmer J. Emmons, Samuel T. Douglas, James A. Van Dyke and James V. Campbell.[10]

While yet a student, Mr. Lothrop, at the instance of Mr. Joy, was permitted to argue before the Supreme Court an important case, and this permission constituted his admission to practice in the state courts. In 1844 he was associated with D. Bethune Duffield, a son of the Rev. George Duffield, one of the great lights of Presbyterianism in Michigan, and the founder of a Detroit family of ability and distinction. From 1856 until he retired from the bar in 1884 Mr. Lothrop had no partner. In 1884 he could say that it had been his "happiness to know personally every judge who ever sat in the Supreme Court of Michigan. To the larger part of the living bar the names of many of the earlier judges were only historical names. To him they were the names of personal friends."

In 1848 Governor Barry appointed Mr. Lothrop Attorney General, and he retained the office three years, during which time he also practiced in every court in Detroit, doing much clerical work with his own hands and not infrequently serving papers in person. No man ever met him in friendship without being better for the intercourse; no opponent ever charged him with a lack of courtesy; no witness ever was browbeaten by him, nor was any jury misled by a disingenuous appeal. He argued the great case of People vs. Salem, taking ground against the constitutionality of bond issues to aid the construction of railroads—the case which gave fame to Judge Cooley, who wrote the opinion. It has been pointed out by Professor Kent and President Harry B. Hutchins[11] that while this decision settled the law in Michigan it was not followed by the courts of other states nor by the Supreme Court of the United States, which validated the very bonds which the Michigan court had declared illegal. Nevertheless the decision did have the effect of calling the attention of the people throughout the country to a grave abuse and led other states to change their constitutions so as to make such grants unconstitutional.

From 1841 until the formation of the Republican party in 1854 Michigan was Democratic. Mr. Lothrop was always a Democrat,

[10] Sketch of George Van Ness Lothrop by Charles Artemas Kent, in "Great American Lawyers," Vol. VII.

[11] The memorial address on Judge Cooley, by C. A. Kent, and article by Harry C. Hutchins on Thomas McIntyre Cooley in "Great American Lawyers," Vol. VII.

although he came of a Whig family; he believed that American democracy had its birth in the cabin of the Mayflower, and he ever adhered to the ideal of just and equal laws emanating directly from the governed. His political ideal was Thomas Jefferson. He never desired office, nor did he put himself forward as a leader. When the people wished to hear his side of any question he gave it. He believed sincerely that the Republican party was bent on centralization, and he looked forward to the return to power of the Democratic party after the War as a means of restoring "the cheap, simple, equal and democratic system of government which Jefferson founded and Jackson maintained." In 1852 he opposed an appropriation of public money for sectarian schools, and on that issue was elected recorder of Detroit on a Citizens' ticket. In 1856 he was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated by William A. Howard, the Republican nominee. Again in 1860 he was defeated for the same office, and he was a delegate to the convention that nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President; but when secession came he ranged himself on the side of the Government and there remained until the administration was drawn into what he regarded as unnecessary acts invading private rights. Thus he came to support McClellan for President in 1864, and Horatio Seymour in 1868, but whether he voted for Horace Greeley in 1872 is unknown. Samuel J. Tilden was his personal friend, and he took the stump on his behalf. When, in 1885, President Cleveland appointed him Minister to Russia the Republican Legislature gave him a reception, and the Detroit Club had a large gathering at which President Angell and Senator Palmer were among the speakers. After three years of life at St. Petersburg he resigned and returned to Detroit, and then his public life ended.

Mr. Lothrop's career may best be studied to ascertain the nature and grounds of the opposition to the rule of the Republican party. In his own person he represented the very highest ideals of the opposition. Others might antagonize the dominant party for the sake of winning an election; but Mr. Lothrop was an opponent on principle solely. While a democrat in theory, and a Democrat by party allegiance, personally he was an aristocrat in all social relations. He believed in the equality of all men before the law, and he was ready to accord to every man his rights; but his sense of personal dignity kept him apart from the crowd, and while his attitude took him out of the category of leaders, it made him the representative of the best and highest in the Democratic party of his day. He died on July 12, 1897, distinguished for intellectual strength, elo-

quence, wisdom and high moral character. He is one of the comparatively few really prominent men of the state who have been financially and politically consistent throughout their entire career.

The first half-century of Michigan's existence as a state was celebrated in the new Capitol at Lansing on the 15th of June, 1887. How completely the French influence had waned is seen from the fact that on the long programme of addresses not a single French name appears. The occasion was marked by no bursts of oratory; nor was there even a military parade. It was a celebration without heroes, largely in the nature of a family gathering around an abundant table. There were mutual felicitations over the fact that nature had been so lavish in her gifts of soil and minerals, brief records of progress in education and charities, and sketches of the historical changes that two centuries had wrought upon the lake country. Many of the speakers had seen all, and had played some part in much of the statehood life they chronicled. The struggles and the privations had been theirs; they had laid broad the foundations according to the command of the Ordinance of 1787; and therefore they were assured that coming generations must build a symmetrical and harmonious structure. As the westering sun, dropping beneath the far horizon, put an end to the perfect June day, the tall dome of the Capitol, catching somewhat of the mellow radiance, seemed to dismiss the gathering with peaceful and loving benediction.[12]

On retiring from office in January, 1891, Governor Luce had the satisfaction of stating that then for the first time in the history of the state the last dollar of the bonded debt had been paid, although the state was still indebted to the trust funds, consisting of the primary schools, normal school, University and Agricultural College funds. Previous to 1845 the superintendent of public instruction was authorized to loan the school funds upon real estate securities, but through these loans losses were incurred, and the Legislature at that early period provided that the money should remain in the treasury, the state becoming a debtor to these various funds. Every year, through sales of land, the fund had increased until then it was over four million dollars, most of which was drawing interest at the rate of 7 per cent. Money received for specific taxes was set apart for the purpose of paying interest on the funds, and the remainder of the receipts from those taxes was devoted to the pay-

[12] The addresses were published by the state in a volume, entitled "Michigan." The writer reported the proceedings for the Detroit *Journal.*

ment of interest and principal of the bonded debt; after those payments had been met, the surplus was distributed to the several school districts of the state to be used toward defraying the expenses of the common schools.

During Governor Luce's term, in 1889, the Legislature passed an act prescribing the manner of conducting elections, with the view of rendering the use of money at the polls both difficult and hazardous. The same Legislature passed the local option law which furnished to counties that so desired an opportunity to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor within their jurisdiction. Van Buren County was the first to take advantage of this permission. Another law was passed increasing the tax upon the sale of malt or brewed liquors from $300 to $500, thus making the tax the same as upon spirituous liquors, but owing to a mistake in enrolling the bill the law was declared unconstitutional. In his final message Governor Luce adverted with pride to the fact that in competition with the educational systems of the whole world, submitted to a commission in Melbourne, Australia, Michigan bore away the laurels and received the first reward of merit.

In 1890 the Republican convention again disregarded the fact that its strength was among the farmers of the state, and when the nomination seemed certain to go to John T. Rich, the farmers' choice, James N. Turner was the successful candidate. The sentiment for prohibition was strong throughout the state, and one reason for Governor Luce's success was his well-known attitude on that question. Mr. Turner was believed to be opposed to prohibition, and the campaign developed into one of personalities. The Prohibitionists cast their largest vote of 28,681; the Industrial party had 13,000 votes, and Edwin B. Winans, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a plurality of 11,520. Moreover, the Democrats elected their state ticket and seven out of eleven members of Congress.

In the Legislature the Democrats had a majority in the House; the Senate stood fourteen to fourteen, with four Patrons of Husbandry, one of whom usually voted with the Democrats, while the other three maintained an independent attitude. While the Republican senators were attending a convention in Jackson, the Democrats quickly unseated two Republicans and seated two contesting members of their own party. In the entire history of the state no such scenes had ever occurred in the Legislature as were enacted in the Senate during that February day, when every parliamentary rule was violated, the Senate Journal was falsified, and the rights

of the minority were openly denied. Having thus obtained a working majority in each branch of the Legislature, the Democrats passed the Miner Act permitting the choice of presidential electors by congressional districts instead of on a general ticket.

The Legislature also undertook to gerrymander the congressional districts, but such was the political reaction that at the election of 1892 the Republicans elected eight of the twelve members of the delegation in Congress, and thereafter no attempt was made to change the districts until a new apportionment was made. Governor Winans advocated a thorough revision of the system of taxation for the purpose of equalizing the assessment on the two classes of property, that subject to specific tax and that subject to local taxation. He stated that the vast amount of property subject to a specific tax pays at least one-half less in proportion to its value than the property subject to direct and local taxation, thus adding to the burden of those least able to pay and favoring the corporate wealth of the state; also he stated that it was a just cause of complaint that property owned and used by railroads, mining, telegraph and telephone companies and other associations for private purposes should be exempt from general taxation. He also favored the exemption of mortgages from taxation; or at least he favored only a single tax upon mortgaged property.[13]

In 1888 the Republicans of Michigan supported Russell A. Alger as their candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency. General Alger had been the grand commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and had a large following among the old soldiers. Robert E. Frazer presented General Alger's name to the convention at Chicago, where the General's friends had gathered in great numbers, hopeful of a successful outcome. Beginning with eighty-four votes on the first ballot, he continued to gain until on the fifth ballot his vote reached 142, the number necessary for a choice being 414. On the eighth ballot, when Benjamin Harrison was nominated, General Alger received 100 votes. He received votes from twenty-three states and territories. As a presidential elector he cast his vote for President Harrison. Governor Luce was reelected governor, this time by 17,000 plurality.

John T. Rich was elected governor in 1892 by a plurality of 16,000, and again two years later by a plurality of 106,000. On taking office he advocated the repeal of the Miner Law providing for the election of presidential electors by single congressional dis-

[13] Governor's messages.

tricts instead of on the general ticket. In the early history of the country this plan was practiced in various states but gradually gave way to electing the whole number of electors on the general ticket. One of the reasons for the discontinuance of the district system was that it gave the state no standing in the national counsels; thus Michigan, which had fourteen votes in its electoral college, or one-sixteenth enough to name the President, was reduced to the position of dividing her vote between the two parties, so that only the difference between the two votes counted, thus reducing the state's influence.

The Michigan Act had been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be constitutional, notwithstanding the universal practice of sixty years to the contrary. As a matter of fact the change in the Michigan system produced no effects on the result of the election of November 8, 1892, when President Cleveland was chosen; but it might easily have done so. The Legislature lost no time in acting favorably on the governor's recommendation.

Governor Rich also called attention to the fact that a few Michigan railroads which were pioneers of their kind were granted special charters with special privileges and that they were among the most prosperous railroads of the state. While they had contributed much to the growth and prosperity of the commonwealth, they had reaped a golden reward therefor, and they had become an aristocracy or privileged class of railroads, both as to rates charged and taxes paid. This condition he regarded as unjust to those roads that had been organized under the general law, and also unjust to the people.

Two years later Governor Rich called attention to the fact that on November 1, 1893, after the apportionment of the primary school funds was made, for the first time in many years Michigan confronted an empty treasury, caused not so much by increased expenditures as by the failure of the Legislature of 1891 to provide for taxes sufficient to meet the needs of the state. This failure was made deliberately so as to throw the burden of a deficit on a succeeding Legislature. While the authorities had no constitutional right to borrow money, they had done so by a bank loan and by the anticipation of taxes on the part of the railroads.

Governor Rich reported that it has been his unpleasant duty to cause the removal of three elective state officers, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer and the Commissioner of the State Land Office, for gross neglect of duty in connection with the canvass of votes on the joint resolution submitted to the people in April, 1893,

in relation to salaries of state officers. Growing out of this it was also discovered that there had been fraud in canvassing the vote increasing the salary of the Attorney General, in 1891. After this action had been taken by the Executive criminal proceedings were begun against all these officers and two trials were held, both resulting in a disagreement of the jury. Soon after Washington Gardner, the new Secretary of State, took possession of the office it was discovered that August W. Lindholm, Deputy Secretary of State, was a defaulter to a considerable amount and had left for parts unknown. He was located in Sweden and was extradited and brought back for trial.[14]

During the summer of 1894 Michigan, in common with other states, suffered from great labor strikes. Railway traffic was suspended, and incidental damage was done to all kinds of business. Fortunately there was little destruction of property. There was, however, one serious wreck causing the loss of two lives and endangering many others, brought about by the removing of a rail from the track of the Chicago & Grand Trunk Railroad west of Battle Creek on the night of July 16, 1894. Those engaged in the work confessed their crime and were brought to trial. The militia was called out to aid the sheriff of Gogebic County, and probably prevented destruction of property and loss of life at Ironwood, but fortunately good order was maintained and there were no collisions between the troops and the strikers. Governor Rich advocated provisions for the organizations of corporations of labor with as much power and no greater liability than is imposed on corporations of capital.

On January 7, 1897, John T. Rich laid aside the cares of the governor's office. The finances of the state had not been in a satisfactory condition for several years, largely because the Legislature failed to provide for a tax levy to cover the appropriations made and also because of the constant increase in the cost of the state institutions, especially the asylums for the insane. Governor Rich advocated an amendment to the state Constitution that would permit specific taxes to be placed in the "general fund" instead of in the "primary school fund." The corporations of the state, he stated, represented about seven hundred million dollars of capital. He proposed a tax of one mill on a dollar on corporations and this fund, together with certain other taxes he specified, might readily be

[14] John W. Jochim, Joseph F. Hambitzer, and John G. Berry were the officials removed on March 20, 1894.

applied to state expenses, leaving the specific tax on railroads to go to the support of primary education. He also advocated a tax on incomes. He defended the specific tax on the railroads, saying, "Michigan has always treated her railroads as public institutions, supported by the whole public, and the whole public should have the benefit of their contributions towards paying the public expenses." Under the specific tax system, he argued, taxes were collected with a very minimum of expense. They could be increased or diminished as may seem equitable or desirable by simply changing the rate of taxation on earnings.

The fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party was celebrated at Jackson on July 6, 1904. The speaking took place in an oak grove known as Lumis Park, the site of the original convention being covered with dwellings. An executive committee representing each congressional district in the state had general charge of the celebration. On January 18th a large committee of citizens from Michigan, escorted by the Michigan delegation in Congress, called on President Roosevelt at the White House, and the president of the celebration, Hon. James O'Donnell, invited the President to be present on the occasion. In foreshadowing his declination of the invitation, President Roosevelt said it was his good fortune to have been twice in Jackson and to have traveled through Michigan more than once, on the last occasion on a personally conducted tour. He said it would be a peculiar pleasure to come on the 6th of June because he felt with all the strength there was in him that the ability to make the Republican party be a live power for good in the country depended upon the way in which we stand for just the tendencies, just the fundamental principles for which those men stood in 1854. "Every man here from decade to decade takes his new problems in his own life; new problems in his own business, in his own work, but he wins or he loses in each set of problems according to the degree in which he shows the tendencies which tell for success or failure in all the other problems. The conditions we face in 1904 are totally different from those in 1854, yet it remains true that we need essentially the same attributes in order to wrest good results from these conditions. I feel we are now carrying out policies as Americans which entitle us with clear hearts to celebrate the birth of the Republican party fifty years ago."

On May 18th the Fremont voters, 135 in number, assembled at Jackson and formed an organization with James E. Scripps of Detroit as president; Thomas Mars of Berrien Springs, vice presi-

dent; William Campbell of Ypsilanti, secretary, and William McPherson, Jr., of Howell, treasurer. This organization was well represented at the celebration. The President, having decided not to take part in any meetings during the campaign, was represented by Secretary of State John Hay. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of the House of Representatives, Senator (afterwards Vice President) Charles W. Fairbanks, and Senators Burrows and Alger were among the speakers. Governor Bliss and Mayor Todd gave the addresses of welcome; Charles A. Blair, a son of the war governor, and Thomas J. O'Brien recalled the achievements of the Republican party. Secretary Hay in a carefully prepared address reviewed the events of the past half century. From the funds gathered for the celebration a sum was saved for a permanent memorial, and in 1915 the committee purchased a reduced copy of the standing figure of Lincoln by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the original of which is in Lincoln Park, Chicago. This work of art now stands in the Jackson Public Library as a memorial both of the birth of the Republican party and also of the celebration of the event.[15]

In the House of Representatives the Michigan members have represented the state and their constituents with a fidelity that has been recognized by re-election in many cases. Besides Omar D. Conger and Julius C. Burrows, the present senators William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend first served in the national House. Jay A. Hubbell achieved national notoriety as a political manager during the Garfield campaign; and he ended his public career as a member of the State Senate, where he rendered valuable service in shaping legislation. John W. Stone, who served in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth congresses from the Grand Rapids district, later became a circuit judge and is now a member of the supreme court of the state. Edwin Willitts, who served in the House from 1877 to 1882, became president of the Michigan Agricultural College and the first assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Roswell G. Horr, who served from 1879 to 1884, won fame as the wit of the House. John S. Newberry served a single term from 1879 to 1880. His legal abilities, combined with his position as a manufacturer and a man of wealth, made him conspicuous. Edward S. Lacey, who served in the forty-seventh and forty-eighth congresses, a man of distin-

[15] The full report of the proceedings, with the speeches and portraits of the speakers, was published by the Detroit *Tribune*, under the title "Under the Oaks," edited by William Stocking. Secretary Hay's address was printed as a campaign document and had a very large circulation. See *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1915, article on John Hay by Roscoe Thayer.

guished ability as a banker, became Comptroller of the Currency under President Harrison, and later he organized the Bankers National Bank of Chicago and became its president. Gen. Byron M. Cutcheon, who served from 1883 to 1890, became chairman of the House committee on Military Affairs, and was afterwards chairman of a national military commission. The later years of his life were spent in writing a history of Michigan as a province, territory and state. Gen. Oliver L. Spaulding, who was a member of the forty-seventh congress, afterwards became assistant Secretary of the Treasury; and John T. Rich, whose congressional career was limited to the forty-seventh congress, became governor of the state and collector of customs at Detroit and Port Huron. James O'Donnell, who was a member of the House from 1885 to 1892, was a prominent Jackson editor. Among the Democratic congressmen have been William C. Maybury, frequently elected mayor of Detroit; John Logan Chipman, who was elected in 1889 and served until his death, August 17, 1893. The city of Detroit never had a more able or more devoted representative than Judge Chipman. Of the three Democratic governors of the state since the Republican party was organized, Josiah W. Begole served in the forty-third congress, and Edwin B. Winans served in the forty-ninth. On the Republican side, besides Governor Rich, was Col. Aaron T. Bliss, who served in the fifty-first congress and was governor from 1901 to 1905.

Edward La Rue Hamilton entered the House in 1897 and has had continued service ever since. Samuel W. Smith served from 1897 to 1915. Washington Gardner began his service in 1889 and continued in the House until 1910, attaining a conspicuous place on the committee on Appropriations. Joseph W. Fordney began to represent the Saginaw district in 1889, and has been continued as a member of the House since that date. Edwin Denby represented the Detroit district from 1905 to 1910, giving way to Frank E. Doremus, a Democrat, the present member. Edwin F. Sweet, Democrat, who represented the Grand Rapids district in the sixty-second congress, is now assistant Secretary of the Interior.

If the Michigan members of the House have not attained the prominence before the country that fell to the lot of some of their predecessors during war time, this result must be laid to the nature of the questions before the people rather than to any lack of ability on the part of the representatives themselves.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE REIGN OF HAZEN S. PINGREE

On January, 1897, Hazen S. Pingree was inaugurated Governor of Michigan, and during the four years of his term the state experienced a succession of upheavals the like of which had never before been known in its history. While the lower house of the Legislature was generally ready to follow the lead of the Governor, the Senate steadfastly and strenuously refused to carry out his policies excepting in such instances as the sentiment of the State compelled it to change front. The Senate was regarded as the bulwark of the existing order; and doubtless the fact that it held back saved Michigan from much hasty and ill-considered legislation.

For several years before Mr. Pingree's advent the tide of opposition to public service corporations had been rising throughout the country. Governor Winans and Governor Rich saw the on-coming of the flood, but it remained for Governor Pingree to take an active and determined stand against the corporations in matters of taxation and finally to begin a series of readjustments of taxation which were completed during the administrations of his successors Governor Bliss and Governor Warner. For many years the corporations had been the favorite mark of certain members of each Legislature, who were accustomed to bring in measures that came to be known as "holdup bills," introduced for the purpose of being defeated, sometimes by the arguments and sometimes by the money of the corporation interested. In the various cities it had been the custom of the corporations to fight the devil with fire in the common council.

In 1893 Mr. Pingree was elected mayor of Detroit, and shortly thereafter the attack on Detroit City Railway began as the result of a riot in April, 1891, when bands of workmen in sympathy with the employees tore up sections of the rails. During the nearly four years of his administration Mayor Pingree and those who supported him were in constant conflict with one or another of the city boards, and popular sympathy was generally, although not always, on the side of the mayor. The situation was intensified by pronounced business depression, which resulted in many men being out of work,

and this in turn, combined with the low price of agricultural produce, stimulated the agitation for the free coinage of silver, which threatened a disintegration of both the old political parties.

It was at this juncture that the Pingree potato scheme had its rise. The man who suggested the new plan was Capt. Cornelius Gardner, U. S. A., then stationed at Detroit. Largely by reason information gathered from Captain Gardener, Mayor Pingree was influenced to push the project and the Captain was prevailed upon to take charge of the whole work. In June, 1894, the plan was conceived of giving the unemployed poor a chance to cultivate some of the vacant and idle lands in Detroit, in order to give them employment. It was argued that the produce raised would be that much saved to tax-payers, who would be called upon to help through the winter not only the regular poor, but also many families of the unemployed. At the time there were in Detroit about ten thousand Polish and German laborers whose average pay was not over one dollar a day when working. Nearly all of the manufacturing establishments were at a stand-still and but few public improvements were being prosecuted. The committee advertised in the newspapers for money, seeds and the use of land. A considerable sum was subscribed by charitable people and more land was offered than could be utilized. At the time there were within the city about 8,000 acres of idle land. The committee accepted the most desirable lands, but the soil was generally poor and it was so late in the season before work began that the only crop that could be raised consisted of potatoes, beans and turnips. Moreover, owing to the extreme drought, cultivation was attended by more than the usual difficulties and expense. The land was plowed, harrowed and staked off into parcels of from one-quarter to one-third of an acre, and these lots were assigned to applicants. About three quarters of the applicants were such as had previously received aid from the poor commission. The remainder were people who had never received such aid, but, being out of work, were in want. About three thousand applications were received, but for want of sufficient funds and time the committee was able to provide land for but nine hundred and forty-five. These were all people with families, many of whom had not had work for months. The cost of the experiment was about $3,600; nine-tenths of the plats were well taken care of, and under the influence of the September rains the crops began to do well. The average product of potatoes was about fifteen and a half bushels per family: the yield being from thirty-five bushels per acre on good soil to eight bushels on the inferior. Quantities of

white beans, squash and turnips were raised. The friends of the venture estimated that it netted to the cultivators food to the value of $14,000 at a cost to the committee of $3,600. The second year four hundred and fifty-five acres were under cultivation and fifteen hundred and forty-six allotments were made to one thousand two hundred and eighteen persons who had been on the books of the city poor commission. Of the remainder one hundred and one paid fifty dollars each for the use of their lots. The City appropriated $5,000.00. Other cities took up the idea of relief by work, but with the resumption of good times the plan proved to be but a temporary expedient and it has not been continued in Detroit.[1]

On the last day of December, 1900, Governor Pingree finished his exaugural message, perhaps the most extraordinary communication any governor of Michigan ever submitted to a Legislature. "So far as the condition of the state is concerned," he begins, "we have, with but few exceptions, every reason to be well satisfied. Its finances are upon a sound basis. Its state institutions as a rule have been wisely and economically managed. Its laws have been reasonably well executed. The affairs of the various departments of the state government have been satisfactorily conducted." He confesses that prior to his election as governor in 1896 he was particularly impressed with the inequalities which existed in the assessment of property for purposes of taxation. As he studied the question it became more and more apparent to him how skillfully and stealthily the large property holders, especially incorporated companies, had manipulated the laws of the state so as to shift this burden of taxation from themselves to the small property owners. He therefore resolved to make the problem of equalizing taxation the principal effort of his administration. Although long strides had been taken, yet he could not help feeling that if Colonel John Atkinson, "the head and brains of the contest for equal taxation, had remained alive, the principle for which the people had fought would then be firmly established in the law of the state." While mayor of Detroit, he said, his attention had been attracted by the fact that millions of dollars' worth of real estate [2] of railroads paid no tax at

[1] "Facts and Opinions; or Dangers that Beset Us;" by Hazen S. Pingree, Mayor of Detroit; 1895.

[2] The railroads were paying a tax on gross earnings, which tax might have been increased at will. This was in effect the most just of all taxes and the most easily collected. The taxation of railroad real estate in the various localities has put a premium on the ability of railroad officials to keep down assessments in each taxing district. It also has placed the railroads at the mercy of assessors desiring to make a showing for purposes of political favor.

all. He made efforts to place this property on the rolls and the contest was carried to the Legislature of 1891 by Hon. Don M. Dickinson. In January, 1897, the "Atkinson Bill," then first introduced in the Legislature, provided for the assessment by a state board of assessors of the property of railroad, telegraph, telephone and express companies at "actual cash value." The bill passed the House only to meet defeat in the Senate. On May 6, 1897, the Governor sent to the Legislature an extended message on the subject; and

THE PINGREE MONUMENT, DETROIT

on March 22, 1898, he convened the Legislature in special session for the purpose of enacting a law providing for ad valorem taxation of railroad, telephone, telegraph and express companies. Again the Atkinson Bill passed the House, and again it failed in the Senate. Equal taxation was the issue in the campaign of 1898; for party reasons the Senate yielded to the House, and in 1899 the bill was passed. On April 26, 1899, the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. The Legislature, however, passed the act of June 23, 1899, creating a board of state tax commissioners to exercise a

supervisory control over officers administering the general tax laws of the state and empowered in certain cases to review assessment rolls. Among the duties of the board was the determination of the valuation of the properties of railroad and other corporations paying a specific tax. Also the House passed a resolution for the submission of a constitutional amendment to empower the Legislature to provide for the ad valorem taxation of all corporate property; but the Senate defeated the measure. In December, 1899, the Legislature was called together in special session to pass a joint resolution submitting the constitutional amendment; again the House acted favorably, but the Senate refused to concur. The House also provided for an increase in specific taxation and for the taxation of mining property; but the Senate refused assent. In October, 1900, the Legislature in special session voted to submit the proposed amendment, and also to repeal the special charters of the Michigan Central, the Lake Shore, and the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee railroads. Although the constitutional amendment carried by a large majority, and immediately thereafter the Legislature was called together, the Senate again defeated the bill of the House for ad valorem taxation. So the matter stood at the close of Governor Pingree's term as governor.

Governor Pingree maintained that the law creating the State Tax Commission was the most important legislation ever enacted by a Michigan Legislature; yet he found that the commissioners "met opposition from tax dodgers, but received the support and approval of the farming class, the working men, the clerk, the merchant and business man, and of all of the smaller property owners in the state." This result was quite natural inasmuch as the commission dealt almost exclusively with the large corporations. As a result, in one year $180,000,000 was added to the assessed valuation of corporation real estate, and $168,000,000 was added to the assessed valuation of personal property. At the beginning of the work of the commission, the Governor says, "the newspapers were filled with dispatches complaining that the rural districts were suffering by reason of the increased assessments"; but he professed himself able "to show beyond contradiction that the increase had been upon the property of those who had been in the habit of escaping their share of taxes in the past and especially had not fallen upon the farmers." In seventy-eight cities the increase was $133,000,000; the assessment on the lands in the Upper Peninsula was increased $80,000,000, and in the smaller cities only corporations had been dealt with. Timber lands yielded an increase of

$73,000,000 on their real estate, and $31,000,000 was added on personal property. As a result the state received an additional $2,000,000 in taxation of personal property, whereas the entire body of real estate was relieved of the same amount of taxation.

In his message to the thirty-ninth and fortieth Legislatures the governor had recommended and urged the passage of laws for primary elections. He asserted that candidates had become so bold in purchasing votes of delegates to conventions that money was freely paid upon convention floors. Such practices he maintained were indulged in by candidates for all public offices, including prosecuting attorneys and circuit judges, so that it had come to pass that reputable citizens could not aspire to public office. The candidates were not entirely to blame for this condition of affairs, for the delegates were playing the role of highwaymen. He regarded the delegate system itself as wrong because of the abuse to which it was subjected. He advocated the abolition of conventions and the nomination of candidates by the direct vote of the people, and he believed that the demand for the abolition of conventions had become so general and emphatic that there was nothing for the Legislature to do but enact an effective law. He commended to the new Legislature the Colby Bill, which had been introduced during the preceding session but had failed; and he discussed at length the reforms which he believed would be effected by the changes he advocated.

Governor Pingree's theory was that primary elections would call forth a general representation of voters and that the candidates selected would represent the best sentiment of the community. Unfortunately the result has been quite the opposite. The primary elections have resulted in a general neglect of the opportunities to select nominees. Small bodies of men have met secretly and have taken advantage of the general lack of interest to nominate whom they pleased. While the convention system was subject to serious abuses, the result of the change has not bettered conditions. The party system, carrying a certain measure of responsibility, has been broken down and the voter has been left to a choice among people who have obtained their nominations by some means not generally known. Governor Pingree believed that primary elections would interest all the voters and thus a reform would be brought about. What has happened is the reverse. The mass of voters are now without leadership; the primary elections call out a ridiculously small vote, and the nominees are rarely representative men. Moreover, persons favoring one candidate often vote to nominate the weakest opposition candidate. This has become a frequent abuse.

The publicity once attending conventions has been lost and, especially in the larger cities, the great majority of voters have had no means of knowing the qualifications of the various candidates whose names appear on the ballot. In former times the voters held the party accountable for its nominees; now they have only themselves to blame. The use of money has not ceased by reason of primary elections; on the contrary, the tendency has been the reverse.

Governor Pingree also advocated the election of United States senators by popular vote, being especially desirous of avoiding the election of members of the Legislature simply on the ground of their preference among senatorial candidates. He charged that it was a matter of common knowledge that the office of senator was sought by wealthy men, not so much for the alleged honor as for the opportunity it offered for financial profit and commercial advantage, through stock speculation and in other and less legitimate ways. Here again theory and practice have been widely at variance, and the election of senators by the people has certainly not enhanced the standing of the Senate, while anyone who has been at all familiar with that body knows that it is a hard-working, capable body of men who conduct the vast affairs of this Government with average intelligence and more than average honesty.

The Governor also advocated the municipal ownership of public utilities, especially of gas, electric light, telephones and street railway transportation. He argued that the municipality can borrow usually at from 3 to 4 per cent, while private ownership is subject to the risk of occasional competition, ultimate loss of franchises at the expiration of a fixed period, and therefore poorer credit; hence the private company may reasonably expect to earn 6 to 10 per cent on the structural value of the plant, whereas the municipality would be able to furnish service at cost. He instanced the street lighting plant of Detroit, built in 1893, when the lowest bid the city could get from any private company on a 10-year contract was $102 per arc light per year, whereas in the fifth year, ending June 30, 1900, of the operation of the city plant the operating expenses were only $40.30 per arc light, or $66.45, including fixed charges. Grand Rapids reported that for the first year of public management its operating expenses were but $37.30 per light, or $59.13, including interest, taxes and depreciation. The difficulty experienced with these calculations when they came to be put into general use in various cities in the state was that in most instances there has been a lack of efficient management and no uniform system of accounting, so that it has been impossible to get at the real cost

of public service. Moreover, such has been the increase in population and the improvements in the manufacture and distribution of electricity that the cost among private companies has steadily decreased. The actual results of municipal ownership are still debatable matters.

In dealing with the finances of the state the Governor asserted that "sensational and hostile newspapers and partisan individuals had declaimed loudly and uttered a great deal of nonsense concerning the management of the finances of the state during the past four years." He found that because of the increase of population there had arisen a necessity for greater accommodations in the state penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, and a demand, which could not be denied, for greater expenditures to support the educational institutions. Moreover, because of the growth of the wealth of the state and the development of its material resources, it had been found necessary to make many changes in taxation laws, to provide additional machinery for the administration of the state government and to extend its operations in many new directions. The administration of these new laws necessarily had been a source of expense to the people of the state. He regarded the steady growth of the cost of government as natural and inevitable. Even so, he found that the insane asylums were overcrowded, that there were several hundred applicants waiting for admission to the home for the feeble-minded, and in fact all the state institutions were cramped and embarrassed in their work by the lack of accommodations which had been denied them "because legislators had not been brave enough to defy the narrow-gauged and little-minded critics."

The only bonded indebtedness at the time was a balance of $434,800 of Spanish war issue bonds, most of which sum was in course of repayment by the United States. He asserted that because of the hostility of the press the people of the state never had a correct presentation of the facts relating to the expenditure of the Spanish war fund. Every effort had been made to confuse the handling of this fund with the business of the war encampment at Island Lake, and the illegal sale of military clothing and other property to the Henderson-Ames Company of Kalamazoo, but he argued that there was no connection between the two and that the war fund was honestly administered, as was shown by the finding of the Ingham County grand jury, which convened during December, 1899, to investigate the disbursements from the war appropriation fund for the Island Lake encampment.

Among other things, he advocated the removal of the state

capital from Lansing to either Detroit or Grand Rapids. He thought that either city would be willing to raise $5,000,000 for a new capitol building, and if the capital were located in a large city, abler men could be induced to accept election to the Legislature, and, as a result, better laws would be enacted. Either city, he claimed, would be more accessible than Lansing, and the living accommodations would be infinitely better.

He referred to the disgrace which came upon the state, and indirectly upon him, through the conspiracy of certain men of supposed high repute and social standing with some of the officers of the state to commit fraud by the purchase of military equipment from the state at a small price and the re-sale of the same property to the state at market prices. This was known at the time as the "Military Board steal." When the fraud was discovered he requested the attorney general to take steps to compel restitution, and so prompt and vigorous was his action that the entire amount of which the state was defrauded was recovered. He held that the officers of Ingham County allowed the real criminals to escape, while attempting to convict those who were but agents.[3]

He then took up the matter of the large issue of pardons which marked the closing days of his administration. Case by case he instanced the more prominent ones included in the total of 277 men who had been paroled during his term of office, defending his action in each case.

In reviewing his administration he set down as its accomplishments: (1) The passage of the "Atkinson Bill" after a stubborn fight with the representatives of the railroads in the State Senate, lasting through the regular session of 1897, the special session of 1898, and part of the regular session of 1899; the passage of a constitutional amendment to allow the ad valorem taxation of railroads; the repeal of the special charters of the Michigan Central, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, and the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee railroads; the increase in the taxes of express and

[3] So frequent were the charges of corruption during the closing months of Governor Pingree's term that Judge Person called a grand jury in Ingham County to investigate the accusations. The grand jury unearthed the fact that certain appointive officials had condemned military clothing, had sold it to the Henderson-Ames Company and had bought back the same clothing. The conspiracy was wide-reaching and involved bank officials and others besides the state officials. Governor Pingree's charges against the Ingham County officials had no basis in fact; and so hostile was he to that court that he prepared a message to the Legislature calling for the impeachment of Judge Person, but was dissuaded from delivering it.

telegraph companies from 1 to 3 per cent upon the gross amount received by these companies; an increase from $750,000 per annum to $1,250,000 per annum in the amount of taxes paid by railroads; the creation of a State Tax Commission; the addition of $350,000,000 of property to the assessment rolls; the reduction in the average rate of taxes from $21.17 on a thousand to $15.47 on a thousand.

He then summed up his four years' administration as follows: "My experience during my political life, extending over a period of twelve years, has convinced me that in order to secure the full commendation of those who consider themselves the 'better classes,' the governor and other high officials must do nothing to antagonize the great corporations and the wealthy people. I am satisfied that I could have had the praise and support of our 'best citizens' and our 'best society,' and of the press of the state generally, if I had upheld those who have for years attempted to control legislation in their own interests, to the end that they might be relieved from sharing equally with the poor and lowly the burden of taxation. I would have been pronounced a good fellow and a great statesman.

"The memory of the treatment of General Alger by the press of the country, and his removal from the Cabinet, is fresh in the minds of all. I was informed by General Alger himself that one of the main reasons for the opposition to him was because he had ignored the claims of the great steamboat interests with representatives in New York City. The matter of sending something like fifty thousand Spaniards to Spain came up, and the General advertised for bids for transportation. The tenders of the different companies, submitted by their New York representatives, were exactly alike—so much for officers of a certain rank, so much for other officers, and so much for privates—showing a combination and agreement between the companies. The bids which the general received from Spain were less than half of those offered by the New York syndicate, and the contracts were therefore awarded to the Spanish vessels. That was the turning point in the assault against the general, because he would not toady to the companies represented in New York and show them special favors. The press directed its venomous attacks at me because I defended General Alger. I use this as an illustration to show how powerful is the influence of those who have resolved on the policy of rule or ruin.[4]

"This experience I had while I was Mayor of Detroit. This

[4] The facts in regard to the transportation of the Spanish prisoners are given in the Recollections of Col. Frank J. Hecker (privately printed). Colonel Hecker conducted the negotiations with the companies.

has been my experience while holding the office as governor. Every large interest that I have antagonized has been arrayed against me, and the allies of those interested, the newspapers of the state, have lost no opportunity to attempt to draw the minds of the people from the real issue by making personal attacks on me and publishing malicious and willful libels, and to belittle my efforts and to bring me into disrepute, in order that the present system of unjust, inequitable and iniquitous laws might still remain in force, to the detriment of the great masses of the laboring classes and farmers and those of small properties who are unable to speak and act for themselves.

"I make the prediction that, unless those in charge and in whose hands legislation is reposed do not change the present system of inequality, in less than a quarter of a century there will be a bloody revolution in this great country of ours. I have no apologies to make for my course. I have done what I took the oath of office to perform. I have attempted to secure legislation which the people have demanded, and am willing that whatever of failure there may be in the future should rest where it belongs."

It is not possible as yet to obtain a just estimate of the effect produced by the turbulent career of Governor Pingree. His sudden death in London in June, 1901, brought to a quick end a life of great activity. The materials for a study of his administration and of his character are being gathered; and a few years hence a true valuation of his work can be made. Then it will be possible to ascertain how much of statesmanship resulted from the war waged on corporations. At least it can be said that his financial honesty never was doubted, in spite of the dishonesty and corruption proved against many of his friends and advisers. The worst that can be said of him in this respect is that he either shielded or pardoned those who abused his confidence; that he arrayed one class of the community against another; that he flouted the courts and taught others to do likewise. Of those numerous politicians who sought to use Mr. Pingree's popularity to further their own ends, it need be said only that they rarely succeeded in carrying out their purposes.

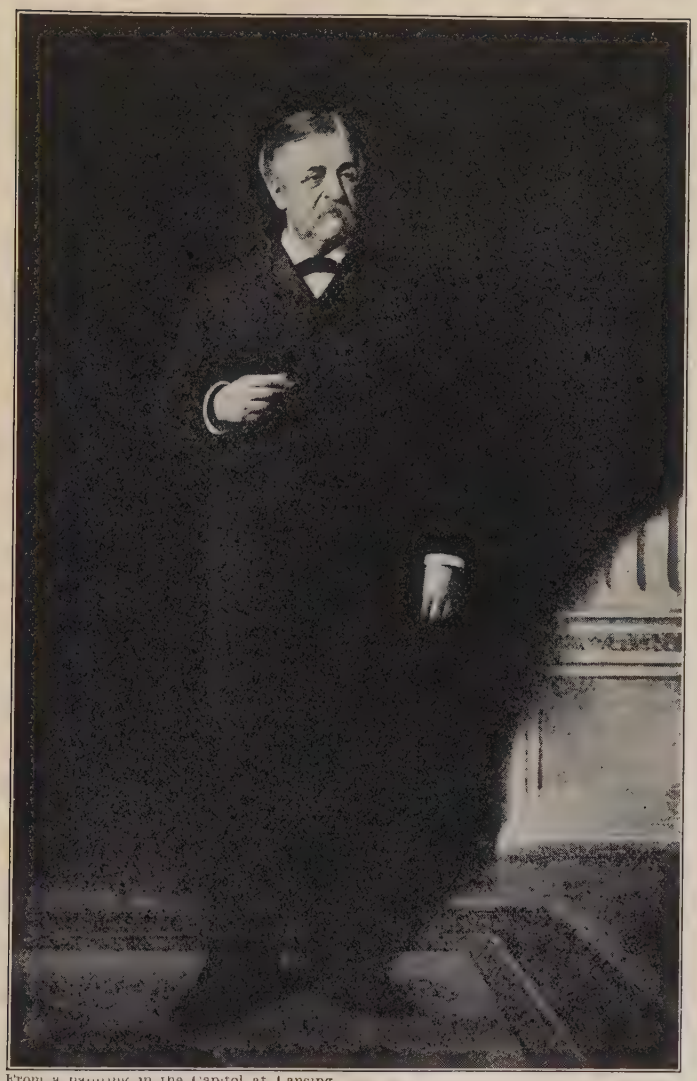
CHAPTER XXIX

THE POLITICAL SUCCESSION

Three lives span the political history of Michigan. Lewis Cass was six years old when the Constitution of the United States was ratified and this republic came into existence. He dominated Michigan politics from the War of 1812 until he was defeated for the senatorship by Zachariah Chandler in 1857. Even then Cass continued to be a figure of commanding importance in national politics until his resignation of the office of Secretary of State at the outbreak of the War of Secession; and until his death, after the termination of that struggle, he retained the affections of the people of Michigan and rendered good service to the Union cause.

Mr. Chandler's career was marked by many vicissitudes. He was never without strong and able opposition, due to his aggressiveness and a disregard of the means he took to secure ends right in themselves. His one defeat served to strengthen his hold on popular favor both locally and nationally, and when he died suddenly in 1879 he was on the crest of the political wave.

For seven years after Mr. Chandler's death the state recognized no political leadership; but in 1886 James McMillan came into political prominence as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee at a time when party success seemed hopeless. Disappointed in his ambition to be nominated for Governor, he was elected to the Senate in 1889 as the unanimous choice of the Republicans in the Legislature, was re-elected by the votes of all the members of that body, and was elected a third time without Republican opposition. The unanimity displayed in choosing him Senator typifies the character of his sway. He was not a great political manager like Cass and Chandler, but rather won people to his way of thinking by persuasion and the strong reasonableness of his convictions. The political machine of which he was the recognized head consisted of a band of counsellors rather than an army of soldiers. During his political ascendency (which continued during his life-time) the State of Michigan had a recognized place in national counsels, and amid the agitation for the free coinage of silver and other unsound



From a painting in the Capitol at Lansing

THOMAS WITHERELL PALMER, UNITED STATES SENATOR, 1883-89

political doctrines of the hour, the high traditions of the state were maintained in Congress. At the same time Mr. McMillan's independence, his refusal to make sacrifice of convictions for the sake of temporary success, and his conservatism in regard to existing institutions made him the target for the powers that controlled first the City of Detroit and afterwards the state administration. In a word, he was opposed by what was known as the Pingree element, although such opposition without success.

The immediate successor of Senator Chandler was Henry P. Baldwin, who completed the term for which Isaac P. Christiancy was elected originally, but who was defeated for re-election by Omar D. Conger. Mr. Conger had won a national reputation in the House of Representatives by reason of his attention to legislation and his watchfulness against schemes and schemers. His colleague in the Senate was Thomas Witherell Palmer, one of the most picturesque characters in Michigan history. Thomas Palmer, the father, had come to Michigan from Connecticut by way of Canada, where he was captured by the British during the War of 1812; he settled in Detroit and became interested in as large a variety of undertakings as befitted a Yankee of his day. He built the structure at the head of Griswold street, Detroit, used by the first Legislature of Michigan, his partners being David C. McKinstry and De Garmo Jones; and for payment they took city lots in the Ten Thoussand Acre Tract on the outskirts of Detroit, lands set apart by the Government for such purposes. Also he owned wharves and steamboats and mining shares; he was interested in promoting female education; and he laid out the village of Palmer, now the city of St. Clair. He married Mary Amy Witherell, the daughter of Judge James Witherell, of precious memory, and they were wrecked with the Walk-in-the-Water while on their wedding trip.

Thomas Witherell Palmer was the third of four children and was the only son. From his father he inherited good nature, curiosity and thrift. He entered Michigan University, became a member of the fraternity then as now most addicted to good living, but was forced to leave college by reason of ill health. He completed his education by a voyage to Spain and Brazil on a sailing vessel, and his fondness for the former country largely influenced the course of his later life. Having married Lizzie Pitts Merrill, the daughter of Charles Merrill, a successful lumberman, he busied himself with lumber interests. Felicitous rather than profound as a speaker, he was early drawn into politics, and his occasional addresses on public matters were always nicely tuned to the moods of his auditors.

He was a public spirited citizen; and, to use a phrase credited to him, he ever "kept his ear to the ground."

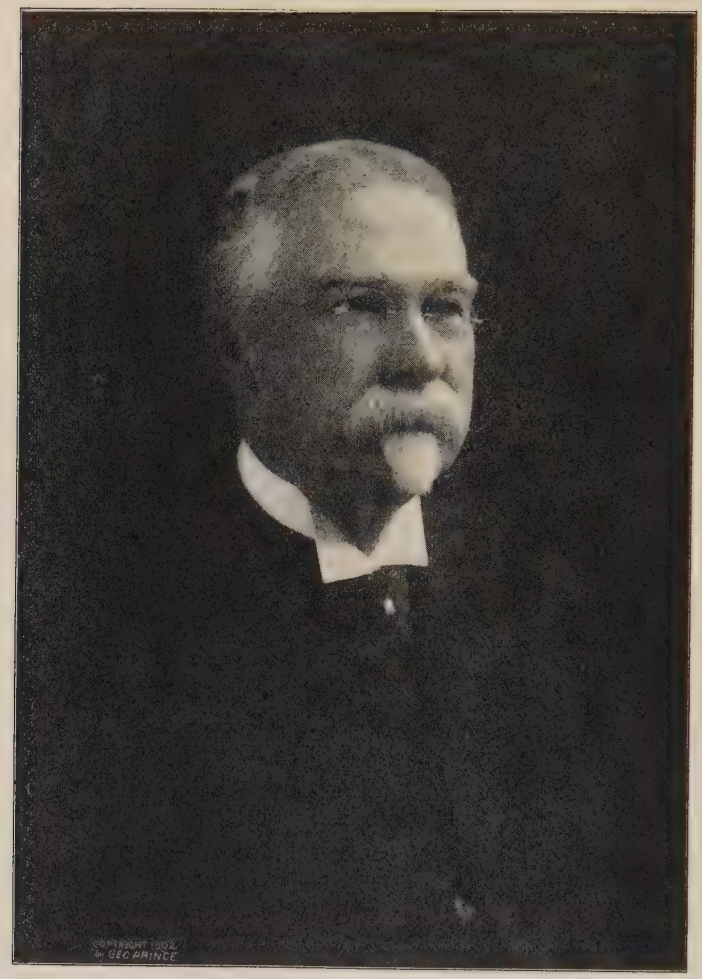
In 1882, when the opposition to Senator Ferry found itself strong enough to defeat a man charged with having outlived his usefulness, they tried to concentrate the Republican vote on various candidates. Mr. Palmer had been a state senator and was an unsuccessful candidate for the gubernatorial nomination when that prize was carried off by his former schoolmate, David H. Jerome. His friends succeeded in bringing about his election to the Senate, and during his single term he was one of the most popular members of that body. As he made no effort to secure the election, so he took no pains to hold the seat; but at the end of six years yielded the place gracefully to Mr. McMillan, receiving from his friend, President Harrison, first the Spanish mission and afterwards the office of member of the board of Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, of which body he was elected president.[1]

After a single term of service, Senator Conger retired in 1887 to make way for the second western senator in the person of Francis B. Stockbridge, who served the State until his death in 1894, when Governor Rich appointed John Patton, Jr., to fill the vacancy and the Legislature elected Julius C. Burrows for the remainder of the term. Mr. Burrows had been a member of the House of Representatives seventeen years, during which service he had become one of the half-dozen leaders; he was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means; his rulings while presiding over the House established a number of parliamentary precedents; and he had a national reputation as a campaign speaker. Few political orators have had greater powers of carrying conviction to a popular audience. The prestige obtained by service at the other end of the Capitol stood him in good stead when he entered the Senate. He was made a member of the Committee on Finance and he became chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. For thirty-eight years he was an efficient, able and faithful public servant.[2]

James McMillan, the junior senator to Senator Stockbridge and senior to Senator Burrows, came of a Scotch family, the beginnings of which are enveloped in native mists. His grandfather, a sea-captain from Stranraer in the southern county of Wigtown, traded with Russia and was often in the port of Philadelphia. In 1834

[1] Mr. Palmer died in Detroit, June 1, 1913. His wife survives him. They had no children. Palmer Park is his gift to the city.

[2] Senator Burrows served until 1911, when he was defeated for re-election by Charles E. Townsend of Jackson. He is now living in Kalamazoo.



JAMES MCMILLAN, UNITED STATES SENATOR, 1889-1902

William McMillan and his wife, Grace MacMeakin, came to Canada and settled at Hamilton, where they brought up a family of six sons and one daughter. He was successful in business and was a pillar of the Presbyterian church. Through his railway connections he was able to help his second son, James, when the latter came to Detroit in 1855 to make his fortune.[3]

In 1864 he was associated with John S. Newberry, E. C. Dean and George Eaton in the manufacture of freight-cars, under the name of the Michigan Car Company. He became the manager of the company and such was his financial sagacity that he speedily acquired car-works at St. Louis, Mo., Cambridge, Ind., and London, Ont.; and he became the head of more than two score of subsidiary corporations, besides being the president of shipbuilding and passenger and freight transportation companies and of the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad. On entering the Senate he virtually retired from active business and devoted himself to his public work. The American Car and Foundry Company eventually absorbed the car-building plants, his brother, William McMillan, being the first president of the corporation. Grace Hospital, Detroit, the Chemical Laboratory at Albion College; McMillan Hall and the McMillan Shakspere Library at the University of Michigan; and the Tepper Collection of Insects at the Agricultural College are among his more conspicuous benefactions. In the hospital project he was associated with Mr. Newberry, Dexter M. Ferry and others.

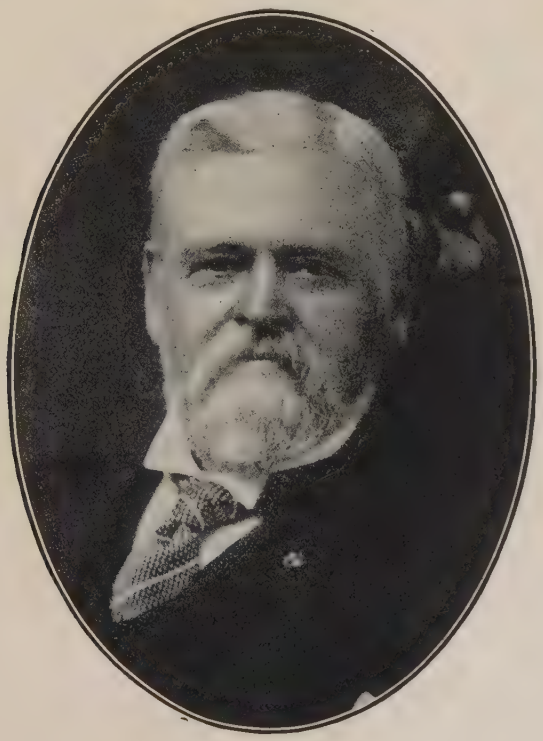
At the age of fifty-one he entered the Senate with the reputation of being a successful business man without legislative experience. As Senator Lodge has said, he did not make the common mistake of thinking that success in one direction is evidence of ability in all other matters; but he set himself to learn the business of legislation, in which he came to be so expert that he secured the passage of a great number of measures with little or no friction. On certain subjects, such as lake transportation and business propositions generally, his knowledge was relied upon by his colleagues; while his eminent fairness and disinterestedness caused him to be continuously a member of the unofficial but all important committees on the order of business and on the membership of the Senate committees.

[3] James McMillan was born May 12, 1838, at Hamilton, Ontario; he died suddenly August 11, 1902, at his summer home at Manchester, Mass.; he was buried in Elmwood Cemetery, Detroit. His first employment in Detroit was in the wholesale hardware store of Buhl & Ducharme; through his father's influence he was made purchasing agent of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad.

JAMES MCMILLAN FOUNTAIN, IN MCMILLAN PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Erected by citizens of Michigan

While he gave considerable time to the work of the committees on Commerce, Naval Affairs, Relations with Cuba, and (latterly) Appropriations, his real enjoyment came from service as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. Here his thorough familiarity with civic affairs, his training in large financial operations, and his knowledge of the methods of public service corporations, enabled him to guide and direct the development of the national capitol along lines of good order, dignity and beauty. During the



JULIUS C. BURROWS

Representative 43d, 46th, 47th, 49th to 54th Congress. United States Senator, 1895-1905

twelve years he virtually directed the affairs of the city that L'Enfant nobly planned under the direction of Washington and Jefferson; the city that in 1872 Alexander R. Shepherd lifted from the condition of a backwoods town into the rank of an American city, and for which Senator Lot M. Merrill and Representative Joseph C. Blackburn in 1878 furnished an organic law establishing true relations between the municipality and the government. During those twelve

years there was scarcely a municipal function which was not modified in a manner befitting the capital of a great nation: schools, charities, taxation, water-supply, filtration, sewage-disposal, street-railways, railway grade-crossings and terminals,—all felt the guiding touch of his masterful hand.

Of his work, former President Taft, who with Senator Root took up the work of Washington civic improvement after Mr. McMillan's death, has this to say:

"In the last two decades there have been in public life and in positions of authority men in whom innate artistic sense has been united with energy and disinterested effort, men who have shown a pride and anxiety that the country uphold and follow accepted canons of art, and who have had the practical ability to compass their patriotic purpose. Such a man was Senator James McMillan of Michigan. For years he was at the head of the committee on the District of Columbia in the Senate. To him is due the revival of interest in the proper development of our country's capital. For twelve years he gave a very considerable portion of his time and thought to putting in good order the District of Columbia. To this task he brought experience with all those activities that make up the life of a city like Washington. With him the development of the District was a constantly expanding idea. By the time of the centennial of the removal of the seat of government to Washington he had his ideal clearly in mind, and before the architects were called in he had planned to make Washington a model capital. He organized the commission consisting of Burnham, Olmsted, Saint-Gaudens and McKim, who made the report to his Senate committee in the Fifty-seventh congress, entitled 'The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia.'

"When Mr. Burnham suggested that the commission should go abroad, Mr. McMillan promptly furnished the money. When it was necessary to have expensive models made of the Mall system, he again aided the project financially; and when in the last days of the work Mr. McKim insisted that the architectural drawings be rendered, Mr. McMillan told him he might go ahead, and that if the government did not pay he would. . . .

"Senator McMillan reported the new plans for the improvement of Washington on January 15, 1902, and on August 11 of that year he died. After his death, between $10,000 and $15,000 of money that he had advanced was paid back to his estate. The park next to the Soldiers Home, in which is the filtration plant of the water-works of Washington, is now called McMillan Park, in honor of

Senator McMillan, and is only a small recognition of the debt of gratitude which the people of the United States owe to this earnest and disinterested public servant." [4]

In Washington the lands including the distributing reservoir and the filtration plant have been named McMillan Park; and there by joint action of citizens of Michigan and the government a fountain of rare beauty, designed by Herbert Adams, has been erected in honor of the Michigan senator who literally died in the legislative harness.

[4] *National Geographic Magazine,* March, 1915.

The Senate Park Commission, known variously as the McMillan or the Burnham Commission, was selected by Senator McMillan, in accordance with a resolution of the Senate. It consisted of Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893; Charles F. McKim, perhaps the greatest of American architects; Augustus Saint-Gaudens, foremost among American sculptors, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Professor of Landscape Architecture in Harvard University. The extension of the L'Efant Plan as formulated by this commission is now being carried out under the general direction of the National Commission of Fine Arts. The essential prerequisite of the plan was a change in the location of the terminals of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and this legislation Mr. McMillan framed and the Senate passed just before his death. At the succeeding session of Congress the House passed the Senate act.

CHAPTER XXX

THE CUBAN WAR

Michigan in various ways played a conspicuous part in the Cuban War. The rise of the Central and South American republics and of Mexico naturally made Cuba restless under Spanish rule and exploitation; and there were always enough restless spirits in this country to foment trouble and to take financial as well as personal risks in promoting revolution. In 1852 this country refused to accept the suggestion of England and France that the three nations pledge themselves not to acquire Cuba, and two years later our ministers to Spain, France and England were directed to take steps to obtain the cession of Cuba from Spain. The ministers (Pierre Soulé, J. G. Mason and James Buchanan) went so far as to threaten to seize the island in the event that Spain refused to sell; and in the Ostend Manifesto they pointed out the danger to American institutions (meaning slavery) in the event that Cuba should become the home of free negroes, like St. Domingo. To this assertion the Republican party in 1856 made answer that the Manifesto was "the highwayman's plea that might makes right."

Senator Cass, ever ambitious for the growth and prosperity of the United States, and always suspicious of England's good faith, resented the interference of foreign nations in anything that related to the western continent. Nevertheless he strongly and ably opposed obtaining Cuba by force, and ventured hope that "such a case rapacity would never stain our annals."[1] The idea of a free and independent Cuba, protected in its independence by this country, was not then considered.

From 1868 to 1878 there was desultory warfare between Cuba and Spain, and this contest was supported largely by Americans. Spain's promise of reforms brought the war to an end; but Spain had in herself no desire or even ability to carry out her promises. The recipocity arrangement with the United States, of great benefit to both countries, was begun in 1891 only to be terminated after three years of trial. The result was another Cuban revolution, which Spain undertook to crush by methods brought down from

[1] A. C. McLaughlin's "Lewis Cass."

the Middle Ages. The destruction of the battle-ship Maine in the harbor of Havana on February 15, 1898, with the consequent loss of 266 American lives; and a two days' speech in the Senate by Redfield Proctor of Vermont, in which he described conditions as he had found them in Cuba, precipitated war between the United States and Spain for the independence of the island. In vain President McKinley endeavored to avert or to postpone the conflict. Congress placed in his hands fifty million dollars to prepare for war, and by resolution called for the immediate withdrawal of Spain from Cuba. Spain, not waiting for the delivery of this hostile message, gave our minister his passports; and Congress declared that war had existed since April 21, when the resolution above adverted to became effective.

At this time the army of the United States consisted of 26,640 enlisted men; Congress increased the authorized number to 275,000. Immediately the entire country began the mobilization of the militia; on June 22, Gen. William R. Shafter, with an expeditionary force of 25,000 men, landed near Santiago in Cuba. After continuous fighting, including the battle of El Caney and San Juan, the army reached Santiago on July 3. On the 17th the city was surrendered, and on August 12 the peace protocol was signed. Thus brief and not particularly glorious was the war on land. On the sea the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila by Admiral Dewey and the annihilation of Admiral Severa's fleet while attempting to escape from the harbor of Santiago were events which completely reversed European ideas in regard to the prowess of the United States and established the reputation of this nation as a force to be reckoned with thenceforth in international affairs. The payment of twenty million dollars to Spain for the Philippines, and other acts of courtesy in concluding the peace negotiations removed feelings of bitterness on the part of Spain, although leaving the sense of humiliation at the loss of prestige.

At the outbreak of the Spanish War Gen. Russell A. Alger was Secretary of War. He summoned Frank J. Hecker from Detroit, placed him in charge of the Division of Transportation with the rank of colonel, and instructed him to take charge of the purchase of ships for use as army transports. Colonel Hecker associated with him Frank E. Kirby, whose abilities as marine engineer and constructor had been established by many years of successful experience on the Great Lakes. Working together the two men purchased several million dollars' worth of vessels for the Army; and their ability, experience, business capacity and integrity enabled them

to save the government time and money while at the same time securing to the Army the best ships available and remodeling them in the most satisfactory manner. Colonel Hecker remained in the service nearly a year, during which time he negotiated the contract with the Spanish vessel owners for the transportation of the Spanish soldiers from Cuba to Spain, a contract which caused vicious attacks upon him and the Secretary of War, instigated by the steamship combination which failed to obtain the order. Both the smaller cost of the service and political considerations justified the use of the Spanish vessels. He also spent much time in Cuba in the construction of wharves and railroads, and such was the ability and sagacity displayed that President Roosevelt appointed him a member of the first Panama Canal Commission, a position which he occupied until for sufficient reasons entirely creditable to his business judgment he resigned.[2]

The command of the expeditionary force of 25,000 men sent to Cuba was entrusted to Gen. William R. Shafter, who was born in Galesburg, and who had entered the volunteer service in 1861 as first lieutenant of the Seventh Michigan Infantry. He was wounded in action in 1862, and became major of the Nineteenth. He was captured and exchanged in 1863 and the next year became colonel of the Seventeenth United States regiment of colored troops. Mustered out in 1866 as a brevet brigadier general, he entered the regular army and in 1879 was colonel of the First United States Infantry. At the outbreak of the war he was a brigadier general in the regular service, with the reputation of being an exceptionally good post commander. He was stout to the point of obesity and an injury received after landing compelled him to keep his tent during the engagements in Cuba. Owing doubtless to his physical disabilities he had no sooner gained a commanding position on the heights dominating Santiago when he proposed, on July 3, to retire to a new position, thus causing apprehension and gloom in Washington.[3] Hap-

[2] "Recollections of Service and Experience in the Spanish-American War," by Frank J. Hecker, late Colonel and Quartermaster United States Volunteers, Chief of the Division of Transportation. Detroit, privately printed, 1913. In this little volume Colonel Hecker has given a concise account of his services and of his relations with the War Department. The document, while printed as a family record, has great value to students of the Spanish war.

[3] "The Spanish-American War," by R. A. Alger, p. 172. General Alger, after resigning from the McKinley Cabinet, published a history of the war, which was very carefully prepared from the official documents in the War Department. The blame for not being prepared for the war which Congress declared to have been in existence belongs to the American people. Such a

pily, however, his demand for the surrender of the city brought on negotiations which finally resulted in that event and the termination of the war. The fact was that the Spaniards were even less prepared than we were to conduct a war. In the light of the Japanese-Russian war and of the European war now in progress, the Spanish-American war was scarcely more than a farce.

Michigan's preparation for the war while not inferior to that of other states was found to be deficient in most particulars. The Michigan National Guard was composed of five regiments of infantry and one naval brigade. The state had shelter tents and field cooking outfits for but one regiment; the rifle with which the militia was armed was the breech-loading Springfield, and many of the guns had been in the hands of the troops for from fifteen to twenty years, so that by reason of damages to the sights, natural wear and tear and neglect, they were unserviceable. Experience showed that the weapon was obsolete and should have been replaced with a modern rifle of smaller calibre using smokeless powder. The naval brigade was in much better shape. During the summer of 1897 the U. S. S. Yantic was set apart by the Navy for the use of the Michigan Reserves. The ship was then at the Charlestown Navy Yard undergoing repairs. The Washington authorities maintained that it would be impossible to take the Yantic through the Canadian locks and canals between Montreal and Detroit, but were persuaded to turn the ship over at Montreal, provided the State of Michigan would assume all the risk and the expense of conveying her to Detroit. On October 15th the ship was turned over to Lieutenant Commander Gilbert Wilkes, who was aided by Lieutenant Truman H. Newberry (afterwards Secretary of the Navy) and Lieutenant Cyrus E. Lothrop, a son of G. V. N. Lothrop. From Montreal she was taken and handled by her own men, and on December 8th anchored in the Detroit River. The experience obtained in getting the vessel to Detroit was efficient practice for the brigade.

When war was actually declared and the militia officers and soldiers were required to stand a physical examination, it was found that 23 per cent were unable to pass the examination, and as a

condition is the price we pay for the liberty we enjoy. Always, when the emergency comes, the price is found to be a heavy one; but at least it is not a novel condition. George Washington was confronted by it when he was a Virginia officer, trying to keep back the Indians by means of a scanty and insubordinate force of ill-paid or unpaid militia. It would be impossible to express in stronger terms than he has used the short-sighted folly of the American attitude; but human nature has not yet changed from what it was in colonial days.

result their places had to be filled by recruits who could pass muster physically. The guns were useless and the equipments were inadequate for service. On April 23, 1898, President McKinley issued the proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers, Michigan's quota being 4,104, to consist of four regiments of infantry, each of 1,026 officers and men. On the next day orders were issued for the mobilization of the entire Michigan National Guards at Island Lake with Adjutant General Irish in command. Two independent battalions were assigned to the First and Second Infantry and eight companies from different localities in the state were accepted to complete the third and fifth regiments. The regiments thus organized were designated as the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, following in numerical order the infantry regiments of the War of Secession. On May 15 the Thirty-first regiment, under the command of Colonel Cornelius Gardener (a captain in the regular army) left Island Lake for Chickamaugua Park, Georgia. On the 19th the Thirty-second under command of Colonel William T. McGurrin left for Tampa, Florida. On May 20 and 25 respectively the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth under the command of Colonels Charles L. Boynton and John P. Petermann were mustered into the United States service and on May 28th and June 6th left for Camp Alger, near Washington. On May 25 the President issued the second call for troops, Michigan's quota being one regiment of infantry of a maximum strength of 1,272 men and 47 officers. On September 14th this regiment under the command of Colonel E. M. Irish left for Camp Meade, Pennsylvania. The Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Michigan formed part of the expedition under Command of General Shafter against Santiago, under the Command of Brigadier General Henry M. Duffield.

The Thirty-second Infantry returned to Island Lake September 16th, 1898, from whence the several companies departed to their home stations and were mustered out at various times between October 25th and November 9th. This regiment did not leave the United States. The Thirty-third regiment was in active service until its return to Detroit September 2, 1898, and the muster out was completed on January 6th, 1899. The Thirty-fourth arrived from Montauk Point, August 27, and was mustered out by January 2, 1899. The Thirty-first was in various Southern camps until January 25, 1899, when it was transported to Cuba and did service on that island until April 25, 1899. It was mustered out at Savannah, Georgia, May 17th. The Thirty-fifth was not actively engaged and

was mustered out at Savannah, May 17, 1899. On returning from the field service many men sought discharge and the entire militia of the state had to be reorganized.[4]

The Michigan Naval Reserves consisting of eleven officers and two hundred and seventy men were detailed on the auxiliary cruiser Yosemite and saw service at Savannah, Santiago, Guantanamo and San Juan. The Yosemite was put in commission at Newport News, Va., on April 13, with Commander W. H. Emory, U. S. N., as captain, and seven other naval officers in various positions. Of the Reserves Gilbert Wilkes, Truman H. Newberry and Cyrus E. Lothrop ranked as lieutenants; Frederick L. Eaton, Strathearn Hendrie, Frederick D. Standish, Walter P. Parker, Frank B. Gaylord, John Burns and George Eustis ranked as ensigns; Mortimer E. Cooley was chief engineer, with August Mehlman as assistant; Delos L. Parker ranked as past assistant surgeon, John L. Bunce as assistant paymaster and William Gray as pay-clerk. Among the petty officers and seamen were men who have become presidents of great automobile companies, doctors of national reputation, lawyers of distinction, architects, capitalists, manufacturers, artists and even members of Congress.[5] No one was killed, and the friendships formed on the cruise have been of benefit both to the individuals and to the community.

About half past five o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, June 28, the Yosemite, which was then maintaining the blockade off San Juan, Porto Rico, sighted a steamer to the westward about two miles distant. The weather was thick and squally. Captain Emory signalled for full steam ahead and gave chase. The steamer turned head in shore with the evident intention of getting under the guns of Fort Canuelo by skirting along the edge of the reefs. The Yosemite went to quarters for battle upon the sighting of the steamer, but was not able to get nearer than four thousand yards on account of shallow water. Then the Yosemite began firing deliberately, and when it was deemed that the steamer was sufficiently disabled the Yosemite steamed for a Spanish cruiser and gun-boat which had come to the relief of the beached steamer. The cruiser's large guns were endangering the safety of the Yosemite's exposed boilers and the guns of Morro Castle had obtained the exact range of the Yosemite's position and were effective at that distance. During this time many projectiles of large caliber passed over the Yosemite, while none fell short more than 200 yards. One

[4] Reports of the Adjutant-General of Michigan for 1898 and 1899.

[5] "Log of the U. S. S. Yosemite;" Detroit, 1899.

dropped within a few feet of the stern, throwing the spray aboard. The steamer and gun-boat now added their fire to that of the batteries. The cruiser's guns were of greater range than those of the Yosemite. Finding that they could not reach the Spanish cruiser with the main battery, the Yosemite steamed for her and when within 4,000 yards opened fire with the starboard battery of rapid fire guns. This fire seemed to be effective and made the Spanish cruiser join her consort, the gun-boat, in seeking shelter under the guns of Morro. About the time the Yosemite ceased firing on the Spanish cruiser, a torpedo boat was seen going at full speed near the shore in the direction of the beached steamer. The Yosemite gave the torpedo boat a hot ten minutes with the main and secondary batteries port side, when the torpedo boat sought refuge behind the steamer. The Yosemite remained under the fire of the forts until she had set the steamer on fire and then hauled off and stood for the Spanish cruiser. The ship remained the rest of the day cleared for action and with battle flag flying awaiting for an attack from the cruiser, gun-boat and torpedo boat, but they failed to come out. The Yosemite was under fire about three hours, but was not once struck. During that time she fired 251 common shell, 25 five-inch shrapnel and 56 six-pounder shell. The steamer proved to be the Antonio Lopez of the Spanish Trans-Atlantic Line, a fine, but not fast boat, which was bound from Cadiz to San Juan with a cargo of sundries.

The Naval Reserves were made up of the flower of Detroit young men, who were eager to render service and to win glory. Unfortunately the vessel was in command of a naval officer, who considered it his main duty to train well-born landsmen to become common sailors. There was no sympathy between the captain and his crew; that officer felt that a slight had been put upon him by giving him such a command, and he underrated the ability of his men. Perhaps this is a sufficient explanation of the fact that he missed chances to make a better record for himself and his ship, without going into the further charges regarding his habits and capacity.

So ended the inglorious Spanish War, the main results of which were to prove by sad experience the nation's unpreparedness for attack or defense. Out of the war have come training for individuals and especially training in sanitation, which will probably save hundreds of live for every one sacrificed. Moreover Cuba has been made free and independent.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE MICHIGAN OF TODAY

Champlain discovered Lake Huron just three centuries ago; a few years later Brulé navigated the waters of Lake Superior, and in 1634 Nicolet passed through the Straits of Mackinac. It is nearly two centuries and a half since Marquette established at Sault Ste. Marie the first white settlement in the present State of Michigan; and Detroit is a town of more than two hundred years. That is a picturesque, romantic, squalid past, filled with the daring of explorers, the devotion of missionaries and the mistaken theories embodied in the French system of colonization.

Then came the attempts of England, prolonged over nearly half a century, to hold the western territory for the benefit of its fur-trade, after 1783 at the expense of the lives of settlers and in violation of treaty provisions. It was not until the close of the War of 1812 that systematic development in Michigan began, and not until the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 that settlement of the rich lands in the southern portion of the state proceeded on any large scale. After the exploitation of the copper country by Douglass Houghton, came an era of discovery and mining development, during which Michigan for a time led the world in the production of copper and iron-ore. The forests were cleared to build homes in the fast developing west. Now the forests are gone; other states have taken the lead in the yield of copper and iron ore; industries have become diversified, the lands largely have been brought under cultivation, and Michigan has taken its place in the rank and file of the commonwealths of the republic.

Detroit, ranking among the oldest cities in the land, has become one of the most thriving manufacturing centers in this country, with a population increasing each year at the rate of forty thousand or more. Each two years Detroit gains a number of people greater than the entire white population of Michigan in 1834, when the Territory applied for admission into the Union. This influx is due largely to the increase in the manufacture of automobiles, an industry which came to supplant that of the building of freight-

cars (which held the first place for twenty years from 1870) and to supplement the production of stoves, drugs and manufactures of tobacco. Flint, Lansing and other cities also have increased in size because of the automobile traffic. Grand Rapids, developing the manufacture of furniture, has become a national market. The fruit farms of southwestern Michigan supply the Chicago distributing markets. Battle Creek has flourished through the manufacture of cereal foods. The Upper Peninsula still sends out vast quantities of iron-ore, its pure copper is a necessity for electrical purposes, and its lands are gradually coming under cultivation as its forests disappear and good roads are constructed. The Saginaw Valley has found in the production of coal and the cultivation of the sugar-beet some compensation for the destruction of the forests.

The state now has a population of about three million people (2,810,173 by the census of 1909); with its 57,000 square miles of land it is a quarter of the size of France, the country to which first it owed allegiance, and is equal in area to England and Wales, the second nation in control. A little more than half the population live in rural communities, but the ratio is changing in favor of the cities; so that while the cities are growing at the rate of nearly forty per cent the country districts show an increase of but two per cent, and in many counties the rural population is actually decreasing.

The shore line of Michigan is about 1,600 miles and no point in the state is more than 85 miles distant from Great Lakes or their connecting waters. The Government has improved 31 of its harbors and 150 miles of its rivers and straits; there are 91 places where railroads touch the shore line, and the 6,000 or 7,000 men who find employment in the fisheries make an annual catch of about 50,000,000 pounds, mostly from Lakes Huron and Michigan. Also the state has about 5,000 inland lakes, most of which are stocked with fish. With the exception of the straits connecting the Great Lakes, Michigan has practically no navigable rivers, notwithstanding the labor and money spent to develop the Grand, the St. Joseph and the Kalamazoo. The streams that flow into the Lakes, however, have been utilized to develop for electrical purposes something over 250,000 horse-power, which is but a small fraction of the power available.

Of the total population of the state fewer than one per cent are not whites; nearly one-half the population is native-born or of native parentage; while only 34 per cent are native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. The Indian population now constitutes but three-tenths of one per cent, and there are about twice as many

negroes, together with a few Chinese and Japanese. The naturalization statistics of Wayne County show that from 1912 to 1915 the number of foreigners applying for citizenship averaged about one thousand per annum. Of the foreign born population Canada contributes nearly twenty-nine per cent; Germany twenty-two per cent; England seven per cent; Russia six per cent; Holland, Finland, Austria and Sweden each about five per cent; Ireland about three per cent and Italy the same.

The per capita expenditure for education is $29.00 per child; the school attendance has increased ten per cent during the past decade, and the number of pupils in the eighth grade has doubled during the same period. Also the number of teachers has increased thirty per cent, while salaries have doubled in ten years. The value of school property also has doubled since 1900 and the cost per schoolhouse has increased from $4,000 to $23,000.

In 1910, the 207,000 farms, aggregating about 19,000,000 acres, covered a little more than half of the area of the state, and were valued at over a billion dollars, which is nearly equal to one-half of the present equalized valuation of the state. There are ten thousand miles of steam and electrical roads and seventy thousand miles of public wagon roads; or one mile of highway for each forty persons. A system of state bounties or rewards is resulting in the steady development of good roads. These rewards vary from $250 to $1,000 a mile, according to the class of road built. A gravel road which draws a reward of $500 a mile for a nine-foot width of gravel track would draw $850 a mile for a sixteen-foot width. Roads built of macadam, concrete and brick draw from $1,000 to $1,700 per mile. A Trunk Line Highway System comprising three thousand miles of main highways has been established and the state reward is twice as great on the trunk lines as on ordinary highways; and in addition the state builds all bridges where the spans are greater than thirty feet and makes all surveys, plans and specifications. More than half of the townships have a mile or more of improved roads. Thus, while Michigan has facilities for water transportation greater than those of any other state, and while her railway facilities are equal to those of most states, the good road system is being developed to such an extent that in 1913 more than six and three-quarters millions of dollars were expended on the highways of the state. Many of these highways are of great extent and one of them will extend when completed from the southern boundary of the state to the Straits of Mackinac, skirting the shore of Lake Michigan for the greater portion of the distance.

THE LAST INDIAN ENCAMPMENT AT SAULT STE. MARIE, ON THE SITE OF OLD FORT BRADY, 1905

In the world of art Michigan has not a long history. Randolph Rogers, who was born in 1825 and lived until 1892, did his most enduring work in the bronze doors in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. The eight panels represent scenes from the story of Columbus and are held worthy of a permanent place in the art history of this country. "The Angel of Resurrection" for the monument of Colonel Hall at Hartford, Connecticut; the heroic figure of Michigan and the subordinate figures on the Soldiers' Monument at Detroit are among his most important works; while his statue of Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii, won large popular favor.

In painting Julius Rolshoven has attained a place among contemporary artists. Mr. Rolshoven was born in Detroit in 1858, and has received medals and honors at Munich, Paris, Berlin and Florence. Gari Melchers, who was born in Detroit in 1860, won the gold medal at the Paris Salon in 1886, the grand medal of honor at Berlin in 1891, and at Antwerp in 1894. Three years later he received the grand medal of honor at the Paris Salon, and in 1901 grand gold medals in Amsterdam, Munich, Vienna and Dresden, as well as at Philadelphia and Buffalo. His picture "Maternity" hangs in the Louxembourg; "The Family" is in the National Gallery at Berlin; "The Shipbuilder" in the Royal Gallery at Dresden; "Girl in Church" in the Royal Academy at Munich; "The Man with Cloak" in the National Gallery at Rome; and examples of his work are in all the principal galleries of the United States. He has received many orders and decorations and is generally recognized as among the most serious of American artists, as he is also one of the most successful. A considerable collection of his works is in the Detroit Museum of Art, where also are to be found some of the best examples of Mr. Rolshoven's work. Both artists are still in their prime. Frederick Carl Frieseke, born in Owosso, April 7, 1874, received at the San Francisco Exposition of 1915 the grand medal for painting, and may reasonably look forward to larger success in the future. Among art collectors and connoisseurs is Charles Lang Freer, whose gifts to the Smithsonian Institution represent the most valuable contributions ever made to the Government.

Muskegon is conspicuous among Michigan cities as an example of what the public spirit and the wealth of one individual can accomplish. Mr. Charles H. Hackley, one of the many who had made fortunes in lumber, gave largely during his lifetime to improve Muskegon, and at his death left about three million dollars to continue his benefactions. As a result of intelligent manage-

ment on the part of those persons who have charge of the trusts he established the city enjoys the satisfaction of having a manual training school of very high standing, a public library rich in special collections, and one of the most distinguished art galleries in this country.

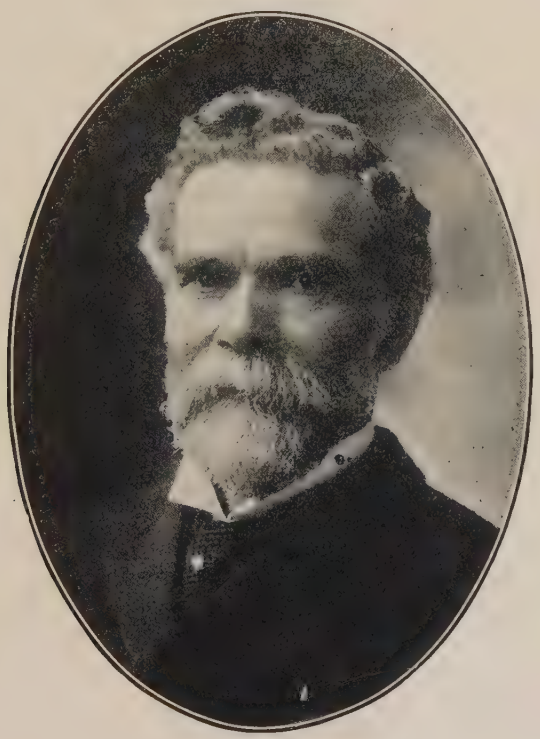
Literature has not thriven in Michigan. No Michigan author has attained a high rank, but for a time Will Carleton was a popular poet, and there have been and are a number of novelists who have attained popularity, notable among the number being Steward Edward White, who was born in Grand Rapids on March 12, 1873, and whose novels of the open country have won wide consideration. In applied economics, Prof. Henry Carter Adams, since 1883 a professor in the University of Michigan, has become a recognized authority in matters of taxation and railway finance. As statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission from 1887 to 1911, as lecturer at Cornell University, as adviser to the commission for the standardization of Chinese railway accounts, and as a writer on economic subjects he has brought credit to the state.

In surgery the State is to be credited with one striking discovery. On June 6th, 1822, Alexis St. Martin, a French-Canadian, eighteen years old, was accidentally shot while carelessly examining a gun in the store of Major John H. Kinzie who was the agent of the American Fur Company at Mackinac. About twenty-five minutes after the accident Dr. William Beaumont the United States Army post surgeon reached the wounded man. The charge consisting of powder and duck-shot was received in the left side of the youth, who was not more than one yard from the muzzle of the gun. The contents of the gun fractured two ribs and perforated the stomach. Dr. Beaumont succeeded in saving the young man's life; the wound healed and left a valvular orifice that could be depressed at pleasure and the contents of the stomach and the action of the gastric fluid could be watched. Dr. Beaumont seized the opportunity to conduct a series of experiments and observations that have made his name live in the annals of surgery. St. Martin died at St. Thomas De Joliet June 24th, 1880, at the age of eighty-three years and his family took effectual means to prevent science from having the benefit of his remains. Mrs. St. Martin died in 1887 at the age of ninety-two years.

Dr. Beaumont was a native of Lebanon, Connecticut, where he was born November 21st, 1785. After teaching school at Champlain, N. Y., he studied medicine with Dr. Benjamin Chandler and graduated at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1812 until 1839

he was a surgeon in the army, later settling at St. Louis, where he practiced medicine until his death in 1853. A monument erected in 1905 commemorates Dr. Beaumont's life and work.[1]

While Michigan cannot be claimed as the birthplace of Edison, his youth was passed in this State and here he made his early attempts in the field of electricity. In February, 1847, Thomas Alva



WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE, FOR WHOM THE LIVINGSTONE CHANNEL WAS NAMED

Edison was born at Milan, Ohio. In 1854 his father removed to Port Huron, Michigan. The boy was taught by his mother, with the exception of about three months when he attended the public schools. He also aided his father to build a tower about 80 feet high in the back yard of their dwelling from which a prospect of Lake Huron and the St. Clair River was obtained. The tower, however, was not a financial success. Like so many other children who

[1] See the *Physician and Surgeon,* Vol. 22, Dec., 1900, Beaumont Memorial number.

attain greatness in after years, young Edison read Gibbon's "Rome" and several histories of the world. When he was eleven years old he began to sell newspapers in order to help the family exchequer. For several years he traveled on the Grand Trunk Railroad between Port Huron and Detroit, dispensing of his stock of newspapers, magazines, fruits and candies. He was a boy of ordinary size, well built, with a thick head of brown hair, which he rarely combed. He made about $5.00 a day out of his traffic, most of which he saved. He spent most of his leisure in studying scientific subjects. Those were war days, and he was enterprising enough to telegraph to the various stations on the line bulletins of battles reported in the papers he was selling. This caused a great demand and he profited accordingly. He even printed a paper of his own, printing it in the baggage car on his way to and from Detroit. He called it the *"Weekly Herald."* The price was 8c a month. It contained the usual local news and gossip. Among those who read and quoted from the *"Weekly Herald"* were the celebrated English engineer Stephenson and the London Times. Unfortunately for the young editor he had also set up a chemical laboratory in the baggage car, and the usual results followed. The conductor of the train put out the fire and also cleared out the type, printing press, telegraph apparatus, bottles of chemicals and other contents of the laboratory, including the inventor. A new laboratory was set up in his own home, and he continued to publish his paper in a stationary printing office. He changed the name, however, to *Paul Pry,* suiting the character of the publication to the name, with the result that one of the many people aggravated took vengeance by throwing him into the canal.

In 1862 Edison learned telegraphy and obtained the position of night operator at the Port Huron station at a salary of $25.00 per month, but he was so absorbed with his experiments that he was often threatened by the train dispatcher for neglect of duty. To avoid this he arranged to have the clock send his reports, thus allowing him to sleep. This lasted very well until the dispatcher one night happened to desire to talk to Edison. He called repeatedly, but getting no answer took a hand car and investigated only to find that the young operator was sleeping quietly and had not been murdered, as was feared. The dispatcher, however, was much interested in the curious mechanism that had been devised to send the signals. On being discharged he went to Sarnia where he allowed a train to pass by his station when he should have stopped it. Fortunately, the engine drivers heard each other's whistles in

time to prevent a rear end collision. Thereupon he returned to Port Huron in order to escape being prosecuted for neglect of duty. Then he entered the Western Union Telegraph office, but soon removed to Stratford, Canada, where he still received a salary of $25.00 per month. At the age of 18 he went to Indianapolis where his ability as an operator secured him a position. This was in November, 1864. His salary had now increased to $75.00 per month. So ended the Michigan life of the great inventor.

In the industrial world quite the most remarkable man in Michigan is Henry Ford, a native of Greenfield, where he was born on July 30, 1863. At the age of fifty-two years Mr. Ford has achieved wealth that is beyond the power of the human mind to estimate; and this accomplishment has been attended without injury to any of his competitors or any circumstance which could in any way excite feelings of hostility or resentment. On the contrary the methods by which he has accomplished his results have tended to make better men and better citizens of the sixteen thousand workmen in his employ; while at the same time he has steadily and consistently reduced the price of his product. After such an education as the Greenfield district schools could give, Mr. Ford learned the machinist's trade; he came to Detroit at the age of twenty-four, and in time became the chief engineer of the Edison Illuminating Company. In 1903 he organized the Ford Motor Company, which is now the largest manufacturer of automobiles in the world, making more than a thousand machines on each working day. His devices for profit-sharing among both workmen and purchasers, his plan of a minimum wage, his efforts for social betterment, his great hospital and many like philanthropic works do as much credit to his heart as the efficient system by which his factories are managed do to his mind. His inventive faculties are still finding employment in tractor-motors for farming purposes, and seemingly they are still without diminution or limit. In all of his industrial enterprises he has had the aid and support of a rare genius for organization in the person of James Couzens, who was born in Chatham, Ontario, on August 28, 1872.

When he came to devise the Great Seal of Michigan, General Cass took for the motto an adaptation of the epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London—"If you seek his monument look about you." To tens of thousands of people dwelling in the South and the West the beautiful peninsula has become a summer play-ground. Tourists throng the steep paths of the Fairy Island of Mackinac. Luxurious passenger steamers

on their way to and from Lake Superior pass up and down through the great locks of Sault Ste. Marie. The islands of St. Marys River are dotted with summer cottages. The shores of Lakes Michigan and Huron are lined with the houses of our hot-weather population. The forests and streams yield sport to the hunter and the fisherman. The interior lakes afford breathing spots for those worn with the distraction of city life. If General Cass could exclaim in the Latin of his day, *"Si quaeris amoenam peninsulam, circumspice!"* how much more truly can the busy men and women of today, both citizens and denizens of Michigan, say with profound satisfaction, "If you desire a beautiful peninsula (or even two beautiful peninsulas), they are here for the refreshment of the mind and the recreation of the body."

MICHIGAN CHRONOLOGY

MICHIGAN CHRONOLOGY

Events leading up to the settlement of Michigan and the more significant dates in the history of the state.

1535—May 19—James Cartier, a native of St. Malo, France, makes a second voyage to America. He commands a squadron of three ships carrying 110 persons, sailing for the St. Lawrence River. In September they reached the Island of Orleans. Cartier sails up the river to the Indian village of Hochelaga; he calls the hill Mont Royale; he receives confused accounts of the Upper Lakes; he is told of copper mines; he passes a hard winter and on May 3, 1536, takes possession of the country for France. On July 16 he reaches St. Malo.

1541—Roberval attempts to colonize Canada with jailbirds. Cartier explores the La Chine Rapids and builds a fort at Quebec where he passes a miserable winter; starting to return he meets Roberval at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but refuses to go back with him, being convinced that a wilderness state could not be established with convicts. Roberval spends the winter at Quebec and then returns to France with the remains of his party.

1541-45—Many Norman fishermen on the American coasts. The rules of the church prescribing fish diet on holy days leads to a great demand for salted fish through Catholic Europe. By 1578 there were 150 French vessels employed in the Newfoundland fisheries.

1555—Cartier dies.

1599—Champlain's West India voyage; he visits Vera Cruz and Mexico City, and suggests a canal at the Isthmus of Panama. Pontgrevé, a merchant of St. Malo, and Chauvin, a captain of marine, obtain a monoply of the fur trade, in consideration for settling 500 persons in New France. Chauvin made three voyages, but the enterprise failed.

1603—May 24—Samuel Champlain (born at Brouage, France, in 1567, and a captain in the royal navy) comes to New France with an expedition fitted out by a company of merchants, and led by Pontgravè. The two men explored the St. Lawrence to the La Chine Rapids. Cartier's Indian village had disappeared, but they learned of the Great Lakes, and of copper deposits. They sailed July 11th, with a profitable cargo of furs.

1604—Champlain publishes an account of his first voyage.

1608—July 3—Champlain founds Quebec, and maps the region.

1608—Stephen Brulè born in Champigny about 1592. Comes to New France with Champlain; is present at the founding of Quebec.

1609—The Indians present copper to Champlain.

1609—July—Champlain at Ticonderoga.

1610—Brulé goes to spend the winter with the Algonquin Chief Iroquet. He returns June 13, 1611, having been the first European to ascend the Ottawa River.

1610—Champlain returns to Quebec, and again to France.

1611—Champlain again in Quebec, but returns to France.

1612—Champlain's map of Canada.

1613—Champlain ascends the Ottawa to Isle des Allumettes, hoping to find the Northwest Passage; returns disappointed. Champlain once more in Quebec, explores the Ottawa River, publishes his "Voyages," with a map, making the first attempt to lay down the latitude and longitude for this part of the coast.

1614—Champlain in France.

1615—Champlain in Canada; attacks the Onondagas. Récollect missions begin in Canada and last till 1629. They were established by Champlain. Of the four missionaries Father Joseph le Caron goes to the Hurons or Wyandots, dwelling west of the Ottawa River. Although they labored devotedly they were not able to cope with the work, and in 1625 they invited the aid of the Jesuits. July 9—Champlain and Brulé start for the Huron country. September 8—Brulé and twelve Indians start for Carantouan in the Huron country. October 10—Champlain attacks Onondagas, but the attack is repulsed and the expedition returns.

1616—Champlain returns to France.

1618—July 7—Brulé reaches Three Rivers, after having explored the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay. Brulé returns to the Huron country and reaches the North Channel at the head of Lake Huron.

1619—Champlain's third narrative published.

1620—Frontenac born. The Mayflower Compact signed in Cape Cod Harbor. Brulé and Grenolle go to the Rapids of St. Mary's River, and probably discover Lake Superior, tidings of which lake he gives to Sagard. William Poulin, Récollect, takes up the Huron mission. In 1623 he was joined by Fathers Le Caron and Nicholas Viel, and the historian of the Récollect missions, Brother Gabriel Sagard. Soon Viel was left alone and in 1625 he was treacherously drowned by his Indian canoe-man, in the last rapids at the Des Prairies River, now called from him the Sault au Récollect.

1621—William de Caen in Canada.

1623—Brulé returns to Quebec. The Dutch build Fort Orange (Albany).

1625—Brulé visits the Neutrals near Lake Erie. Jesuits come to Canada in response to the call of the Récollects. The Jesuit missions were then succeeding in Asia, Africa and South America. Three Jesuits came—Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Lalemant and Massé, the latter from the Acadian mission. They sent some Huron youths to France; they spent the summers at the trading-posts and the winters with the Indians.

1626—Louis XIII conveys the Canada region to the Company of New France, formed by Richelieu. Fathers Brébeuf and Anne de Nonë and the Récollect friars, Joseph de la Roche and Daillon, go to the Hurons. Daillon tries to establish a mission among the Neutrals, but is roughly handled and retires. De Nonë succumbs to the difficulties of the language and retires. Brébeuf is successful; he is recalled to Quebec in 1629 and falls into the hands of the English who take him to England.

1628—Brulé acts as pilot for the English vessels which capture Quebec.

1628-1629—Quebec captured by the English under Kirke. Champlain and the Jesuits taken to England. France is now without American possessions; but inasmuch as the conquest was made

after peace between England and France had been declared, the English restored all French possessions.

1632—Brulé is murdered by the Hurons at Toanché, and his body eaten. Champlain publishes his consolidated narratives, and in his map the Falls of Niagara are first noted. Jesuits return to Canada in sole charge of the missions of New France, for settlers as well as for Indians. For these papers see "The Jesuit Relations of Canada," usually so called, which begin now and extend to 1679. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France; 1610-1791; the original French, Latin and Italian texts, with English translations and notes; illustrated by portraits, maps and facsimiles; edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites; 74 volumes; Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1896. July 5—Fathers Paul de Jenne and Anne de Nonë and lay-brother Gilbert land at Quebec. De Jeune, the superior of the mission, begins learning the Indian languages.

1634—Jean Nicolet's exploration through the Great Lakes; reaches St. Mary's Falls and discovers Lake Michigan. September—Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel and Davost begin at the large Huron town of Ihonatiria the greatest Jesuit mission in the history of New France. This was the headquarters for the branch missions established in neighboring parts. Besides the missionaries there were laborers from the French colonies and the donnés (lay-helpers), all engaged in agriculture.

1635—Champlain dies at Quebec, December 25th.

1637—Palisaded mission of St. Joseph, four miles above Quebec, established and later called Sillery, in honor of Commander Noël Brulast de Sillery of France, benefactor. In 1640 the nuns established hospital here; but in 1646 it was removed to Quebec. The mission was abandoned in 1685. A monument to Fathers Massé and Nonë marks the spot.

1639—St. Mary's fortified mission house was built on the River Wye in the Huron country.

1640—Early French map of the Ottawa route westward from Montreal.

1641—Médard Chouart comes to Canada, at the age of 16. He was born in Charly St. Cyr, the son of Médard and Marie Poirier. Was a pilot. Married Helen, daughter of Abraham Martin, who owned the Plains of Abraham. She dies in 1651 and he

married at Quebec, August 23, 1653, Margaret Hayet, widow, sister of Radisson. The missionary settlement of Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve. It was soon taken charge of by the Sulpitians; it was moved to the Sault au Récollect, then to the Lake of the Two Mountains. It is the oldest mission in Canada. Rambault and Jogues at Sault Ste. Marie, preaching to the Algonquins.

1642—Jogues captured by the Iroquois and tortured; taken by the Dutch and sent to Europe. The Huron mission was cut off from supplies and in 1644 was relieved by Brébeuf, Garrean and Noël Chabanel.

1643—La Salle born at Rouen.

1645—Peace with the Iroquois results in six flourishing missions in the Huron country.

1646—Médard Chouart, who had been a donné at the Huron mission, begins trading with the Indians on his own account. He prospered, bought land, and assumed the seigneurial title of "Sieur des Groseilliers." Jogues again captured; he is tortured to death in the Iroquois towns, and is the first martyr in New France.

1648—The Iroquois attack Teanaustayé, the chief Huron village, where Father Daniel is killed, the first martyr of the Huron mission; the second in New France, Jogues being the first.

1649—March 16—St. Ignatius in the Huron country stormed by 1,000 Iroquois. Survivors flee to St. Louis, where were Brébeuf and Lalemant, who aided in the defense of the town; but they were captured, taken to St. Ignatius and tortured to death. November—Fathers Garnier and Chabanel were murdered in the Petun country.

1650—June—The Huron mission entirely abandoned. The missionaries and converts retire to the Island of Orleans, whence they were driven by the Iroquois to Lorette (near Quebec) where the mission has persisted to this day.

1651—May 24—Radisson arrives in Canada from St. Malo.

1652—Radisson captured near Three Rivers by band of Iroquois and taken to the banks of the Mohawk. In 1653 he escapes to the Dutch at Fort Orange; sent to Amsterdam and returned via France in 1654, arriving on May 17.

1656—Radisson marries Elizabeth, daughter of Madelein

Hainault, at Three Rivers. Their daughter, Francoise, married at Quebec in 1668 and had eight children. For descendants see Tanquay.

1654—Peace between the French and Iroquois. The Jesuits go among the Iroquois.

1657—July—Radisson goes to the Onondaga mission.

1658—March—Radisson returns from Onondaga. June—Starts with Chouart for Green Bay. Was gone until 1660. Bishop Laval founds the Seminary of Quebec. The Jesuits now retire from the parishes among the colonists and devote themselves to the college and Indian missions.

1659—Groseilliers and Radisson explore Lake Superior and go among the Sioux.

1660—Jesuit missions renewed among the Iroquois. June 1—Radisson and Chouart return from Lake Michigan. Father René Ménard accompanies an Ottawa fleet to Sault Ste. Marie and Keweenaw Bay; was the first to say mass on Lake Superior. Spends winter on shore of the lake.

1661—August—Radisson and Chouart make a second trip to the Upper Lakes. Ménard lost in the forest and dies near the upper waters of Black River, Wisconsin; the first martyr of the Ottawa mission.

1662—Groseilliers' exploration towards Hudson Bay. Jesuit map of the Iroquois country.

1664—Jesuit map of Lakes Ontario and Champlain. French West India Company formed.

1665—Talon reaches Quebec.

Radisson and Chouart go to New England and begin their project for the Hudson Bay trade. October—Father Claude Allouez reaches Chequamegon Bay, builds a bark chapel and establishes the mission of La Pointe. His flock consisted of Hurons and Algonquins, who were safe from the Iroquois but were harassed by the Sioux. Allouez established missions at Green Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, on the Miami and, with Marquette, among the Illinois. He labored for 30 years.

1666—Marquette arrives in Canada. La Salle arrives in Canada.

1667—The Jesuits again undertake Iroquois missions, which exist 20 years.

1668—Marquette founds first permanent settlement in Michigan at Sault Ste. Marie.

1669—Iroquois converts settle opposite Montreal. La Salle, Galinee and Dollier de Casson on Lake Ontario. Casson's map of Canada. Louis Joliet explores the Great Lakes, descends the Detroit River. La Salle's movements uncertain from this date to 1671. He discovers the upper Ohio River. Marquette succeeds Allouez at La Pointe.

1670—Nicolas Perrot at Green Bay. Saint Lusson's expedition to Lake Huron. The Jesuit map of Lake Superior. The Ottawas incur the hostility of the Sioux and are driven from La Pointe. Marquette established them in a new mission at Point St. Ignace, on the Straits of Mackinac. Dollier and Galinee pass up through Detroit and arrive at Sault Ste. Marie, May 25.

1671—Mission house at Sault Ste. Marie burned; rebuilt on finer scale. The region about Lake Huron and Superior taken possession of for France by Saint Lusson at Sault Ste. Marie. Courcelles establishes a post on Lake Ontario. Marquette at St. Ignace.

1672—Frontenac assembles people at Quebec and is rebuked by Colbert for his democracy. The Iroquois supposed to have conquered the Ohio Indians.

1673—Marquette and Louis Joliet start from St. Ignace to discover the Mississippi River. St. Ignace is the largest and most successful mission in the Northwest, comprising about 500 Hurons and 1,300 Ottawas. July—Fort Frontenac built. Explorations toward the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette; they reach the river June 17, and descend as far as the Arkansas. Joliet's map, perhaps the earliest of the Mississippi based on actual knowledge; his genuine map differing from that offered as Marquette's by Thevenot.

1674—Spring—Slaughter of ten Sioux peace commission men at the instigation of the Crees, at Sault Ste. Marie. Hopes of peace frustrated. Joliet's larger map, his smaller map and his Carte Generale. French West India Company surrenders privileges. Marquette goes to the Illinois.

1675—Marquette dies on the shores of Lake Michigan near Ludington.

1676—La Salle at Fort Frontenac (Kingston).

1677—Marquette's body taken to St. Ignace and buried beneath the chapel.

1678—Du Lhut at Lake Huron, and plants (July 2, 1679) the arms of France among the Sioux.

1679—January 8—La Salle and Tonty at Niagara, and in May, the Griffon is launched. Franquelin begins to make maps of the French exploration of the lakes and the Mississippi. La Salle at St. Ignace.

1680—La Salle among the Illinois. La Salle builds Fort Crévecoeur in the Illinois country. Accault, with Hennepin, sent to the Upper Mississippi.

1681—La Salle founds Fort St. Louis on the Illinois. February 6—La Salle on the Mississippi.

1682—Frontenac recalled. La Salle reaches the Gulf of Mexico; on April 9 takes possession of the country for France; names it Louisiana for Louis XIV.

1683—Hennepin's first book published in Paris, with his map. LaHontan in America till 1690.

1684—Indian war on the Upper Lakes. La Salle, with Joutel, sails to the Gulf of Mexico from La Rochelle.

1685—Denonville, governor of Canada. Perrot sent to Green Bay. October 31, La Salle leaves the Lavaca River on the Gulf of Mexico to find the Mississippi.

1687—January—La Salle again attempts to find the mouth of the Mississippi and is murdered in Texas by his followers, March 19. June 13—Denonville leaves Montreal to attack the Senecas. Dongan ordered from England to protect the Five Nations against the French. Five Nations by Treaty of Albany place themselves under protection of England. Cadillac married at Quebec, aged 30.

1688—Rafeix's map of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi; and that of Raudin. Baron LaHontan at St. Ignace.

1689—Frontenac returns to Quebec and sends expeditions against New York and New England.

1690—Phips' disastrous expedition against Quebec.

1692—Cadillac goes to France.

1694—Frontenac's last campaign against the Iroquois. Cadillac appointed to command the post at St. Ignace.

1697—Hennepin's Nouvelle Découverte with its maps. Hudson Bay stations captured by French.

1698—Frontenac dies.

1699—Livingstone submits plan to the English for post at Detroit. La Mothe Cadillac at Detroit.

1700—Treaty of Canada with Iroquois. Cadillac goes to France for the second time.

1700-1755—Uprising of the Foxes against the French power; the Jesuits driven from the mission field.

1701—The French make a treaty with the Iroquois. Jesuits again try to live among the Iroquois and remain for eight years. July 24—Cadillac founds Detroit. October 31—Company of the Colony obtain trade monopoly of Detroit.

1702—The French vacate their post on the Illinois.

1703—Calliéres, governor of Canada, dies and Philippe de Vaudreuil succeeds. LaHontan's map. Cadillac protests against Company of Colony. Detroit Indians go to council at Albany and return dissatisfied.

1704—September—Tonty dies of yellow fever at Biloxi. Cadillac arrested.

1706—Cadillac returns to Detroit.

1707—Indians summoned to Montreal and pacified.

1709—LaHontan's map of Acadia; of the Riviére Longue, of the lakes and the Mississippi.

1710—Cadillac leaves Detroit. Dubisson succeeds.

1712—May—Detroit attacked by Outagamies and Mascoutins.

1713—La Mothe Cadillac, governor of Louisiana. Trading post at Natchez.

1714—La Foret urges retention of Detroit when it is proposed to abandon the post.

1715—Moll's map of the British dominions in America.

1716—Spotswood opens a way over the Blue Ridge to the Ohio

lands. Route from the lakes by the Miami and Wabash opened. The French in the Ohio Valley.

1717—Illinois joined to Louisiana. "Lettres Edifiantes" supplement the Jesuit Relations for Canada, and throw light on those and other parts of America.

1718—French settlements in the Ohio Valley.

1720—Charlevoix reaches Canada; but does not publish his "Histoire" till 1744.

1721—Charlevoix in the Illinois country. Indian council at Detroit on sale of liquor. Charlevoix at Detroit.

1722—Map of Hudson's Bay.

1725—The rivalry of the French and English for the possession of Oswego and Niagara begins.

1730—Vérendrye west of Lake Superior, for ten years. Death of Cadillac.

1732—Beauharnais urges colonization at Detroit.

1738—La Franche's exploration between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior continued for four years. The English get into the Ohio country. French wars with Foxes and Chickasaws shake hold of French on upper country Indians.

1742-3—Céloron at Detroit.

1743—War with the French and the Indians, known in New England as King George's, Shirley's, or Five Years' War. English efforts to occupy the Ohio Valley continued for thirty years. Charles de Langlade settles in what is now Wisconsin. Virginia employs Conrad Weiser to adjust difficulty with Iroquois.

1744—Treaty of Lancaster. Weiser chief interpreter.

1745—Beauharnais reports bad times at Detroit.

1746—William Johnson Indian commissioner.

1747—Doctor Walker in the Kentucky region. Galissoniére, governor of Canada. Colden's map of the portages between lakes and the Mississippi. Detroit and Mackinac Indians revolt against the French and Croghan sends word to Philadelphia that Indians of Lake Erie desire English alliance. Indian alarms at Detroit.

1748—Ohio Land Company formed. Grants of Virginia lands beyond the mountains during the next ten years. Spring—Croghan

goes to Allegheny Indians and announces coming of Weiser. Weiser makes treaty with Miami Indians who come to him. August 11—Weiser sets out for Ohio country after Céloron. Weiser at Logstown on the Ohio. Ohio Company formed.

1749—Céloron buries plates on the Ohio. Bonnecamp's map of the Ohio country, showing where Céloron buried his plates.

1750—The Ohio Company have the Ohio lands granted to them. Christopher Gist, George Croghan and Andrew Montour on the Ohio.

1750-54—Céloron at Detroit. Croghan at Piqua, makes treaty which Pennsylvania repudiates. Croghan and Montour plan to settle the Twightwees on the Allegheny nearer the English. Galissoniére (succeeded by Joncairé) reports necessity for settlers at Detroit.

1751—Croghan opposes Joncaire on the Allegheny.

1752—Virginia treats with the Indians at Logstown and builds a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The English trading post Pickawillany in the Ohio country destroyed by the French. Duquesne, governor of Canada.

1753—December 11—Washington at Fort Le Boeuf as a messenger from Dinwiddie. The French occupy the Ohio country. Croghan takes official present to Ohio Indians and arrives after Washington's visit to Le Boeuf. Trent builds Ohio Company fort at Pittsburg.

1754—The English plant posts west of the Alleghanies. Washington attacks Jumonville, builds Fort Necessity, and fights at Great Meadows. Congress at Albany the first intimations of a union of the colonies. April—French capture Trent's fort at Pittsburg.

1755—French and Indian war begins on Virginia frontier. Robert Rogers' journals of his border warfare for six years. The French build a fort at Venango. French posts north of the Ohio. The French drive off the English from the forks of the Ohio and build Fort Duquesne. Evan's map of the Ohio country. July 7—Braddock's defeat. Vaudreuil reports Detroit lacks people. Repentigny at Sault Ste. Marie.

1756—May and June—England and France, respectively, declare war, though war had existed for two years. Montcalm in

Quebec. The forays of Robert Rogers and Israel Putnam in this and the following year. Frederick Haldimand begins services in America as commandant at Philadelphia.

1758—March—Rogers' defeat on Lake Champlain. The French abandon Fort Duquesne; General Forbes takes possession and names the place Pittsburgh. The Haldimand papers begin to be of use. Christian Frederic Post first carries the Moravian missions to the Ohio country.

1759—Johnson captures Fort Niagara. Stanwix builds Fort Pitt near Duquesne during the summer. Wolfe's victory and death on the Plains of Abraham; and death of Montcalm. Croghan at Montreal. He and Montour with Rogers at Detroit. September—Robert Rogers wipes out the village of St. Francis de Sales.

1760—Montreal capitulates, and all Canada passes into English hands. September 8—Montreal surrenders. September 12—Rogers ordered to Detroit. Goes via Presque Isle and Lake Erie. November 7—On Lake Erie meets Pontiac. November 29—Arrives at Detroit. Takes possession of Fort Miami on Maumee and Fort Ouatanon on Wabash.

1761—Sir William Johnson at Detroit; sends force to take possession of Mackinac.

1762—The question of either restoring to France Guadaloupe with its sugar trade, or Canada with its fur trade, under discussion in England. Map of Canada. Autumn—Pontiac planning his conspiracy.

1763—February 10—Treaty of peace between France and England. May 6—Pontiac's plot revealed to Gladwin. May 7—Pontiac received. May 9—Pontiac returns. May, June—Various western forts yield to Pontiac forces. June 12—Gladwin hears of the massacre at Mackinac. July 30—Bloody Run. August 5 and 6—Battle of Bushy Run. Indians defeated by Bouquet. October—Noyon's letter to Gladwin. October 7—England forbids land patents in Northwest. October 7—The proclamation of George III, defining the boundaries respectively of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; the regions north of the Great Lakes and west of the Alleghanies to the Mississippi remain crown lands. Proclamation of George III to induce settlers in Canada. Croghan in England; shipwrecked on coast of France.

1764—St. Louis founded. Spring—Pontiac renews siege. June—Colonel Bradstreet's campaign along the Great Lakes. Major Loftus with English troops ascends the Mississippi from New Orleans. August—Bradstreet arrives at Detroit. Mackinac and Green Bay. Pontiac vainly tries to stir up western tribes. August 27—Pontiac meets Croghan in Detroit. October-November—Bouquet marches into the Muskingum Valley. Sir William Johnson's treaties with the Indians.

1765—July—Pontiac meets Sir William Johnson at Oswego. Robert Rogers at Mackinac. Henry explores for copper along the Ontonagon River. October 10—Fort Chartres turned over to English, and British troops for the first time occupy the Illinois country. Croghan sent by Gage toward the Illinois country.

1765—Col. Henry Bouquet dies. Croghan in the Illinois country. Prisoner at mouth of Wabash. Conducted negotiations ending Pontiac war.

1766—Pontiac assassinated at St. Louis. Capt. Harry Gordon on the Ohio. Croghan in Illinois country, at Fort Chartres and New Orleans.

1767—Captain Turnbull commissions Dejean justice at Detroit.

1768—Croghan at Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

1769—Daniel Boone explores the Kentucky region.

1770—Washington visits the Ohio region to select land for the soldiers. The Zane family settle on the Ohio near the mouth of Wheeling Creek. Waypole Grant, in the Ohio country (Colony of Vandalia), secured and ratified; and finally abandoned. Croghan entertains Washington four miles above Pittsburgh on the Allegheny.

1772—The Moravians and their converts remove from Pennsylvania to the Muskingum.

1773—Matthew Phelps in the Ohio country during this and succeeding years.

1774—Capt. Arent Schuyler de Peyster leaves Quebec to take command of the post at Mackinac. Parliament passes Quebec Act for government of Canada. George Rogers Clark in the Kentucky country. Cresap, or Dunmore, war on the western frontiers of the English colonies in North America. Logan's family killed in the Ohio country. Immigrants reach Kentucky. The first log

cabin in Kentucky built at Harrodsburg. July—Sir William Johnson dies. September—Lewis' march against the Ohio Indians. October 10—Battle of Point Pleasant on the Ohio. Land jobbers on the Ohio.

1775—Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor, reaches Detroit. Sir John Johnson flees from the Mohawk Valley to Canada. June —Boone builds his fort in Kentucky. July—Col. Guy Johnson holds a conference with the Indians at Montreal. Summer—Franklin proposes a plan of confederating the English colonies. Arnold moves up the Kennebec to invade Canada. Both English and Americans seeking the aid of the Indians. Clark in Kentucky.

1776—March—Carroll, Franklin and Chase, commissioners from Congress, go to Canada to induce Canadians to join revolt against England. June—Clark chosen to Virginia Assembly. December—Robert Rogers recruits the Queen's Rangers, afterward led by Simcoe. Langlade at Green Bay.

1777—December 10—Clark lays before Governor Patrick Henry his plan for conquering the Northwest. July—Hamilton sends out war parties from Detroit. September—Fort Henry (Wheeling) besieged. Kentucky raids. Clark sends spies to the Illinois.

1778—January 18—Clark leaves Williamsburg. April 5—Daniel Boone brought to Detroit as a prisoner. June 30—Clark starts for Illinois country. July 4—George Rogers Clark captures Kaskaskia, Vincennes and all other British posts in that region. August—Boone defends his Kentucky fort. October—The Illinois country made a county of Virginia. Jonathan Carver's "Travels" published. Hamilton starts from Detroit on expedition to recapture Vincennes from George Rogers Clark. December 17—Captain Helm surrenders Vincennes to Hamilton. Croghan proclaimed a public enemy by Pennsylvania and succeeded by George Morgan as Indian agent.

1779—February 21—Clark captures Hamilton and his force at Vincennes. October—Patrick Sinclair succeeds DePeyster at Mackinac. DePeyster assumes command at Detroit.

1780—Sinclair builds fort on Mackinac Island. Spring—Bird's raids against the Ohio Valley settlers. October 10—Hamilton released from imprisonment in Virginia and goes to England.

1781—The death of Father Meurin closes the work of the Jesuits in the Northwest. January—Don Francisco Cruzat cap-

tures St. Joseph for Spain. George Rogers Clark with Steuben in Virginia. September 11—The Moravians are moved from the Muskingum region to Sandusky. Clark plans the capture of Detroit.

1782—Henry Hamilton appointed lieutenant governor at Detroit. Moravian Indians settle on the Clinton River near Mount Clemens. Croghan dies at Passyunk. March—Moravian Indians on the Muskingum butchered. November—Clark's expedition against the Miami Indians. John Trumbull published his "McFingal."

1783—August 8—General Haldimand refused General Steuben's demand for surrender of the northwestern posts. Hamilton is transferred to Bermuda. September 3—The Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and United States signed at Paris. October 20—Virginia agreeing to the terms of Congress cedes her claims to territory north of the Ohio, and the deed passes March 1, 1784.

1784—January 14—The Congress of the United States ratifies the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, and issues a proclamation of Congress announcing the signing of the Definitive Treaty. First ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory. March—Virginia makes final cession. Jefferson reports plan for the government of the Northwest Territory. April 23—Congress passes act for division of Northwest into seven states. June—North Carolina cedes her western territory and in November annuls the cession. Futile attempts to establish the State of Franklin in the territory ceded by North Carolina. The movement collapses in 1787. July—Jehu Hay arrives in Detroit to take command. Washington inspecting the Ohio Valley; this leads to the formation of the Potomac Company. Movement towards making the Kentucky region an independent state. Frenchtown (Monroe) settled. Fall—United States treaty with Five Nations at Fort Stanwix unsatisfactory to western Indians.

1785—March 17—Patrick Sinclair released from Newgate Prison in London on payment of Mackinac bills. April—Massachusetts relinquishes her claims to the Northwest. Rufus King proposes exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory. May 20—Congress passes its first act relative to disposal of western lands.

1785—August 2—Jehu Hay dies at Detroit. November 30—

John Adams, in London, demands the surrender of the frontier posts of the United States. Fort Harmar built.

1786—March 6—The Ohio Company formed by Putnam, Cutler and others in Boston. Connecticut cedes her western lands, with conditions. April—Moravians removed from Michigan. December—Indian council at mouth of Detroit River.

1787—April 13—St. Clair's report on the British infraction of the treaty of 1783. April 26—Ordinance of the government of the Northwest Territory reported; and on July 13 it is adopted.

General Wilkinson seeks the aid of Spain to secure the independence of Kentucky. July—United States learns of Indian council instigated by the British. October 5—Arthur St. Clair elected governor of Northwest Territory by Congress. Capt. Gother Mann, Royal Engineers, makes examinations of forts and channels of Upper Lakes; locates fort at Amherstburg and selects location on Canadian side of St. Mary's River opposite Sault Ste. Marie.

1788 — April — Marietta founded. December — Cincinnati founded.

1789—January—Governor St. Clair negotiates the treaty of Fort Harmar by which lands along the west bank of Detroit River and a tract of twelve miles square at Mackinac (City) are granted to the United States.

1790—1,520 men, women and children killed or captured in Kentucky since 1783.

1790—September—President Washington issued call for 1,000 Kentucky militia to join regulars at Fort Washington for expedition against Indian tribes. October—General Harmar's force of 1,453 men routed by 150 Indians within present site of Fort Wayne.

1791—March—Congress authorizes Seventh Regiment of Infantry and gives President power to enlist 2,000 men for six months. General St. Clair ordered to march to site of Miami towns. May—Sir Frederick Haldimand dies at his birthplace in Switzerland. November 4—St. Clair's army of 1,380 men defeated by 1,500 Indians under Blue Jacket near Fort Jefferson.

1792—April—Anthony Wayne placed in command of the army. Father Gabriel Richard comes to America.

1793—Summer—Lincoln, Randolph and Pickering's council at mouth of Detroit. Mackenzie visits Sault Ste. Marie. Conference at Detroit between Beverly Randolph, Timothy Pickering and Colonel Brandt representing the Confederate Indians and the British agents as to the Indian boundaries. Negotiations failed when American commissioners refused to fix Ohio as the Indian boundary.

1794—August 20—Wayne defeats the Indians at the Maumee Rapids. Fort Defiance built. October—Simcoe at Fort Miami.

1795—August 3—Wayne's treaty with the Indians at Fort Greenville. Contemporary map of the Northwest Territory. Land cessions of the Indians to the United States begin. Plot to buy up the lower peninsula of Michigan. Rochefoucauld Liancourt's and Weld's travels in the United States.

1796—July 4—The Connecticut Western Reserve first occupied. Chillicothe founded. The X. Y. Fur Company formed in Canada and united with the Northwest Company in 1804. Senate ratifies Jay Treaty calling for surrender of northwestern posts. July 11—Capt. Moses Porter receives the surrender of Detroit from Colonel England and flag of United States is displayed on ramparts of fort. July 13—Col. John Francis Hamtramck arrives in Detroit. July 22—Cleveland founded. August—Mackinac evacuated by the British. August 13—General Wayne reaches Detroit. August 15—Winthrop Sergeant erects the County of Wayne; Peter Audrain appointed prothonotary at Detroit and civil government is established. November 17—Wayne sails for Presque Isle (Erie), Pennsylvania. December 15—Wayne dies. Hamilton dies in the City of Hamilton, Bermuda.

1798—Father Richard comes from the Illinois to Detroit.

1799—Father Richard visits Mackinac.

1800—Territory of Indiana created. Connecticut surrenders her jurisdiction over the Western Reserve. Movements for and against internal improvement legislation begin. Position of the Indian tribes beyond the Alleghanies given by Gallatin. May 7—Ohio set off.

1802—Ohio admitted to the Union. Detroit incorporated. Indiana prays for temporary suspension of slavery restriction.

1803—May 12—Convention between Great Britain and the

United States as to the Canadian boundary, subsequently discarded by the United States.

1804—Rufus Putnam's map of Ohio.

1805—January 11—Congress creates the Territory of Michigan. June 11—Detroit burned. July 1—Gov. William Hull arrives. The new government organized by "The governor and judges." Northwest Company is formed in Canada as a rival to the Hudson Bay Co., and later it forms a coalition with the X. Y. Company.

1806—Bank of Detroit chartered by the governor and judges; Congress disapproves the act, March 3, 1807. First French newspaper in Canada.

1807—Duties paid to United States on furs at Mackinac exceed $40,000.

1808—April 1—Hull reappointed governor. September—Unauthorized banking prohibited in Michigan by Congress. American Fur Company founded by John Jacob Astor.

1810—Census shows thirty-two slaves in Michigan, mostly Indian captives; by 1836 all had died or were free.

1811—January 12—Hull reappointed governor. General Harrison's campaign against the Indians. November 7—Battle of Tippecanoe.

1812—February—Hull in Washington; appointed major-general. May 25—Takes command of army at Dayton. June 18—War declared. July 1—Hull sends to Detroit papers, which are captured at Malden. July 2—Hull learns war is declared. July 17—Mackinac falls. July 12—Hull invades Canada; Van Horne routed. August 7—Hull leaves Canada. August 9—Battle of Brownstown. August 16—Hull surrenders Detroit to the British under Proctor. Judge Woodward acts as secretary and proves helpful to distressed people. September 1-12—Siege of Fort Wayne. September 4—Defense of Fort Harrison on the Wabash.

1813—January 18—Fight at Frenchtown, and River Raisin massacre. April 28-May 9—Defense of Fort Meigs. August 2—Defense of Fort Stephenson. Dearborn succeeded by Wilkinson in the command of the lake region. September 10—Perry's victory on Lake Erie. October 5—Battle of the Thames; Tecumseh killed. October 29—Cass appointed governor and serves till August 1, 1831; William Woodbridge, secretary.

1814—January 3—Hull court-martialed at Albany and sentenced to be shot. Sentence is commuted and he goes home to Newton, Massachusetts. July 22—Generals Harrison and Cass make a treaty at Greenville between the United States and the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, and the Senecas on the one side, and the Miamis (known as the Miami, Eel River and Weea tribes) and a portion of the Potawatamies, Ottawas, and Kickapoos, whereby it is agreed that they should all make peace and enter into alliance with the United States, acknowledging the supremacy of the general government. December 24—Treaty of peace with England signed at Ghent.

1815—January 8—Gen. Andrew Jackson defeats British at New Orleans. September 8—Harrison, McArthur, and John Graham make peace with all of those tribes (as well as with the Chippewas) residing in Indiana, Ohio and Michigan. Cass lays out that portion of the Territory of Michigan in which Indian title has been extinguished as Wayne County, with seat of justice at Detroit; and also divides territory into districts coincident with militia-company districts already established. Duelling made punishable in Michigan.

1816—Territorial laws printed in Detroit. Many laws had been lost; others were summarized; some were referred to by title only. John Monteith comes to Detroit as Protestant pastor. April 19—Congress authorizes people of Indiana to form a state, with northern boundary beginning at a point ten miles north of the southern point of Lake Michigan and running due east. As result of unfavorable report on Michigan lands by Surveyor General Tiffin, Congress grants bounty lands in Illinois and Indiana in lieu of those theretofore granted in Michigan. British naval officers at Malden undertake to visit and search American vessels for deserters; General Cass reports acts to Washington. Cass hangs two Indians at Detroit for murder, thus ending Indian outrages.

1817—January 21—Cass reappointed governor. April 28—Agreement between Great Britain and the United States as to limiting naval forces on the lakes. July 14—County of Monroe set off in honor of expected visit of President Monroe. August 14—President Monroe visits Detroit. Governor Cass on behalf of State of New York presents to Gen. Alexander Macomb a sword in honor of Macomb's conduct at the Battle of Plattsburg. Detroit *Gazette*, conducted by John P. Sheldon and Ebenezer Reed, appears. August 26—Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania is incorporated.

Primary schools established at Detroit, Monroe and Mackinac, with a classical academy at Detroit. September 29—Generals McArthur and Cass negotiate treaty with Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatamies, Wyandots, Shawanoes, Delawares and Senecas, whereby the first three tribes grant to St. Anne's Church, Detroit, and to the College of Detroit each one-half of six sections reserved for those institutions in Hull's Treaty of 1807. December 19—Bank of Michigan incorporated. Steam navigation begins on Lake Erie.

1818—August 17—William Woodbridge, secretary and acting governor; Michigan Territory votes not to form a representative government as permitted by the Ordinance of 1787. March—Captain Hart, victim of River Raisin massacre, buried with military honors in Detroit. August 27—The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steamboat on the upper lakes, arrives from Buffalo. First Protestant Society organized in Detroit, John Monteith pastor; informally organized in 1816. May 30—County affairs intrusted to three county commissioners. October 26—Michilmackinac, Brown and Crawford counties established; Brown County included eastern part of Wisconsin and Crawford County the western. September—Wyandots exchange reservations in Brownstown and Monguagon for another on Huron River. Macomb County organized (named for Gen. Alexander Macomb). April 18—Indiana admitted. December 3—Illinois admitted, and all territory north of Indiana and Illinois made part of Michigan Territory.

1819—Bank of Michigan organized. The Walk-in-the-Water makes first trip to Mackinac. Congress provides for election of delegate in Congress; William Woodbridge, secretary of the Territory chosen. By treaty at Saginaw Indians cede to United States lands from Kalamazoo to head of Thunder Bay River.

1820—First steamboat on Lake Michigan. Oakland County organized. Congress made appropriation for publication of the laws of Michigan Territory as revised and compiled by the legislative board. William Woodbridge resigns as delegate in Congress and Solomon Sibley is chosen in his place. First post-roads established in Michigan from Detroit to Pontiac and Mount Clemens. May 24—Governor Cass's expedition starts to explore the country from the Upper Lakes to the head of the Mississippi; on June 14th arrives at Sault Ste. Marie and establishes authority of the United States; visits Ontonagon Copper Bowlder; ascends Mississippi from outlet of Sandy Lake to Cassina Lake; returns by route of Mar-

quette and Joliet. June-July—Indians cede sixteen square miles at Sault Ste. Marie; also St. Martin gypsum islands in Lake Huron. Congress appropriates $1,250 for the publication of existing laws of Michigan Territory. Several important statutes omitted from the resulting volume.

1821—University of Michigan to be managed by twenty-one trustees, including the governor ex-officio; territorial support withdrawn. Counties organized: St. Clair; Missaukee (named for an Ottawa chief). All Indian lands south of Grand River and north of St. Joseph's River ceded, thus completing cessions of all lands in Lower Peninsula except north of Grand River and north and west of Thunder Bay River. November—Over 3,000 packs of furs exported from Mackinac. Sale of foreign goods to Indians in Michigan Territory amounts to $1,000,000.

1822—The United States abolishes its system of Government trading houses, thereby doing away with many abuses and also enabling American traders to compete with the British. Commissioners on lake boundaries declare Drummond Island in American territory. Lapeer, Sanilac, Saginaw, Shiawassee, and Lenawee counties established. November 26—Colonel DePeyster dies at Dumfries, Scotland.

1823—March 3—Congress provides for the transfer of legislative power to the governor and a council of nine members selected by the President (subject to confirmation by the Senate) from a list of eighteen persons elected by the people of Michigan Territory. Sessions of the council limited to sixty days; laws subject to disapproval by Congress. James Duane Doty made judge of a new court established by Congress at Green Bay, primarily to try cases relating to the Indian trade. Cornerstone laid for capitol at the head of Griswold Street, Detroit. Judge Woodward had fixed the location on Grand Circus Park, but the situation was then far too remote. The new capitol was reached by a sidewalk of single timbers, and there were charges of corruption in fixing a location so distant from the business center. Rev. Gabriel Richard elected delegate in Congress.

1824—St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, organized. First Legislative Council convened at the councilhouse at Detroit, June 7, 1824.

1826—Washtenaw (far-off river), Chippewa and Lenawee coun-

ties organized. Indians to the number of 4,000 receive presents from British on Drummond's Island, in American territory. November 2—Second Legislative Council convenes.

1828—Third Legislative Council begins May 5. The Blackhawk war lasts till 1832.

1829—Counties organized: Berrien (named for Atty. Gen. John M. Berrien); Branch (named in honor of Secretary of the Navy, John Branch); Barry (named in honor of Postmaster Gen. William T. Barry); Cass (named for Lewis Cass); St. Joseph.

1830—Kalamazoo (bright, sparkling water) County organized. September 24—Simmons hanged in Detroit for killing his wife—the last case of capital punishment in Michigan. January 1—James Witherell, secretary and acting governor. September 24—John T. Mason, secretary and acting governor. May 11—Fourth Legislative Council begins.

1831—August 1 to September 17—Stevens T. Mason, secretary and acting governor. August 6—George B. Porter, governor; dies July 6, 1834. The whipping-post maintained at the Detroit market for the public whipping of negroes and Indians convicted of various offences was abolished. Custom of selling the poor to the lowest bidder was maintained.

1832—Jackson County organized (named in honor of Andrew Jackson). May 1—Fifth Legislative Council.

1833—Calhoun County organized (named in honor of Vice President John C. Calhoun).

1834—July 6—Henry D. Gilpin appointed governor; rejected by Senate. January 7—Sixth Legislative Council.

1835—Constitutional Convention convenes at Detroit May 11. Adjourns May 24. John Biddle, president. Counties organized: Allegan; Cheboygan; Hillsdale; Lapeer; Saginaw (laid out by Cass in 1822). November 10—Lucius Lyon and John Norvell elected first United States senators from Michigan; Isaac E. Crary, first representative in Congress.

1836—Martin Van Buren, Democrat, carries Michigan; three electoral votes. March—Treaty with the Ottawas and Chippewas specially reserving the Beaver Islands for the Beaver Island Indians. Counties organized: Livingstone (named in honor of

Edward Livingstone, then Secretary of State); Genesee; Kent (named in honor of James Kent, jurist).

1837—Michigan University established. March 21—John Norvell, Ross Wilkins, John J. Adams, Lucius Lyon, Isaac W. Crary, Thomas Fitzgerald, John T. Porter appointed the first regents. June—Suspension of specie payments legalized. Free banking act passed. 1837-8—The Patriot war breaks out along the Canadian border. State Geological Survey established; reorganized in 1869; biological survey provided for in 1905. Counties organized: Ionia; Van Buren (named for Martin Van Buren, then Secretary of State); Eaton (named in honor of Secretary of War, John H. Eaton); Ottawa; Shiawassee (straight-ahead). March 21—Five million loan authorized for public improvements.

1838—Financial panic; wheat drops from $2.50 to $1.00 per bushel; wild-cat banks fail. State Prison located at Jacksonburg. Ingham County organized (named for the Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham).

1839—State Bank of Michigan incorporated with $2,000,000 capital (one-half to be owned by the state) and nine branches, at Detroit, Monroe, Adrian, Ann Arbor, Niles, Jackson, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens and Marshall. No branch except at Detroit was established and the law was repealed in 1842. Clinton County organized. (Named in honor of Dewitt Clinton).

1840—William Henry Harrison, Whig, carries Michigan; three electoral votes. January 20—Augustus S. Porter elected United States senator. Ogemaw (Chippewa for "chief"), and Oscoda (pebbly-prairie) counties organized.

1841—February 3—William Woodbridge elected United States senator. Douglass Houghton's first report on the mineral resources of Lake Superior causes prospectors to flock to that region.

1843—Crawford and Montmorency counties organized.

1844—January—State banking law under which wild-cat banks flourished declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court. September 19—Iron ore discovered in Marquette County by surveyors under William A. Burt. James K. Polk, Democrat, carries Michigan; five electoral votes; Polk had 49.7 per cent of the popular vote; Clay, Whig, had 43.8; and Birney, Liberty Party, had 6.5 per cent.

Campbell comprise the faculty. Olivet College (Congregationalist) and Adrian College (Baptist) founded. Detroit Female Seminary founded by Prof. J. M. B. Sill. Counties organized: Huron; Muskegon (marshy river); Isabella (named in honor of the Spanish queen); Mecosta (named for a Pottawatomie chief).

1860—Salt first attains commercial importance in Michigan. Abraham Lincoln, Republican, carries Michigan; six electoral votes.

1861—Austin Blair, governor. February 2—Legislature passes resolutions asserting the supremacy of the Union; proclaims right and duty to resist treason and pledges resources of the state in the public service. April 12—Fort Sumter fired on; War of Secession begins. April 16—Governor Blair calls for ten companies of volunteers; the state treasury having been emptied by the defalcation of John McKinney, treasurer, John Owen raises $50,000 by subscription and using his personal credit obtains a loan of $100,000 to equip the troops. April 24—Alpheus S. Williams appointed brigadier-general of first Michigan brigade; afterwards appointed by President brigadier-general of volunteers. May 7—Special session of the Legislature authorizes raising ten regiments and a loan of $1,000,000; also passes the soldiers relief law for the support of the families of soldiers. May 13—The First Michigan leaves Fort Wayne for the front under the command of Col. Orlando B. Willcox; the first western regiment to reach Washington. May 24—First Michigan takes possession of Alexandria, Virginia, fights stubbornly at Bull Run (July 21), where Colonel Willcox is captured and held a prisoner until August 17, 1862. August 7—First Michigan three months men mustered out of service and reorganized. First Michigan takes its place. [For dates and places of muster of Michigan regiments, batteries and companies, dates of leaving state, dates and places of muster-out and return see "Michigan in the War," p. 586.] October—Senator Bingham dies; Jacob M. Howard, appointed in his place, is elected and serves till 1871. Calumet and Hecla copper vein discovered by Edwin J. Hulbert. Albion College (Methodist Episcopal) founded. Delta and Keweenaw counties organized.

1863—Michigan accepts for the Michigan Agricultural College a land grant by the United States. Board of Regents of Michigan University made elective by the state at large instead of by districts. July 1-3—Battle of Gettysburg. Rev. Henry P. Tappan, D. D., removed from his position as president of the university. Rev. Erastus O. Haven, D. D., appointed president of the university.

Counties organized: Leelanau (delight of life); Antrim; Benzie; Menominee (wild rice).

1864—Judge Manning, associate justice, dies. Steamboat Philo Parsons seized by Confederates on Detroit River. Abraham Lincoln, Republican, carries Michigan; eight electoral votes.

1865—Henry H. Crapo, governor. May 11—Jefferson Davis captured by Fourth Michigan Cavalry.

1866—Holland Seminary becomes Hope College (Dutch Reformed).

1867—Constitutional Convention convened at Lansing May 15, adjourned August 22, Charles M. Crosswell, president; Constitution as revised rejected. December—Chief Justice Martin dies.

1868—Ulysses S. Grant, Republican, carries Michigan; eight electoral votes.

1869—Henry P. Baldwin, governor. Counties organized: Charlevoix (named in honor of Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix); Osceola (black drink), laid out in 1840 and named Unwattin for an Indian chief; Wexford; Alcona.

1871—January 17—Thomas W. Ferry elected United States senator (acting president of Senate from death of Vice President Wilson in November 22, 1875, to March 4, 1877). James B. Angell becomes president of the University of Michigan. Law passed to establish a state public school for neglected children; located at Coldwater. Charles I. Walker, Henry W. Lord, Z. R. Brockway and Uzziel Putnam chosen as commissioners to supervise deaf and dumb, blind and insane asylums. Insurance department organized to take over work formerly done by secretary of state. Board of charities and corrections organized under the name of Board of State Commissioners for the general supervision of charitable, penal and pauper institutions. James M. Dewey's Compilation of the Michigan Statutes published. October 8—Great Chicago fire. Manistee burned. Counties organized: Presque Isle; Claire; Kalkaska; Lake.

1872—Ulysses S. Grant, Republican, carries Michigan; eleven electoral votes. State capitol begun at Lansing; E. E. Myers, architect.

1873—John J. Bagley, governor. State Board of Health established. Cornerstone of capitol laid. December—Association of Superintendents of the Poor begins sessions; twenty-three counties represented. Care of dependent children committed to county agents. Constitutional Convention convened at Lansing August 27, adjourned October 16, Sullivan M. Cutcheon, president; Constitution as revised rejected.

1874—Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society organized. State public school opened at Coldwater in accordance with act of 1871. Battle Creek College (Second Adventist) founded.

1875—January 19—Isaac P. Christiancy defeats Zachariah Chandler for United States senator. Counties organized: Roscommon (laid out in 1840 and named Mikenauk for an Indian chief); Otsego (clear-water); Baraga (named in honor of Bishop Frederick Baraga).

1876—Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, carries Michigan; eleven electoral votes. Charles M. Croswell, governor.

1877—Pontiac State Hospital for the Insane organized; opened August 1, 1878. State House of Correction and Reformatory established at Ionia. Michigan Military Academy at Orchard Lake founded by Col. J. Sumner Rogers. Discontinued in 1912.

1878—Eastern Asylum for the Insane opened at Pontiac. State capitol completed at a cost of $1,510,130.59.

1879—February 10—Isaac P. Christiancy appointed minister to Peru; resigns from Senate and is succeeded by Zachariah Chandler, who dies November 1. November 17—Fernando C. Beaman, having declined, Henry P. Baldwin appointed United States senator. Industrial House for Girls established at Adrian.

1880—A third asylum for the insane provided for at Traverse City. The blind are provided with a separate school at Lansing in accordance with act of 1879. James A. Garfield, Republican, carries Michigan; eleven electoral votes. David H. Jerome, governor.

1881—January 18—Omar D. Conger elected United States senator. Michigan School for the Blind located at Lansing. Traverse City State Hospital for Insane organized; opened November 30, 1885. Detroit College (Roman Catholic) founded by the Society of Jesus.

1882—The Detroit Home and Day School organized by Prof.

James D. Liggett; and now maintained by the Misses Liggett under the name of the Liggett School. Josiah W. Begole, Democrat, governor.

1883—January 16—Thomas W. Palmer elected United States senator. Asylum for insane criminals provided for at Ionia. November 26—Sojourner Truth dies and is buried in Battle Creek; she was born a slave in Ulster County, New York, not earlier than 1795; she was a powerful anti-slavery agitator, known to Harriet Beecher Stowe, Wendell Phillips and others; and during the last twenty years of her life she made Battle Creek her headquarters. Arenac County organized.

1885—Railroad opened to Sault Ste. Marie.

1884—James G. Blaine, Republican, carries Michigan; thirteen electoral votes: Blaine had 48 per cent of the popular vote; Cleveland, fusion, had 47.2 per cent. Russell A. Alger, governor.

1885—Michigan Soldiers' House located at Grand Rapids, for soldiers, sailors and marines of the Mexican war, the War of Secession, the Spanish-American and the Philippine wars. Michigan College of Mines located at Houghton; opened September 15, 1886. State Board of Pardons organized. Detroit College of Medicine founded; reorganized in 1914. State House of Correction and branch of the state prison established at Marquette. Alger (named after Gov. Russell A. Alger) and Iron counties organized.

1886—Semi-centennial of beginning of statehood celebrated at Lansing. Cyrus G. Luce, governor.

1887—January 18—Francis B. Stockbridge elected United States senator. Michigan University celebrates its semi-centennial. Iron ore shipments from Menominee Range begin, and in one year reach a million tons. State Banking Department established. Alma College (Presbyterian) established largely by the generosity of Ami W. Wright. Luce and Gogebic counties organized.

1888—Benjamin Harrison, Republican, carries Michigan; thirteen electoral votes; Harrison had 49.7 per cent of the popular vote, Cleveland 44.9 per cent. Benzonia College founded.

1889—January 15—James McMillan elected United States senator. Michigan places statue of Lewis Cass in Capitol at Washington.

1890—September 8—Isaac P. Christiancy dies. Edwin B. Winans, Democrat, governor.

1891—Dickinson County organized (named in honor of Don M. Dickinson, Postmaster-General). Michigan Asylum for Insane Criminals established at Ionia.

1892—Miner law enacted, whereby presidential electors are chosen by congressional districts, and as a result five of fourteen electors are Democrats. Benjamin Harrison, Republican, receives nine electoral votes, and Grover Cleveland, Democrat, receives five electoral votes of Michigan. Harrison had 47.8 per cent of the popular vote; Cleveland, 43.3 per cent. Lumber output, 3,750,000,000 feet. John T. Rich, governor.

1893—Michigan Home for Feeble Minded and Epileptic established at Lapeer; opened in August, 1895.

1894—Fort on Mackinac Island relinquished to state for park purposes. May 5—John Patton, Jr., appointed United States senator to succeed F. B. Stockbridge, deceased.

1895—January 15—Julius C. Burrows elected United States senator. Industrial (Reform) School for Boys opened at Lansing. Central Michigan Normal School at Mount Pleasant taken over by the state; opened as a state institution in September.

1896—William McKinley, Republican, carries Michigan; fourteen electoral votes. Saginaw Valley Medical College founded. Hazen S. Pingree, governor.

1897—Grand Rapids Medical College founded.

1898—Michigan sends five regiments and the Naval Reserves to the Spanish war.

1899—Northern State Normal School established at Marquette.

1900—William McKinley, Republican, carries Michigan, fourteen electoral votes. Census shows Michigan ninth state in population; second in lumber, copper and iron ore; thirteenth in agriculture.

1901—June 24—Detroit celebrates its three hundredth birthday. Aaron T. Bliss, governor.

1902—September 27—Russell A. Alger appointed United States senator to succeed James McMillan, who died August 11.

1903—Michigan Employment Institution for the Blind established at Saginaw.

1904—July 6—Fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Republican party celebrated at Jackson. Monument unveiled at Monroe to Kentucky soldiers killed in the massacre of the River Raisin in War of 1812. Theodore Roosevelt, Republican, carries Michigan; fourteen electoral votes. Fred M. Warner, governor.

1905—Western State Normal School opened at Kalamazoo. State Sanatorium for Treatment of Tuberculosis established near Howell.

1907—Constitutional Convention convened at Lansing October 22, adjourned March 3, 1908; president, John J. Carton; Constitution submitted March 9, 1908, and adopted. New Constitution went into effect, 1909. William Alden Smith elected United States senator to succeed Russell A. Alger, deceased. Michigan Railroad Commission organized; reorganized in 1909.

1908—William H. Taft, Republican, carries Michigan; fourteen electoral votes.

1909—Department of Labor created.

1910—Detroit River Tunnel opened for traffic; cost about $10,000,000.

1911—Chase S. Osborn, governor.

1912—Theodore Roosevelt, National Progressive, carries Michigan; fifteen electoral votes; 39 per cent of the popular vote.

1913—Woodbridge S. Ferris, governor. Central Michigan Sanitorium for the Treatment of Tuberculosis established in Jerome Township, Midland County. Michigan Farm Colony for Epileptics established. April—Amendment to the constitution permitting women to vote at all elections rejected by vote of 168,738 for and 264,882 against. Amendments relative to initiative or constitutional amendments, initiative and referendum upon legislative matters and the recall of elective officers adopted.